



गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार पुस्तकालय



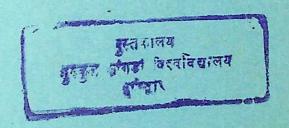
विषय संख्या जिल्ला 1961 पुस्तक संख्या

ग्रागत पंजिका संख्या जिल्हा 1961 पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से ग्रधिक समय तक पुस्तक ग्रपने पास न रखें।



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Modern Review

JANUARY 1961



ORCL'S

COLUMN FORMAN FOR LIVER & STOMACH

ক্লান ৰচিত সচিত্ৰ সপ্ৰকাণ্ড ৱামায়ণ

মনামধন্য প্রামানস্ফ চট্টোপাপ্রাক্ত সম্পাদিত পুবিখ্যাত কৃত্তিবাদী রামায়ণের দর্বোৎকৃষ্ট

অষ্টম সংস্করণ প্রকাশিত হইল

ফোর্ট উইলিয়ম কলেজ হইতে প্রকাশিত যাবতীয় প্রক্রিপ্ত অংশবর্জিত ম্লগ্রন্থ অনুসারে ৫৮৬ পৃষ্ঠায় স্থানস্থানি ইহাতে বিশ্ববিধ্যাত ভারতীয় চিত্রকরদিগের আঁকা রঙীন যোলধানি এবং এক বর্ণের তেত্রিশথানি শ্রেষ্ঠ ছবি আছে। রঙীন ছবিগুলির ভিতর কয়েকটি প্রাচীন যুগের চিত্রশালা হইতে সংগৃহীত ছবির অনুলিপি। অন্যান্ত বহুবর্ণ ও একবর্ণের ছবিগুলি শিল্পীসমাট অবনীক্রনাথ ঠাকুর, রাজা রবি বর্মা, নন্দলাল বস্তু, সারদাচরণ উকিল, উপেন্দ্রকিশোর রায়চৌধুরী, মহাদেব বিশ্বনাথ ধ্রন্ধর, অসিতকুমার হালদার, স্থরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শৈলেন্দ্র দে প্রভৃতি স্থনিপুণ তুলিকায় চিত্রিত।

জ্যাকেটযুক্ত উত্তম পূরু বোর্ড বাইণ্ডিং মূল্য ১০'৫০, প্যাকিং ও ভাকব্যয় ২'০২ নঃ পঃ
প্রবাদীর গ্রাহকগণ অগ্রিম মূল্য পাঠাইলে দশ টাকা ছই নয়া পয়সা এবং অফিস হইতে হাতে লইলে আট
টাকাতে পাইবেন। ইহা ছাড়া আর কোন প্রকার কমিশন দেওয়া হইবে না। গ্রাহক নম্বর্সহ
সত্তর আবেদন করুন। এই স্থযোগ সর্বপ্রকার ছুমু ল্যের দিনে বেশী দিন স্থায়ী থাকিবে না।

প্রবাসী প্রেস প্রাইভেট লিঃ—১২০।২, আচার্য্য প্রফুল্লচন্দ্র রোভ, কলিকাতা
কোন: ৩৫—৩২৮১

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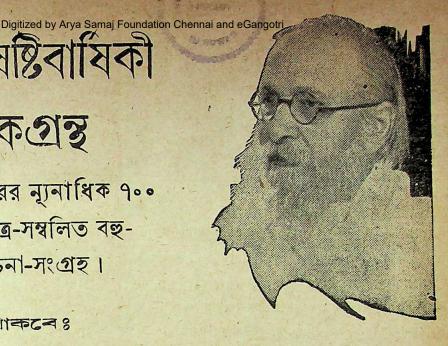
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- বিগত ষাট বৎসরের বাংলা এই পর্য্যায়ে সাহিত্য, চিত্রকলা, সঙ্গীত, নৃত্য, নাট্যাভিনয়, ইত্যাদি বিষয়ে আলোচনামূলক প্রবন্ধ। লিখবেন: শ্রীস্থীর খান্তগীর, শ্রীঅর্দ্ধেক্রকুমার গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীনারায়ণ গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীশান্তিদেব ঘোষ, শ্রীচিন্তাহরণ চক্রবর্তী, শ্রীঅজিতকুমার দন্ত, শ্রীস্থারঞ্জন দাশ, শ্রীসজনীকান্ত দাস, শ্রীপ্রফুল-কুমার দাস, এবিফু দে, এনিখিলকুমার নন্দী, এসংধীরকুমার নন্দী, স্বামী প্রজ্ঞানানন্দ, প্রীআন্ততোষ ভট্টাচার্য্য, শ্রীদেবীপদ ভট্টাচার্য্য, শ্রীবিনোদবিহারী মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীদেবীপ্রসাদ রায় চৌধুরী, শ্রীবরেন্দ্রকিশোর রায়চৌধুরী, শ্রীস্থকুমার সেন, শ্রীনলিনীকুমার ভদ্র, প্রভৃতি।
- यां विश्वता अर्वाञ्चक शतिक्या। निश्वतः श्रीकानिमात्र नात्र।
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- ষাট বৎসরের দার্শনিক চিত্তাধারা—বিষয়ে প্রবন্ধ। লিখবেন: প্রীসরোজকুমার দাস।
- শিক্ষায় বাংলার যাট বৎসর এই পর্যায়ের প্রবন্ধ। লিখবেন: প্রীতিগুণাচরণ সেন, প্রীপ্রেয়ঞ্জন সেন, শ্রীভূপতিমোহন সেন।
- রাষ্ট্রচেতনায় ষাট বৎসর ও ষাট বৎসরের আর্থনীতিক অবস্থা বিষয়ে প্রবন্ধ। লিখবেন: প্রীপ্রভাতচন্দ্র গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, প্রীদেবজ্যোতি বর্মণ, প্রীচাণক্য সেন।
- সমাজ-সেবায় ষাট বৎসর—এই পর্য্যায়ে প্রবন্ধ। লিখবেন: শ্রীবিজয়লাল চট্টোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীযোগানল দাস, প্রীজীবনময় রায়, প্রীস্করেশচন্ত্র রায়, খামী গন্তীরানন্দ, খামী ত্যাগীখরানন্দ।

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- ষাট বৎসরের সামাজিক পরিবর্ত্তন। লিখবেন: ত্রীযতীল্রমোহন দত্ত।
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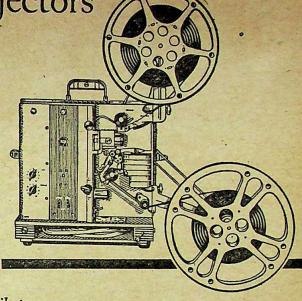
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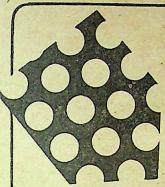
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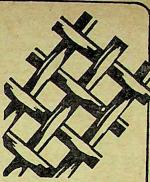
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THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY



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NOTES

The New Year

The Old Year, which is fast running out at the time of writing these notes, viewed in retrospect, does not yield much hope for -76 the future. The year 1960, started well, with a carry-over of hopeful presages from the previous year. There was a distinct mellow--84 ling of the attitude of the Soviet Bloc led by Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, who had visited the United States of America and had invited Mr. Eisenhower, the President of the U.S.A., to go on a return visit to the U.S.S.R. Mr. Khrushchev further visited South-East Asia, thereby considerably allaying the tension generated by the imperialistic moves continental China, whose leaders were dreaming of World Hegemony. There were talks about a "Summit Conference" at Paris, where the question of World-Disarmament 5.00 would be debated to an agreed conclusion so it was hoped—by the Executive heads of the major Powers of the West and their opposite numbers of the Soviet Group.

Then came the U-2 incident and the reaction that followed dashed all hopes of an early dawn of World Peace. The Summit Conference in Paris ended in a fiasco, and world, from Cuba to Japan. The United Nations General Assembly had its most turbulent and curious session—its 15th— 2.00 since its inception. There was a much milder epilogue, however, when Mr. Khrushchev fishing in troubled waters. seemed to be somewhat mollified after blowing off steam in his characteristic way. trouble in Jordan, where

Atrica. After his return from the U.N. Mr. Khrushchev seemed to have recovered his aplomb, and later he met the challenge of Peking in a masterly fashion—which up-todate is the only drop of comfort in the World's cup of misery.

The sunshine of independence shone over the Dark Continent after centuries of abject subjugation and savage semi-wild existence. State after State was released from colonial domination by their erstwhile masters of the West, and the sons of the soil calmly assumed the responsibilities in a dignified way. Then came the independence of Belgian Congo, which the Belgians had administered in a crass colonial pattern. ruthless exploitation being the main motif. The Republic of Congo was officially inaugurated on June 30, 1960. A week later. on July 7-8, Congolese soldiers rebelled against their Belgian Officers and went on a rampage of violence and terror the Europeans. Belgian paratroops were flown in and they in their turn also added to the pandemonium. The U.N. was called upon to restore order and peace, and in that task it has faced—and is still facing, there were repercussions all round the difficulties and dilemmas of almost imaginable dimensions.

> The cold war has entered into a new phase, particularly where Africa is concerned. There even Red China is

In Asia's Near East, there has the There were 14 new members in that Assem- Minister was assassinated in early Septembly of 96 members, of which 13 were from ber. There has been very CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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tension regarding the U.A.R. which is accused openly by King Hasan of Jordan of engineering the murder. The enmity between Israel and the Arab States is still smouldering as ever before. The Chinese aggression on India's North-Western and North-Eastern frontiers has not been vacated as yet. The situation in South-Eastern Asia is in fluid state, though the coup d'etat in South Vietnam engineered by three crack paratroop battalions against the autocratic President Ngo Dinh Diem failed in November. President Diem has not changed and popular support of his regime is failing, much to the advantage of his. Communist neighbour on the North. In Laos, the long, triangular fight between the Rightist, the "Neutralist" and the Leftist still continues, though at the time of writing these notes the pro-U.S. General Phoumi Nosavan is reported to have gained the upper hand in the Vientiane area. But the position in Laos is still very indeterminate.

Democracy, which is supposed to be foreign to the nature of Asiatics, has shown a curious way of gaining the upper hand in two Asiatic countries, situated in the extreme Eastern and extreme Western borders of this great continent, against mighty odds. In South Korea, Syngman Rhee, the crooked ancient who firmly straddled the neck of the battle-torn republic like the evil Old Man on the shoulders of Sindbad the Sailor, was toppled by a mighty upheaval of public opinion. Triggered by the students and brought to a culmination by the defection of the fighting forces, this almost bloodless revolution succeeded in ridding the country of a dictator whose sole virtue was courage in the face of the enemy. Hardly had these upheavals attained their objective in South Korea, when student demonstrations broke out in Turkey, where another dictator, Adnan Menderes, was making a travesty of democracy. Menderes tried to smother the revolt by the "blood and iron" formula of the tyrant, but here also the army took over, arresting the entire Menderes Cabinet, together with the President and the corrupt police chiefs that acted in concert with it. South Korea has established a working democratic government since the

May revolt, but in Turkey the militar our r junta, with General Cemal Gursel at i any head is still in control, although a goo deal of formative work has been done sine mate the end of May, when Menderes was over vesti thrown. These two are the only brigh mora spots on the scene of political events Asia.

In South Vietnam, another dictator still not paying heed to the "winds change", despite one severe warning, durin which he promised reforms, only to breat his undertakings when the storm blew of unexpectedly. It is curious to note that a three of these dictators—two over-throw and one still in his seat-were bolstered u by U.S. aid. We can understand the aidgiven to build up bulwarks against Com munism-but it is more difficult to under stand the blind support given to them by a large section of the U.S. press, right w to the time when the popular unres became too violent to be blacked-out in th World-press.

Another curious outcome of the pol tical turmoil caused by Mr. Khrushchev sally into the U.N. Assembly, was the re habilitation of Neutralism—which was pro nounced to be "immoral" by the late Joh Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State. this matter also the Soviet chiefs of the post-Stalin period have scored against the Western democracies, in past. At present Red China has cancelle out a good deal of the credits amassed by the Soviets, through its blind and ruthles lust for power, generated by drunkenness. Here again Mr. Khrushchev busy restoring the confidence of the Asian nations in his theory of peaceful co and nor existence of the Communist Communist alike.

At home, in India, the year 1960 ha been a year of trials and stresses which show no sign of lessening as yet. faith in shibboleths, crass inexperience world-affairs and a truly colossal ignorance of power-politics, linked with over-confidence in personal ability, has landed us in a tight spot on our northern frontiers, and if the same mentality persists there is little likely since the April- hood of the relations between ourselves and CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Handwar

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nilitar our neighbours of Pakistan improving at i any substantial and lasting degree.

Total precedence having been given to e sinc material considerations—whereas not s over vestige of thought has been devoted bright moral considerations and values—in the matter of nation-building, the tremendous efforts made in the First and Second Fiveator Year Plans, have resulted in the fruits going to wrong people. Parochialism has predurin vailed over patriotism—which seems to be the monopoly of scoundrels in the political black-market-in most places, as the recent orgy of uncivilized and brutish rioting in Assam has demonstrated. The same orgy has shown how puerile our much vaunted Constitution is, where the protection of the rights of minorities and weak nationals is concerned. Party-politics have dominated over humane considerations in the punishment of crimes against humanity, thereby indicating the clay-feet of our idols.

What of the Future?

We confess that we possess neither the prophet's mantle nor the divine second sight of the seer and therefore we are obliged to read the portents in the light of past and present events. And we are constrained to say therefore that the prospects of the days ahead are bleak indeed, where the common citizen is concerned. The way in which our future is being planned by the wiseacres of New Delhi, there is little hope that the stresses and strains of life would be lessened for the likes of him, unless he manages to drag out his miserable existence until the planners plan no more. Party-politics, commercialized Gandhism, corruption in high places and the complete negation of moral values, these are no ingredients for nation-building, as even Pandit Nehru would realise if he observed an occasional day of silence and meditation, away from his sycophants. But while there is Freedom there is Hope, and so let us hope that sanity will dawn in time for all of us, before the entire nation becomes morally bankrupt and leaders utterly depraved.

What about the World Portents?

Pandit Nehru in his hour long survey of world developments struck a pessimistic

to picture as an acute crisis in the history of the world. He laid stress on the recent happenings in Algeria, the Congo, Laos and Nepal, and outlined our method of approach to these situations. Regarding the recently concluded border talks between the official teams from India and China, Pandit Nehru gave out the information that the Indian team had presented to him a 570 page report. This had to be studied and possibly China had to be further consulted before this report could be placed before the Parliament.

Pandit Nehru described the action of King Mahendra of Nepal as "a complete reversal of democracy" and further said it was not clear to him whether the democratic set-up there could ever be restored. About Algeria, he is reported to have said that following President de Gaulle's visit to Algeria and the repressive measures taken by the local authorities, a difficult situation had become "almost impossible of solution in existing circumstances".

In contrast with these pessimistic views, Pandit Nehru became almost eloquently optimistic where Goa was concerned. He is reported to have declared that although he could not give a date by which Goa would be free, the present situation there could not continue for long.

We would only remark that there are other opinions and other views on all these points and even Pandit Nehru might have to modify his views in the light of events that are likely to take place shortly, though the outlook is depressing in the extreme, by all accounts.

Algeria

The rebellion in Algeria started in November, 1954. In the six years and more that it has lasted, it has deeply undermined the foundations of French political life and has considerably weakened France's standing in the international sphere. France has had to pour into Algeria the major portion of its active army, to the extent of about 400,000 men to keep the rebels in check. It has cost France, in terms of U.S. dollars, between a hundred to three hundred crores of dollars a year and disrupted and overthrown many ministries during its course.

The Moslem guerrilla forces have never view when he described the pinternational numbered more than 20,000 men under arms,

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which was the peak figure (estimated) given as will be apparent from the chronologic out about three years back. But there is data, taken from the New York Times tacit sympathy and complicity of the major December 11, given below. The army store part of the Moslem population behind it and in the way of the previous ministries, who that is the reason why the terrible losses they wanted to negotiate directly with the inflicted on them by the French forces and rebels and it was with their close complicit the inhuman atrocities perpetrated on the that the colons engineered the downfall civil Moslem population has failed to sub- the Fourth Republic. merge and extinguish the revolt. The French army has succeeded in breaking up the rebel's Army of National liberation into small scattered bands of guerrillas. But these small groups in the hills and their auxiliaries in the cities and small towns have been able to maintain the tension and the sense of insecurity pervading the country at a sufficient high level, and now there are trained reinforcements numbering 15 to 20 thousand fully equipped men standing behind them, across the barbed-wire and artillery defences that guard the frontiers of Tunisia and Morocco. In the background there is the shadow of aid, in arms and possibly men, from Communist China and the Soviets.

The situation has been further complicated since May 1958 when the Army and the French settlers seized control in Algeria, resulting in the collapse of the Fourth Republic. De Gaulle became Premier of France on June 1, of that year, and ever since that time he has been trying to bring the Algerian War to an end. The situation is extremely complex and as yet has defied any solution.

Algeria has an European population of about one million among 10 million Moslems. These Europeans have no other home outside Algeria, and some of their ancestors colonised Algeria in the Eighteen Thirties. descendants of these settlers, colons as they are called, veterans, students and wealthy settlers alike, are closely linked to the Rightist section of French politics for a long time past.

But the most serious complication is caused by the French Army, which holds the fuses de Gaulle's offer to negotiate cease key position in this extremely complex fire. situation. The French Army is mainly conscript in composition, but it is led by a permanent cadre of officers, of whom the lity of Algerian independence for first time higher ranks, colonels and generals, have in offer of referendum to be held four year

Chronology of the Algerian Revolt

November 1: Moslems begin rebellion 1955

Mendes-France Govern February 5: ment is overthrown on his program of in creased home rule and reform for Algeri

September 20: France walks out U.N. debate on Algeria on grounds it is a "internal" matter; U. N. drops issue.

1956

February 6: Socialist Premier Molle after coming into office with liberal Algeria program, is pelted with tomatoes in Algier by Europeans; he leads his party in switch to tougher Algerian policy.

April 21: Ferhat Abbas and moderate nationlists join rebel Front d

Liberation Nationale (F.L.N.).

1957

January 9: F. L. N. refuses Mollet offer of free elections after cease-fire.

1958

May 13: Army and European settler seize control in Algiers; Fourth Republi collapses.

June 1: De Gaulle becomes with special powers; says his mandate to change French political structure an end Algerian war.

August 24: De Gaulle offers option independence to France's other Africa possessions.

October 9: De Gaulle, in effort to brin army under control, orders officers to qui Algerian politics.

October 23: Abbas, F. L. N. chief, 16

1959

September 16: De Gaulle states possible backed the **colo**ns in a series of crises before, after cease-fire F. L. N. demands outside CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Handwar. L. N. OVE the syr

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army control. 1960

January 24: Europeans in Algiers riot over dismissal of General Massu, a leader in the 1958 coup; they set up street barricades; sympathetic army refuses to disperse them.

January 29: De Gaulle broadcasts command to army to restore order. Settlers gradually abandon barricades without clash with army. Civillian leaders are jailed; de Gaulle transfers disobedient officers.

March 3: De Gaulle, in Algeria, tells

army France will stay in Algeria.

April 22: Army says it has broken up rebel concentrations and that end of war is

June 14: De Gaulle appeals to F. L. N.

to negotiate "peace of the brave."

July 4: F. L. N. breaks off plans for cease-fire talks after French imposes rigid conditions.

September 7: De 'Gaulle says France will not negotiate on political future until

F. L. N. lays down arms.

October 23: Abbas says F. L. N. will not lay down arms until political decision on future is reached.

October 27: Students riot in Paris;

internal tension grows.

November 4: De Gaulle gives his clearest acceptance to date of eventual independence in speech referring to "Algerian Republic"; he still demands cease-fire before political negotiation. F. L. N. asks U. N. supervision of any vote on future.

Nov. 16: France says referendum will be held Jan. 8 on de Gaulle's Algerian policy; aim is to demonstrate his popular support.

December 5: U. N. Assembly opens debate on Algeria; France boycotts it; some states seek to postpone issue to give de Gaulle free hand.

December 9: Europeans riot in Algiers as de Gaulle begins tour; army and police

promptly disperse them.

General de Gaulle has had to move very carefully and calculatingly in bringing the Army under control. A methodical series of transfers and replacements by politically unattached officers has been carried out by him. He has now come to the final test, "which way do the French people owned to the Kaken Comection, Haridwar

supervision of vote to guarantee, it is free of with him or without him?" The day for the referendum has been set on January 8, 1961 for a popular vote. The people of France and Algeria will be asked to vote, Yes or No, on a single proposition that for a draft law providing immediate administrative reorganization and the ultimate determination" vote in Algeria. Everything for the present hangs on this bid by de Gaulle for popular support.

In the Congo situation the conflict mainly centres around the personality of Patrice Lumumba, former Premier of the Congo. Lumumba is a closely guarded prisoner in an army prison at Truysville, eighty-five miles South-West of Leopoldville. There are conflicting reports about the treatment that is being meted out to him by Col. Joseph Mobutu, army Chief of Staff in the Government of President Joseph Kasavubu. The controversy over his arrest and the events that followed has caused the conflict that has finally split the forces involved in four main groups, namely the Soviet Union, the Afro-Asian group, the West and-most curiously-the U.N. Congo command.

The Soviet Union and its allies had given Lumumba direct aid, bye-passing the U.N. They are clearly and focrefully insistent that he must not be removed by force from the political arena of the Congo.

Afro-Asians also regard Lumumba as the leader of the Congolese in their efforts to rid the Congo of Belgian control. The U.A.R., Ghana, Mali, Morocco, Guinea and India, are reported to be most prominently inclined towards this view.

The West is backing Mr. Kasavubu, as their "main hope" against Communist influences that are undoubtedly attempting to pull the Congolese into their sphere. They were faced with a dilemma by the arrest of Mr. Lumumba which has placed the West in a false position where the Congolese are concerned. They know it will fan internal conflicts but they cannot openly condemn this action by Kasavubu and Mobutu.

The U.N. command in the Congo, has been in a jeopardized position, due to these internal conflicts amongst the participating nations in the 20,000 strong U.N. Congo

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been caused by this complex situation and by the knowledge that things are gradually moving out of the control of the U.N. Congo command. Several countries have started taking out their personnel from the Congo and the Indian force is in an unhappy position already and if the military units of the U.A.R., Ceylon, Morocco, Indonesia, Guinea and Yugoslavia are pulled out, taking 5,700 out of the total of 20,000 U.N. troops, then the situation will be acutely affected.

The Congo is in a helpless condition, in all matters affecting the life and wellbeing of its people. The U.N. stands between it and disaster in the form of epidemics, starvation and civil war.

Ethiopia, Nepal and Laos

Two royal personages, the Emperor Selassie of Ethiopia Haile and Mahendra of Nepal came into the news headlines at the end of the year.

The Emperor of Ethiopia was out on a State visit to Brazil, when taking advantage of his absence, a coup d'etat was launched in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, by an ambitious general in command of the Imperial Guard. The news of this coup was broadcast by an amateur radio operator in Addis Ababa who informed the world about the critical situation.

The Emperor immediately flew back to Ethiopia and at the time of writing the revolt has been quashed and punishment is being meted out to the leaders of the uprising.

King Mahendra on the other hand took drastic action in dispossessing the duly elected Ministry, led by B. P. Koirala whose party won 74 out of the 109 seats in the Nepalese Parliament in the 1959 elections, of all powers and taking over the Government personally. No logical and adequate reasons were advanced by the King, either for dissolving the Parliament or for the arrest of all the Koirala group Ministers and Executives. At the time of writing, King Mahendra has announced the formation of a new Ministry, under his direct supervision, consisting of five Ministers and five Deputy Ministers, all of whom are known and progressive men. There is no point in speculating on what the King in-

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The despondence of Pandit Nehru has tends doing at this stage, nor is it time to lament the death of democracy in Nepal as yet.

> In Laos the battle for Vientiane is still going on but at the time of writing the troops of General Phoumi Nosavan, which are equipped with tanks and artillery supplied by the U.S.A., has gained a considerable advantage. The neutralist Premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, had previously fled to Cambodia, and is now trying to stage a come-back with the aid of an U.N. Commission. The position is more or less in a fluid state as yet.

Draft Resolutions for Congress

National Integration

The A.I.C.C. released, on Dec. 25, three resolutions for discussion at the Congress Session at Bhavnagar. Of these the first, on National Integration, shows that at last the "Congress High Command" has become aware that the integrity and freedom of the nation has become jeopardized by the actions of its depraved following and that other fissiparous forces have gathered courage and force from the examples set by successful demonstrations of provincialism and linguism.

No effective remedies or constructive suggestions are made in any of the resolutions, only pious hopes and patriarch-like recitations of moral principles—which are observed only in the breach thereof by 90% of the A.I.C.C. members themselves.

There is no outright call for the suppression, by punitive measures, of black-marketing and corruption in public bodies, nor is there any call to alter party-systems so that at least a modicum of honest persons can go to the top. We append the relevant portions of the resolutions below:-

Ever since its birth seventy-five years ago, the National Congress has stood for the unity of India and the cohesion of her people. While recognising the rich variety of Indian life, it has laboured for their basic and essential unity and the integrity of the country. Its basis and structure were national in every sense of the word and it sought the progress of the people as a whole, regardless of differences of province or religion or caste or language. In this great task it succeeded in a large measure, and this success led to the building up of great movements for freedom resulting in the achievement of what the King in- independence. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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limited, and communal and other conflicts resulted in the partition of the country. This unhappy development was itself evidence of the necessity of greater stress being laid on emotional integration and the feeling among all people in the country that they had equality of opportunity in free India.

Political and economic developments have brought many benefits to the people, but they have also released new forces and new demands, and sometimes these forces work on a narrower and more restricted plane. Democracy with its widespread system of elections, which is so vitally important and which is the very basis of our Constitution, has also resulted in some ways in encouraging certain disintegrating forces.

Under cover of political and social activities, the old evils of communalism, casteism, provincialism and linguism have appeared again in some measure. These evils come in the way of the process of integration which is so essential for the building up of this great country and encourage certain fissiparous tendencies. Economic progress is hindered and the sense of unity is lessened.

The Congress views with great concern these unhealthy tendencies and is firmly of opinion that they must be combated in every way. Communalism, which has in the past done so much injury to the nation, is again coming into evidence and taking advantage of the democratic apparatus to undermine this unity and to encourage reactionary tendencies. Provincialism and linguism have also injured the cause for which the Congress stands. Caste, although losing its basic force, is beginning to function in a new political garb.

If these tendencies are allowed to flourish, then India's progress will be gravely retarded and even freedom will be imperilled. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that every effort should be made to remove these evils and always to keep in view the unity and integrity of the nation. Adequate progress can only be based on a national scale, embracing all communities and States.

These disintegrating forces endeavour draw strength from and exploit real or imaginary grievances. It is, therefore, the duty of everyone and more especially the Congress organisation, to remove any sense of grievance from the minds minority

Unfortunately, however, that success was communal or linguistic, and produce in them a feeling of fair and equal treatment and opportunity. In particular, it is the task of majority groups, whether religious or linguistic, to create a feeling of confidence and trust in the minds of minority communities.

Our Constitution has in clear language laid down the principle of equality of treatment. This has to be rightly interpreted and fully implemented by Governments, both at the Centre and in the States, which should take positive steps to this end. In particular, this should be borne in mind in regard to the entry into public services, in education and in language.

Sometimes while the general principles laid down are fair, their implementation is not satisfactory, or the rules made thereunder tend to place difficulties in the way of a minority community. Entry into the public services should not be made in such a way as to discriminate against linguistic minorities. While merit should always be the principal criterion for such services, more especially in the higher grades, in the lower grades where there is generally equality of merit, particular care should be taken that minority groups have adequate opportunities offered to

Policies should be evolved at the Centre and in all the States so that linguistic minorities and relatively backward classes have fair and equitable treatment in respect of educational facilities, to learn their own languages and in regard recruitment to Government services.

Congress elections, from the Mandals upwards, care should be taken to have adequate minority representation. In elections for Parliament and State legislatures, Congress should put up candidates so as to give proper representation to minority communities.

Third Plan

The Congress endorses the resolution of the A.I.C.C. passed at its Raipur session, on the draft outline of the Third Five-Year Plan. objective aimed at in planning has always to be to establish a socialist economy and pattern of society in the country. In order to achieve end, a substantial advance has to be made in the Third Plan towards a self-sustaining and generating economy and at the same time parities that exist in various strata of society should be progressively lessened. As stated in the directive principles of the Constitution, COMMUNICIONALIN BOTHON KANGERCHIOCHOR HATTOWACONOMIC System should not re-

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production to the common detriment.

people and to remove the curse of poverty, rapid increase in production is essential and traditional methods of production and distribution have to be replaced by modern and more effective techniques. For the people generally, therefore, every effort should be made to introduce a modern and Panchayat Raj scientific outlook. Trained and properly fied personnel are essential in large numbers. The administrative machinery should be geared up for this great task and made to realise the objective, for which the country is working.

The targets mentioned in the draft outline are the minimum required for adequate progress to be made during this period. Every effort, therefore, must be made to fulfil these targets and to raise the necessary resources. In order to add to these resources for investment, due restraint is necessary in the matter of consumption. For this purpose it is necessary to create a climate of saving in the country and thus also to help in establishing prices, particularly of essential commodities.

Agriculture and Industry

Agriculture and industry are closely associated and rapid progress has to be made on both fronts. More particularly, it is necessary to increase agricultural production by intensive cultivation and stepping up the yields per acre. It is on the basis of self-sufficiency in foodgrains and in raw materials for industrial use, that industry can progress rapidly. Progress in industrialisation, which is so necessary, is dependent on building up basic industries like steel, power, fuel and machine building.

Unemployment is a social evil and human tragedy. This can only be remedied by industrialisation on a large scale, both in the sphere of big industry and small and cottage industry. Meanwhile, every step should be taken to increase

opportunities for employment.

The progress of any country depends on the quality of its people and this quality is dependent on proper and widespread education and training. The educational process has to begin at ment of child should be an essential part of it.

While primary education is spreading rapid-

sult in the concentration of wealth and means of cial resources to continue their studies, especially in the scientific and technical fields. To In order to achieve higher standards for the such students, who are already in their career and have shown marked ability, the State should provide full opportunities, by way of scholarships or otherwise, so that they can continue their studies in the higher educational establishments.

It has been the settled policy of the Congress. for many years, even before the coming of independence, to develop village panchayats. This policy found expression in one of the directive principles of the Indian Constitution affirms that:-

"The State shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary enable them to function as units of Self-Government."

Village panchayats are not only the foundation of democracy in the country, but also secure the effective participation of the people in Government and the planned development of the country, so that the vast numbers of our people living in the rural areas should be intimately associated in these vital functions.

The Congress welcomes this movement congratulates the States which have already adopted it. It trusts that the remaining States in India will also establish Panchayat Raj in the course of this year.

Recent elections have shown that the tendency has been for young men and women of energy and ability to be chosen, overriding considerations of caste and community. With the new responsibilities and opportunities of effective service, there have been instances of young men going back to their villages. These panchayats are becoming solid foundations for democracy in the country and powerful instruments not only in the political, but also in the social and economic fields. The Panchayats as well as co-operatives are fit organs for implementing the object tives of our Five-Year Plans in the vast rural areas of India.

The Congress has noted with the earliest stage and thus the care and develop- that, as a rule, the Panchayat elections have no been run on party lines, and Congressmen offered themselves as candidates did so on ly in the country, facilities for higher education strength of their own individual merits and the and technical training are still limited and many broad policies they put forward. Polițical parties able and deserving students have not the finan- are inevitable in democracy, but it is not necessity and deserving students have not the finan- are inevitable in democracy, but it is not necessity and deserving students have not the finan- are inevitable in democracy, but it is not necessity and deserving students have not the finan- are inevitable in democracy, but it is not necessity and deserving students have not the finan- are inevitable in democracy, but it is not necessity and deserving students have not the finan- are inevitable in democracy, but it is not necessity and deserving students have not the finan- are inevitable in democracy, but it is not necessity and deserving students have not necessity and deserving students have necessity and deserving students have not necessity and deserving students have necessity and deserving students have not necessity and deserving students have not necessity and deserving students have necessity and deserving students

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THE EDITOR

Our Party System

the party in power has allowed the individual states to usurp the powers of the Indian Nation and has also permitted foreigners to forcibly occupy large areas within our territory. The opposition has put up a certain amount of noisy protest when they found the States behaving like independent nations but it was only vocal. They dared not do anything which might jeopardise their own stability or involve them in a show down which might assume uncontrollable proportions. They kept out of danger while uttering threats. In the matter of foreign occupation of Indian territory, the opposition appeared to welcome it; in so far as the foreign aggression at least "liberated" 20,000 square miles of Indian territory. In other words, the opposition approved of the foreign aggression and thought that it should have covered a larger area in order to be satisfactory. The Government and the opposition have both been pretty obnoxious over these matters of local defiances of the Indian Constitution and our meek acceptance of the foreign our motherland. The Indian public are now parties to maintain democracy in India.

State Control of India's Economy

Within the last several weeks we have country. The revision of the Indian Com- political party in India. pany's Act, the Act aimed at the control of the forward market and the attempt at Waking Up? linking up imports with forced exports all The Indian National Congress is now point to the desire of the Government to ready for harvesting its experiences of the

sary to extend their activities to these units of interfere with the freedom of the individual to engage in trade and commerce in any manner which was compatible with social morality as generally understood. In all democratic countries of the party Government were not attempting to remedy or parties in power ever relax in their anything which was blatantly injurious to vigilance to guard the country against society; nor were they improving the foreign aggression or disintegration from nation's financial or economic position by within caused by the growth of anti- their haphazard attacks on individual rights. national forces; the opposition certainly These efforts also have a flavour of random takes up the cudgel in behalf of the nation experiments in State Control, and have and forces the Government to take timely probably been suggested to be great social action against the forces of disruption or welfare measures by persons whose amateurthe foreign enemies. In India, however, ish approach to economic problems are now quite painful, annoying and becoming useless.

Zemindary Abolition

When the Zemindary system was abolished some years ago, the landlords lost their large holdings and all tenants of the landlords became direct tenants of the Government. It was then thought that this method of expropriating the landlords will lead to a better distribution of land in India. But recent enquiries have proved that those expectations were like castles in the air. The landlords disappeared and such as remained took good care to hold on to their own lands without admitting any tenants. The Government failed to distribute the lands they had nationalised to the cultivators and they also confiscated the lands held by many actual cultivators for failure to pay their rent to Government. The landlords in the past were more considerate than the Government today. In 1950, 50% of the cultivators held no land in their own right. In 1956, after all middle rights had been abolished, 57% of the cultivators were landarmies that are now occupying portions of less! The position of the cultivator had worsened and more actual tillers of the soil facing a total failure of the Indian political had to accept wage slavery. This is another example of our Government's failure to achieve their objectives in the field of socialism or even common justice and fair play. "Much cry and little wool" is an ancient had fresh and larger doses of governmental adage, which applies well in describing the interference with the economy of the Indian National Congress which is the ruling A. C.

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sure, be heavy; for they habitually sum up all their indiscretions and follies in the shape of resolutions of an ideal nature pointing in the opposite direction. The Congress have totally separated Ideals from Actions; and they are not changing their ways. This year there are references to certain evils which are the crowning achievements Congress, viz., Assam (without naming Assam), China (without naming China) and the Congress organisation (without naming it, again). Is this a sign of awakening?

Bonus in Industry

In India, just as the capitalists aim at maximum profit with the minimum effort; so do the labour. They want much pay, or bonus, and no work. The Government, in their turn, want much revenue, without stimulating the economic units, which yield the revenue. Rather, they want to eat into

year. Their crop of resolutions will, we are the capital of the country, by a progressi reduction of income and an increasing tortion of revenue. The workers, man man, have a productivity which is belinerefor 40% of the productivity of foreign worked They demand production bonus and prof develop sharing bonus without reference to produ tion or the factors which yield profit, incentive bonuses commence with a tard production which is about 50% of capaci call these bonuses incenti who fin one bonuses? If again, profits are entirely d to other factors and are earned in spite the easygoing ways of the workers, should one talk of profit-sharing bonuses, in the connection? India is a land of illustration and imaginary forces. Our Government e courage those unrealities; for they do n like the people to change over to fact finding from their time honoured habit of hitchin their wagon to the nebulae.

A. C.

-: 0 :--NEHRU'S "PARLIAMENT"

WHEN Mr. Nehru brought his Berubari Bill before his Parliament, the "democratic" procedure and the "popular" decision arrived at by the representatives of the "people" became a farce of the first degree. For, the Congress, which depends on the illiteracy of the poor and ignorant masses of India and maintains their ignorance and poverty with great care in order to remain in power; has got an overwhelming majority in the Indian Parliament by reason of the numerical strength of the representatives of the most backward States of India. The Congress has taken States one finds that they are pretty low and com good care to foist a Constitution on India which guarantees long life to Congress Raj in India. The House of the People, which passed the Berubari Bill in a sweeping manner at the dictation of the ruler of the Congress, Mr. Nehru, has 500 members of which the following allocations of seats are illuminating:

States	No	o. of	Description of	Punjab	15.23
	Se	eats	the State	Rajasthan	8.93
Assam			nti-Bengali State	Uttar Pradesh	10.80
Bihar		53 Hi	ndi-speaking	Delhi	38.36
Madhya	Pradesh	36 Hi	ndi-speaking		30.30
Orissa			t too friendly to Benga		
Punjab		22 Hi	adio. Snatuble Pombin 1641	ukullKangri Collection, Harid	war _{7.71}

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States	N	o. of	Descript	ion of
	S	eats	the S	State
Rajasthan		22	Hindi-speaking	State
Uttar Pra	desh	86	Hindi-speaking	State
Jammu &	Kashmir	6	Hindi State by	adoptio
Himachal	Pradesh	4	Hindi-speaking	State
Delhi		5	Hindi-speaking	State
Total		266		

Examining the literacy percentages of the pare unfavourably with the percentages of the other States which do not use Hindi as State language.

India	16.61	(avera	ge for	all	India
Assam	18.07				
Bihar	12.17				
Madhya Pradesh	9.83				
Orissa	15.80				
Punjab	15.23				
Rajasthan	8.93				
Uttar Pradesh	10.80				
Delhi	38.36	(with	large	num	ber of
		non-H	indi s	neak	ing .
ItrKangri Callection, Haridy	wor	Govern	ment	empl	oyees

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vorke of India, who want Indian Nationalism to workers of the beggars' syndicates. projected freely and unhampered by any low organisations are also run mainly by the people productions for establishing Hindi Raj in India or of the States named above.

productions for establishing Hindi Raj in India out Mr. Nehru's assertion of the States named above. ent e consideration.

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itchir backbone of the Congress, are, as we have stated, the least educated. They are also caste-ridden, superstitious and addicted to a variety ancient and medieval vices, which make these people a menace to themselves and to the rest of India. The number of dacoits that these States produce and the brazen manner in which terrorise honest people, reminds one of the days of the Thugis and Pindaris. And strangely enough these places were really at one time the criminals. Almost all the beggars, law-breakers, pet fancies. smugglers, dealers in stolen goods and hooligans own pet schemes; has made India a paradise for who can and will do anything if given smugglers, bootleggers and so forth; and most of hukum. All respectable men should refuse the persons who gain by these lawless commerce have such a Parliament.

All these least educated Hindi-speaking are the backwash from the States which are the tates, supported by the anti-national reaction- strongholds of the Congress. We may also nan paries of the Congress clique in other States are mention the traffic in women and the kidnapped than files of ruling India. The educated peoples children who are maimed to become the field

Mr. Nehru's assertion that the Indian ofit. for creating a blackmarketers, money-lenders, Constitution was based on the British System is tar targeters tax-evaders and other law-breakers only true superficially. The unwritten Constitar of the bazar blackmarketers, money lenders, Constitution was based on the British System is apaci smugglers, tax-evaders and other law-breakers only true superficially. The unwritten Constitution of Great Britain together with the enacted control over the Governments of the States or the Laws of that Constitution, cannot be described centre. The State Governments can do some as a legal imposition on the peoples of Great spite good to the people of the States but they are in Britain; for that Constitution and those laws shou the clutches of the Central clique who have have grown out of the wishes, desires, feelings in the created small coteries of Congressmen in all and sentiments of the British Nation. The Indian tratio States who willingly betray the motherland for a Constitution is an imposition upon the peoples of India, made by a non-representative body of The peoples of the States which are the persons to whom the British rulers of India handed over their imperial powers as a reward for their agreement to the partition of India. The Congress-appointed body which drew up the Indian Constitution has made a hash of our Freedoms. The British Constitution made those freedoms stronger. In India, Indian citizens can to-day be subjected to genocidal pogroms with the lawless elements there defy the law and the tacit support of the Indian Government. Nobody's life or property is safe anywhere in India and the only things which have any sanctity are Mr. Nehru's Plans, Mr. Nehru's Foreign Policy, homes of these large and organised bands of Mr. Nehru's Hindi expansionism and Mr. Nehru's

Mr. Nehru, while forcing the Berubari Bill in the big cities of India hail from the States through his own pocket Parliament, said he was described above. These men who go everywhere not aware of the human aspects of his agreeand spread disease and squalor are a danger to ment with Pakistan. He may one day, similarly, of the Indian civilisation and culture. If they are not give away the whole of West Bengal or East. put down or controlled now the time is not far Punjab to Pakistan by an agreement without of the people were intimidated in public restaurants to business is lawful, what can prevent him from pay money to toughs, who acted like gangsters alienating entire States in a similar manner? Indie The Nehru Government, by its sanctimonious He has said and his lawyers have said that the support of prohibition and by its unintelligent Parliament has the right of ceding territory. And policy of usurping all foreign exchange for its the Parliament means a body of Congressmen

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NETAJI SUBHAS BOSE

In compositive to Rrya sallis foundation Chennal and eGangotri By JOGES C. BOSE

where could the boy possibly have gone? A dedicate myself whole-heartedly to the Country failed to maintain a barrage of silence and evasions, it came out that he felt restless and was on pins and needless to hear of the outbreak of a severe epidemic of cholera at Puri, and stole away from the house to do social service there. He could not just prolong his stay, because of the annual examination which was to take place within a week.

This is Subhas Bose plunging headlong into what he had set his heart on. He was then aged barely thirteen and was reading in a Christian Missionary School at Cuttack, where his father was the Government pleader. Three years later, the boy again decamped, and this time in search of a spiritual guide at some holy places Northern India and in the Himalayas. As he came back disappointed, but not a jot of his fervour for a knowledge and understanding the Power eternal, Power unknown, uncreate abated, he chanced to come under the compelling influence of the writings of Swami Viveka nanda.

'Star to star vibrates light, . May soul to soul strike through a finer element of her own?'

Subhas made the final choice. He accepted life of action in preference to the life of a mystic.

Civil Service examination, standing fourth notable in view of the fact that preparation for period of no less than three years.

THERE was an intense commotion in the house, had struck. Subhas wrote his brother Sarat It yielded to a sense of consternation. In fact, C. Bose, 'I must chuck this rotten service and feeling of alarm was gradually creeping in. Had cause, or I must bid adieu to all my ideals and he been decoyed by one of the boy-lifters, whose aspirations.' He resigned his 'post' in May, 192 surreptitious exploits circulated from mouth to and hurried back to India and reported himsel mouth and, not unoften, in newspapers? The to Gandhiji. The Non-Co-operation movemen local Police and distant relations were alerted. was, by now, rapidly spreading all round the Six or seven days later, the truant hero of the Country. He had a long, threadbare discussion episode broke in upon the family, in the grip with Gandhiji regarding the wherewithals of the of excruciatingly painful misgivings. As he fight. What chilled him was that Gandhi was not prepared to go to any length, nor could he indicate the successive stages campaign. The first rush of ardour checked, he doubtless felt 'depressed and disappointed,' obeyed Gandhiji he says. All the same, he came to Calcutta and placed himself at the disposal of C. R. Das. C. R. Das was the mar to rise equal to the demands of his challenging personality.

Subhas started his political life as Principal and the Publicity National College the Bengal Provincial Congress Officer of His, again, was the initiative to Committee. form the National Volunteers Corps, of which he was the Captain. The Government, in no time, declared the Congress Volunteer Oragnisation to be illegal. The Congress replied by calling upon all members of the Congress to enlist themselves into the Volunteers Corps Subhas was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment—the first baptism, so to speak. I 1924, the Congress, under the leadership of C R. Das, captured the Calcutta Corporation and Subhas was appointed the Chief Executive Officer. His first act was to cut down his own salary by 50 per cent. The same year Subha was arrested under the Bengal Ordinance. After two months in the Alipur Central Jail, he was sent over to Mandalay, where he was kept He passed his B.A. and came second in the solitary confinement for a good length of time Philosophy Honours Course. He then went to He broke down in health such as to develop England and passed, in eight months, the Indian alarming conditions of tuberculosis. He rejected Government for his in the offer of the Bengal order of merit. The result is all the more release on condition that he went straight to Switzerland for treatment. In explaining the I.C.S. entailed, for men of the calibre of refusal, he wrote Sarat Bose to request their Romes C. Dutt and Surendranath Banerjee, a parents to accept his trials and tribulations as divine dispensation, and to assure them that, 50 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, of South far as he was concerned he was having perfect African fame, had by the time, sounded the peace of mind, sustained by the consciousnes clarion call that the hour coldineration of commission landian kentgril collection, disridy at his penance for the Nation

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conception of values, is worth a close study. "Ideas", he says, "will work out their own destiny and we, who are but clods of clay encasing sparks of the divine fire, have only to consecrate ourselves to these ideas. A life so consecrated is bound to fulfil itself, regardless of the vicissitudes of our material and bodily existence. My faith in the ultimate triumph of the idea for which I stand is unflinching, and I am, therefore, not troubled by the thoughts about my health and future prospects. It is for providence to ordain who of us should live to witness the consummation of all our efforts and labours; and, as for myself, I am content live my life and leave the rest to Destiny."

In the meantime C. R. Das died, June, 1925. C. R. Das was, to Subhas, only next to Swami light-fountain'-as fliving Vivekananda, the Carlyle of Heroes and Hero-worship would have it-of his perennial inspiration. C. R. Das's last passionate plea was for Dominion Status under the aegies of the British Crown. This he enunciated with the warmth of a religious conviction in the presence of Gandhiji-and Gandhiji nodding assent-in the Bengal Provincial Conference at Faridpur. It is significant, and it is for all time an unerring index, which highlights the character and individuality Subhas, that nothing could possibly stand in the way of his speaking out what he conceived to be in the best interest of the Country. As he came Chief, he rejected his Dominion Status outright. The largest possible factor to influence his decision was that it would not mitigate the agony of British Capitalist exploitation in India. Here, by the way, is a point of crucial, fundamental difference between Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose. Nehru, in his relations with Gandhiji, allowed his heart to govern his head. would not yield to anybody, where the question of principle, to the best of his light and conviction, was concerned. "You are thwarting me, Mahatmaji," said Subhas. Gandhiji stared him and then said with the benign smile which was his, What to speak of me, even God cannot thwart you.' I cannot imagine a better token of appreciation. And it indicates the stature of both the men. There was, however, no dearth impossible things one is alleged Ptendros and an activated Kangn Collection, Haridwar

A portion of the letter, in which is revealed his the other about Gangothe point at issue. Next to inwardness, and which, in fact, bears on his rejecting Deminion Status, Subhas urged the Congress to run a parallel Government and supplement it by energising the dull despair of the labour and peasant mass. It is interesting to recall that Subhas, on his way-back after his resignation from the Indian Civil Service, was travelling in the same boat with Tagore. gathered that Tagore preferred a stout line action, much in the manner of the Sinn Fein's 'State within a State'.

After convalescence, when Subhas was for active life, he was elected President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. I would fain draw a veil over the silly squabbles that plagued Bengal Politics, reflecting, personalities apart, the sharp conflict in the ideology of the and Left, compendiously between those who swore by Gandhiji at all events, and those who would not. That conflict focussed into the Tripuri fiasco over Subhas C. Bose's Congress Presidentship, in the teeth Gandhiji's truculent opposition. But before proceed to this, it needs being stated that Subhas, as a member of the Motilal Nehru Committee, gave his note of dissent on the question of Dominion Status. He sponsored the Resolution for complete Independence in the 1928 Calcutta Congress. It was turned down by Gandhiji who, however, accepted it the following year in the Lahore Congress under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Two years seemed to be too wide a gap out of prison, still immersed in grief for his between Subhas and the prison house. And I need hardly mention how many times since now (1930) he was under imprisonment or detention. It constituted a routine of his life of sleepless activities. But, after all, there is a limit to a man's power of endurance and he, again, fell seriously ill. The Government offered release, on condition that he immediately left for Europe. It soon became obvious why Subhas so readily agreed to this now. At Vienna, he and Vithalbhai Patel discussed India and jointly issued a statement adjudging Gandhiji a failure. Patel died making him a trustee of one lakh of rupees -might have been a larger amount-for his propaganda work in foreign lands. Vithalbhai's brother, Vallabbhai, took precious good care to see to it that Subhas never got the money. During this European tour, he was received by Hitler, of peolpe to din into their ears what possible, whom he asked point-blank, "When are you

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ousnes Nation asked by Gandhiji to prepare for accepting the The minority may not obstruct on any account. Presidentship of the Congress, due to be held at Haripura in February, 1938.

"Since then", says Subhas, "Pandit Jawaharlal ordinary understanding that there was running them down.

Subhas, got himself elected Congress President for the second time, even though Gandhiji and the Right-Wing leadership, to a man, had opposed it. Gandhiji issued a statement to say, I must confess that, from the very beginning, was deadly against his re-election. Since I was

Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennai and eGangotri arms simultaneously against her?"—War which I stand. I rejoice in this defeat. The mino. time speech, On To Delhi. In April, 1936, as rity can only wish the policy and programme of he reached Bombay, he was arrested and taken the majority all success. If they cannot keep pace to Kurseong for detention. After release, he was with it, they must come out of the Congress. . .

It is a noble announcement, gentleman's word of honor, in the sentences in It is quite a pertinent question: Why should italics, which are mine. It is, however, a matter have Gandhiji chosen as President the most un- of profound regret that Gandhiji failed to see to compromising apostle of Leftism. What Subhas it that those who stood by him respected this. In himself says in respect of Jawaharlal in identical fact, he did not budge an inch to bridle the excontext is suggestive of reflections. "Since his cesses of his valiant proteges, who moved, and (Nehru's) return from Europe", says Subhas in had a Resolution passed in the open session of The Indian Struggle, "in December, 1927, Pandit the Congress at Tripuri, which completely set at Jawaharlal began to call himself a socialist and naught the letter and the spirit of the announcegive expression to views hostile towards Mahatma ment, and humiliated the duly elected President Gandhi and the older leaders and to ally himself of the Congress. It bound him to Gandhiji's in his public activities with the Left-Wing oppo- approval in the formation of his Working Comsition within the Congress. But for his strenuous mittee and for his policy. Rabindranath Tagore, advocacy, it would not have been possible for even if so all at the time, chafed at the wanton the Independence League to attain the importance unseemliness of the position and wrote Gandhiji it had." Gandhiji brushed aside the recommenda- to "beware of the rude hands which have deeply tion of the majority of the Provincial Congress hurt Bengal with an ungracious persistence". Committees voting him to the chair; brushed Gandhiji wrote to Subhas: "The more I study it aside the superior claims of Sardar Patel, but (Govind Vallabh Pant's Resolution) the more I backed the candidature of Jawaharlal Nehru. dislike it". It was, however, obvious to the most Nehru has been a consistent and unfailing sup- enough punch to disturb Patel, Pant, Rajagopalaporter of the Mahatma". Any way, India owes to chari and those who trooped at their heels. Azad, Subhas, the President of the Haripura Congress, always against Patel, was at one with him in this the National Planning of India. Of topical Subhas-baiting, Jawaharlal Nehru was not in this interest, he installed a Congress Coalition Minis- group, but was not, for all practical purposes, try in Assam, even if Patel, the President of the against them. Rajendra Prasad observed, when Parliamentary Board, was against it. This, in the election result was out, that they would wait fact, saved Assam gliding, under the astute to see if Subhas made any change in the Congress leadership of Md. Sadullah, into the orbit of the programme, but as pliantly he lined up with Muslim League rule. On the debit side, as Con- Patel. And it will always remain a moot point if gress President Subhas dealt harshly with Nariman Gandhiji, who suffered no idleness in his words, and Khare. It is a pity that he could not see did stretch himself to the full length of his disthrough this game of how Patel was bent upon like and commitment. To respect perspective, Subhas was, during those days, very very ill of broncho-Pneumonia and intestinal infection, as Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar thought fit to declare, by a bulletin, apprehending the likelihood either physical collapse or fresh and aggravated attack of acute infection'.

After one long strenuous attempt to induce instrumental in inducing Dr. Pattabhi not to Gandhiji to mediate, Subhas tendered his resignawithdraw his name as a candidate, the defeat is tion. Within a month he started a new Party, The more mine than his. And I am nothing if I do Forward Block, and took to organising the Leftdefinite principles and policy. Wing Congressites, who had behaved like a Therefore it is plain to me that the delegates do motley crowd at Tripuri. In carrying on his innot approve of the principos of the prin

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willingness to strike Britain during the war-the ing of Germany's interest, for India". resolve stands belied by his symbolic Civil Diswork out the traditional technique that the enemy of our enemy is our friend and ally.

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Dressed as a moulvi, with beard forty days old, in tight pyjamas, a sherwani and a fez cap, he set out of his Calcuttta residence, closely guarded and spied on by the Police. He motored up to a Railway Station, some 40 miles off, and left for Peshawar, and from there on to Kabul. He could not stand the horrible food and the living conditions of a serai and its dirty environment, and he fell seriously ill. His Russian contacts failed, but through the help of the German Legation, he flew to Berlin, clean shaven and in European constume. He had, by the way, arranged his escape with such consummate skill that it was fully ten days later, on the 26th January, 1941, that the people of Calcutta came to know about the event, because he failed to appear to answer the charge of sedition. After some adjournments, the Government put up for auction his Calcutta house, but no bidder being available, it was abandoned.

Subhas was enthusiastically accepted in Berlin as a collaborator. He, straightaway, devoted himself to raising a "Free Indian Unit" from among the Indian prisoners of war. He also opened the Azad Hind Radio Station. So wide and comprehensive was his vision, and so nently practical in outlook was he, that he also set some Indians, with special aptitude, to study the social and economic problems of "free India". Hugh Toye, in The Springing Tiger, cites the authority of some leading German papers to say that, "He was no Axis-apologist; his concern was with India and India's Freedom; when his task was done he would return home." Paul Lever-

stem the tide of what he called 'constitutional- Military Intelligence*, that "Bose was, in no way, ism' in the Congress, and make it strike when a collaborator, in the evil sense which the word the iron was hot, he came in, as it was inevitable, has acquired of recent years; rather was he a for a head-on clash with the Government. Harried true Indian patriot with but one idea, who was by prosecutions, one after the other, and getting prepared to do nothing for Germany's sake, but progressively restless with Gandhiji's chronic un- anything and everything, including the harness-

Japan entered the War in December, 1941. obedience, announcing from street-comers that The Indian revolutionary exile, Rashbehari Bose, the War had been forced down the throat of India took to organising the Indian Independence and, later on, by his "Quit India" call in 1942, League, and he gathered together, at a conference Subhas resolved to force the issue on the dynam- at Bangkok, Indians of all walks of life, as well ism that the War was India's one chance. He felt as those of the Indian Army, who had been left convinced that Civil Disobedience was not enough, in the lurch by the British forces, after the fall nor was the cult of bomb and pistol. He made of Singapore. They decided to raise the Indian the momentous decision to get out of India, and National Army to fight for India's Independence, from its base in South-East Asia, with the aid of Japan. With that end in view, they invited Subhas Bose to come over to them and take the lead. It was in a submarine that Subhas reached Sumatra in ninety days after hairbreadth escapes from torpedoes under the sea and enemy naval crafts on the surface. The boat had not enough space to admit anybody's moving about without disturbing the ever-wakeful crew, watching the danger points; and Subhas kept himself cribbed and confined in a corner. As the saga of his life, since 2nd July, 1943, when he alighted at Singapore, to the 18th August, 1945, when the plane, carrying him, crashed at Taihoku in Formosa, was revealed at the I.N.A. Trial at Delhi, History assigned to him, an honoured place in the calendar of the sturdy liberators of nations in bondage.

It needs to be stated, here and now, that before Subhas left for the Far-East, he acknowledged, in a letter to Sarat Bose, his wife Fraulein Schenkl and their infant daughter; Anità. As he started work in Germany, raising the Indian Army and doing sundry other things, she was his first appointment as Secretary. Much earlier, in 1934, she had helped Subhas in writing The Indian Struggle. It is silly to get squeamish over his marriage. Rather, I should think, that it adds to his height that, again, at the first Call of his Country, he shed all the new-found attachment, a normal human being is heir to.

Immediately after arriving at Singapore, he set about doing a lot of things in quick succession. Indicative of his high-powered thinking with an infinite capacity for taking pains to

^{*}The book is translated into English by kuehn says in that revealing document, German R. H. Stevens and Constantine Fitzgibbon.

translate this into action, he assumed the leader-But such was the impact of his name and and inspiration, which character that the patriotic sons and daughters Military with the spirit for all time, read like an epic for the heroic reinforcement of British troops to dered; and there was the plane disaster.

and later on joined the I.N.A. and became the so happily noted by Gandhiji, recked no conse-Minister of Publicity and Propaganda—says in quence in gathering under Netaji's banner, 25 his Unto Him A Witness, 'I saw Netaji in his the spiritual foundation of all strength, for the unique greatness combining the highest qualifies liberation of their motherland. of a soldier, statesman, leader, man and, greatest of all, humanitarian, in those unforgettable there weeks of peril in the jungles of Burma-Thai border'.

Even before all these tales of unremitting ship of the Indian Independence Movement. He toils, tears, blood and devotion reached India became the Supreme Commander of the I.N.A., with all the wealth in detail, Gandhiji changed inaugurated the Government of Azad Hind, towards Subhas, lock, stock and barrel. Abul formed the Rani of Jhansi Regiment-Civil and Kalam Azad says in India Wins Freedom that Military, etcetera, etcetera, such as to inspire Gandhiji was all-affection whenever Subhas was Japan to cede to his Government, the Andaman mentioned. 'His admiration for Subhas Bose' and Nicobar Islands, they had captured from the says he, 'unconsciously coloured his view about British Power; he next launched his first the whole war-situation.' Gandhiji even countered offensive on Indian soil. All the aforesaid he Azad to say that, if the Japanese landed in India accomplished in eight and half months-from they would not come as her enemy. The change 2nd July, 1943, to 18th March, 1944, out of what is strikingly noteworthy, because over the was, for all practical purposes, a vacuum Tripuri Congress, the chasm between the two militarily. He had his headquarters closest to looked complete. Over the distant Azad Hind the firing line, and faced, like the rest of the Radio, Subhas hailed Gandhiji as 'the Father of Army, machine-gun, nay, carpet-bombing. His the Nation', even if it is an anachronism histori-Generals were, in fact, hard put to it making him cally. To the Indian National Army, beaten back seek cover, which he would never do till others but covered with glory, Gandhiji paid the wellhad. His forces were within three miles of merited tribute of honour,-"You have failed Imphal, Assam. Mountbatten began pouring in in your direct objective to defeat the British, reinforcements relentlessly by air, which facility but you have the satisfaction that the whole he could not ever command. There were too Country has been roused and even the regular sudden torrential downpours, rendering I.N.A. forces have begun to think in terms of lines a vast sheet of water. Supplies were difficult Independence"-(My italics). Britain for one to move and came to a standstill in various hundred and ninety years, since Plassey down sectors. The I.N.A. pressed back. Malaria and to the day she surrendered her scepter, sustained dysentry broke out in a virulent form and pre- her domination by resting her guns on Indian cipitated the debacle. Netaji minced no matters. shoulders. It was Netaji Subhas Bose's sinews imbued the Indian 'About Face' to of of India poured in more money and materials British Commands as the supreme test of their into his war-chest. But the British forces, by patriotism. The Labour Government took a not the sheer strength of machinery and equipment, of it. Sir Stafford Cripps, as Chancellor of the outflanked the I.N.A. and crashed their way Exchequer, confessed, without any mental reinto Rangoon. The trek-back to Bangkok shall, servation, to the 'absurdity of considerable of the I.N.A. and its Supreme administrative responsibility.'-Debate on Indian Commander. Subhas, at this stage, walked 21 Independence Bill in the House of Commons miles with boiling blisters, but would not make The I.N.A. even in its disintegration, did India use of any transport, because it could not be the signal service of hastening the end of British provided for all.* Soon after, Japan surren- rule; and its great architect stands for all time as a symbol of transcendental dedication. At a time when India was torn asunder by internecing strifes, millions of Indians in South-East Asia, *S. A. Ayer—he was Reuter's correspondent without a sting of communalism or parochialism

Living or dead, he lives for ever.

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THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA:

A Note1

By Prof. D. N. BANERJEE

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, has been authority. In America, the legislature and 28th November, 1960, in the course of his speech on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the Indian Law Institute, that "a close study should be made of the powers of the President of India under the Constitution" (of India); that "in equating the powers of the President with those of the British Monarch, the Constitution was being wrongly interpreted"; that "there is no provision in the Constitution which in so many words lays down that the President shall be bound to act in accordance with the advice of his Council of Ministers"; that "the Indian Constitution was often being wrongly interpreted on the lines of the British Constitution"; and that "it was a pity that people in this country had got used to relying on precedents of England to such an extent that it seemed 'almost sacrilegious' to have a different interpretation even if conditions and circumstances in India might seem to require different interpretation." The implications this statement in the context of the present setup of things are very clear. The points raised, however, in this statement had been anticipated and answered by Dr. Rajendra Prasad himself in another capacity a little over eleven years ago. Addressing the Constituent Assembly of India as its President on 26th November, 1949, stated:3

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"We have provided for the election of the We have provided for an elected legislature which is going to have supreme

reported by the Press2 to have stated at Delhi on President are both elected and, there both have more or less equal powers-each in its or his own sphere, the President in the executive sphere and the legislature in the legislative sphere. adopt considered whether we should American model or the British model where we have a hereditary King who is the fountain of all honour and power, but who does not actually enjoy any power. All the power rests in the Legislature to which the Ministers are responsible. We have had to reconcile the position of an elected President with an elected Legislature and, in doing so, we have adopted more or less the position of the British Monarch for the President His position is that of a Concome to the stitutional President. Then we They are of course responsible to the Legislature and tender advice to the President who is bound to act according to that advice. Although there are no specific provisions, so far as I know, in the Constitution itself making it binding on the President to accept the advice of his Ministers, it is hoped that the convention under which in England the King acts always on the advice of his Ministers will be established in this country also and, the President, not so much on account of the written word in the Constitution, but as the result of this very healthy convention, will become a Constitutional President in all matters."

We may also note in this connexion what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, had stated before the Constituent Assembly on 4th November, 1948, while introducing the Draft of the new Constitution of India as settled by the Drafting Committee. Among other things, he had said :4

"What is the form of Government that 2. See The Statesman, Calcutta, of 29th envisaged in the Constitution? In the

November, 1960.

^{1.} Also see in this connexion the present writer's article entitled Position of the President of India, in The Modern Review for June, 1950, as his article Presidency in The Political Quarierly, London, entitled The Indian for January-March, 1955.

^{3.} See the Constituent Assembly Debates of 26th November, 1949, p. 988.

^{4.} See the Constituent Assembly Debates of 4th November, 1948, pp. 31-32.

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the President of the Union. The title of this Even a jurist like Sir John functionary reminds one of the President of the admitted: United States. But beyond identity of names Nation but does not rule the Nation. He is the tional law." symbol of the Nation. His place in the administendered to him by any of his Secretaries. The tutional matters is often untrue to fact. President of the Indian Union will be generally Ever since the commencement of our present bound by the advice of his Ministers. He can Constitution on 26th January, 1950—we may go do nothing contrary to their advice; nor can he even further back and say that ever since the do anything without their advice. The President Transfer of Power on 15th August, 1947, our of the United States can dismiss any Secretary system of Government, both at the Centre and in at any time. The President of the Indian Union the constituent States (formely Provinces), has has no power to do so, so long as his Ministers been worked on the principles of the Parliamen command a majority in Parliament."

Dr. Ambedkar had expressed before the Consti- Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Ambedkar before the tuent Assembly in regard to the (proposed) Indian Presidency were perfectly in accordance Presidency, as quoted above, have received an with the spirit of our new Constitution, as unequivocal judicial recognition framed by the Assembly. After all, we must remember that the Constitution of a country is not to be found in its law alone, and that what Maitland* has called "rules of constitutional p. 141.

Draft Constitution there is placed at the head of morality, or the customs of the conventions" the Indian Union a functionary who is called a Constitution, make up a substantial part of Salmond⁵ ha

"The constitution (of a State) as seen h there is nothing in common between the form of the eye of the law may not agree in all point Government prevalent in America and the form with the objective reality. Much constitution: of Government proposed under the Draft Con- doctrine may be true in law but not in fact, a The American form of Government true in fact but not in law. Power may exist is called the Presidential system of Government. de jure but not de facto, or de facto but not de What the Draft Constitution proposes is the jure . . . Nowhere is this discordance between Parliamentary system. The two are fundamen- the constitution in fact and in law more serioutally different. Under the Presidential system of and obvious than in England. A statement America, the President is the Chief Head of the strict legal theory of the British constitution Executive. The administration is vested in him. would differ curiously from a statement of the Under the Draft Constitution the President actual facts. Similar discrepancies exist, howoccupies the same position as the King under the ever, in most other states. A complete account English Constitution. He is the Head of the of a constitution, therefore, involves a statement State but not of the Executive. He represents the of constitutional custom as well as of constitu-

Indeed, in regard to constitutional questions tration is that of a ceremonial device on a seal one must, as Bagehot did in his English Constiby which the Nation's decisions are made known. tution, make "a resolute effort", to quote the Under the American Constitution the President words of Lord Balfour,6 "to penetrate the legal has under him Secretaries in charge of different forms and ceremonial trappings" till one reache Departments. In like manner the President of the core of the political system of a country. the Indian Union will have under him Ministers That is to say, one must penetrate "through in charge of different Departments of adminis- external forms to administrative realities"tration. Here again there is a fundamental through "outward shows" to the "inner verities" difference between the two. The President of the of a Constitution, before one can form a proper United States is not bound to accept any advice view of it. A purely legalistic view of consti-

tary Form of Government. Moreover, The views which Dr. Rajendra Prasad and principles as well as the views expressed by Dr. Constituent Assembly, in regard to the Indian Supreme Court in its unanimous judgment, dated

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⁽Cambridge, 1941), p. 398.

^{5.} See his Jurisprudence, 10th Edn., 1947,

^{6.} See his Introduction to Walter Bagehot's * See his Constitutional History of England English Constitution (Oxford, 1945), pp. XIII and XXI.

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between the Union on the one hand and the in each State that carries ecutive function means and implies. Ordinarily executive as in England and the Council governmental functions that remain after legis- of the legislature is, like the British Cabinet, Executive Government can function under the the virtual control of both legislative much difficulty by reference to the form of the executive which our Constitution has set up. Our Constitution, though federal in its structure, is modelled on the British Parliamentary system where the executive is deemd to have the primary responsibility for the formulation of governmental policy and its transmission into law though the condition precedent to the exercise of this responsibility is its retaining the confidence of the legislative branch of the State. The executive function comprises both the determination of the policy as well as carrying it into execution. This evidently includes the initiation of legislation, the maintenance of order, the promotion of social and economic welfare, the direction of foreign policy, in fact the carrying on or supervision of the general administration of the State.

"In India, as in England, the executive has to act subject to the control of the legislature; but in what way is this control exercised by the legislature? Under Article 53(1) of our Constitution, the executive power of the Union is

7. The judgment was delivered by Chief Justice Mukherjea. See The Supreme Court Reports, 1955, 2 S.C.R., Part I, July-August, 1955 1955, pp. 225-42, and particularly pp. 230-37.

12th April, 1955, in Rai Sahib Ram Jawara Simal Foundation Change and President, but under Article 75† 12th April, Others V. The State of Punjab. Thus there is to be a Council of Ministers with the we find in the judgment, among other things: Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise "Article 73 of the Constitution relates to the President in the exercise of his functions. executive powers of the Union, while the corres- The President has thus been made a formal or ponding provision in regard to the executive constitutional head of the executive and the real powers of a State is contained in Article 162. . . . executive powers are vested in the Ministers or Neither of these Articles contain (sic) any the Cabinet. The same provisions obtain in definition as to what the executive function is regard to the Government of States; the Governor and what activities would legitimately come or the Rajpramukh, as the case may be, occupies within its scope. They are concerned primarily the position of the head of the executive in the with the distribution of the executive power State but it is virtually the Council of Ministers on the executive States on the other It may not be possible Government. In the Indian Constitution, thereto frame an exhaustive definition of what ex- fore, we have the same system of parliamentary the executive power connotes the residue of Ministers consisting, as it does, of the members lative and judicial functions are taken away hyphen which joins, a buckle which fastens the The Executive Government, however, can never legislative part of the State to the executive go against the provisions of the Constitution or part.' The Cabinet enjoying, as it does, a of any law The limits within which the majority in the legislature concentrates in itself Indian Constitution can be ascertained without executive functions; and as the Ministers constituting the Cabinet are presumably agreed fundamentals and act on the principle collective responsibility, the most important questions of policy are all formulated by them."8

The Supreme Court has taken a correct view of the relationship between the President of India and his Council of Ministers. Our system of Government at the Centre under the present Constitution of India has been modelled upon the system of Government obtaining in England today. The position of the Indian President is, and was really intended by the authors of the Constitution (including Dr. Rajendra Prasad) to be, analogous to that of the Crown in the English Constitution. Like the Monarchy in England, but unlike the American Presidency, the Indian Presidency is practically 'a convenient working hypothesis.' That is to say, like the English Monarch the Indian President is the constitutional Head of the governmental system of India-its titular chief Executive and its 'dignified' part; whereas the Council of Ministers at the Centre in India with the Prime Minister at its head, constitutes, like the Cabinet Council. or simply the Cabinet, 'under the Presidency of

[†] Obviously, read along with Article 74(1) of the Constitution.

The italics in this quotation are ours.

a Prime Minister: in England, the real central Besides, apart from the intimate knowledge Executive. This is the essence of the system of of British constitutional history and British Government now at the Indian Centre, whatever political institutions possessed by many of our may be the letter of the law about it.

This is not the place for a detailed comparison between the Parliamentary Form of Government as it obtains in England, and the Presidential Form of Government as it obtains in the United States. (Presumably Dr. Rajendra Prasad had the latter in mind when he addressed the Indian Law Institute). We cannot resist, however, the temptation of quoting here a few lines from what a distinguished American Woodrow publicist—we mean Wilson⁹—has stated in regard to the Presidential Form of Government. "Our federal executive and legislature," he has observed, "have been shut off from co-operation and mutual confidence to an extent to which no other modern system furnishes a parallel. In all other modern governments the heads of the administrative departments are given the right to sit in the legislative body and to take part in its proceedings. The legislature and executive are thus associated in such a way that the ministers of state can lead the houses (of the legislature) without dictating to them, and the ministers themselves be controlled without being misunderstood,-in such a way that two parts of the government which should most closely co-ordinated, the part, namely, by which the laws are made and the part by which the laws are executed, may be kept in close harmony and intimate co-operation, coherence to the action of the one and energy to the action of the other."

9. See Woodrow Wilson, The State, 1919, pp. 377-78.

of British constitutional history and British political institutions possessed by many of ou intellectuals, we have become, to a considerable extent, familiar with the working of the parlia mentary system of Government ever since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and particularly from the 15th of August, 1947 In a sense, the President of India succeeded to the traditions set up by the Governor-General of the Dominion of India. He is today the Head of the Indian State: but his Prime Minister is the real Head of the Government of India. He stands to borrow Professor Earnest Barker's language used in another connexion, immune, like the British Monarch, "from criticism, from challenge, and from dispute." "Responsibility, criticism, challenge, and the danger of dismissal," are, as in England. "all transferred" to his Prime Minister.

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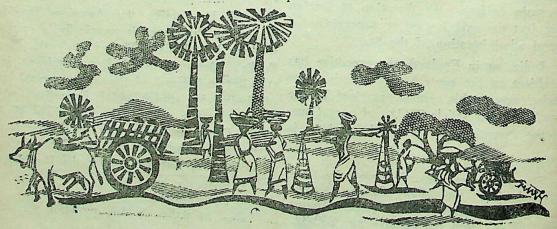
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We do not know what led Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, virtually to repudiate what he had solemnly stated as the President of the Constituent Assembly of India on 26th November, 1949, with regard to the question of the relation of the future President of India to his Council of Ministers. There is, however, an important aspect of this matter. If the fundamental principles relating to our constitutional system are challenged and re-opened from time to time by people in highly responsible positions. there would be no finality to anything and everything would be in a state of flux. would not augur well either for the stability and vigour of our governmental system or for the future progress of our country.

10. See his Essays on Government, 1946, p. 3.



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PREVENTIVE DETENTION UNDER THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By PROBAL KUMAR DUTT

Within less than a month of the coming into being of the constitution of a free India the Provisional Parliament enacted the first Preventive Detention Act (Act IV of 1950), which became effective on the 25th February, 1950, and was designed to cease after 14 months on the 1st April, 1951. A. K. Gopalan, the Communist Leader, who was detained under the provisions of this Act, moved a habeas corpus application before the Supreme Court, inter alia challenging the constitutional validity of the Preventive Detention Act. The Supreme Court delivered its judgment in this case—the first case under our Constitution—on the 19th May, 1959 and by a majority judgment upheld its validity. Sec. 14, however, which prohibited under threat of penalty the divulgence of the grounds of detention, if supplied, by the detenu to the court, was declared ultra vires. The Preventive Detention (Amendment) Act (L of 1950) subsequently repealed Sec. 14. By subsequent Acts the life of the Preventive Detention Act was, and is being, renewed from time to time, and other changes introduced, e.g., by the P.D. (Amendment) Act (IV of 1951)1 the life of the 1950 Act was extended till the 1st April, 1952 and the Advisory Board given more powers. Today, the position of the P.D. Act is similar to the commonly found description of many government jobs-'post temporary, but likely to continue indefinitely'.

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Let us now examine the constitutional provisions regarding Acts providing for preventive detention. But before we do so, it would be better if we were to first make a brief study of the nature of preventive detention, and contrast it with punitive detention. As the terms themselves signify, the latter means that the detention is a punishment for a crime committed and so established before a competent court of law. Preventive detention, on the other hand, is detention based on the apprehension—naturally, of the executive—that the person concerned will

be causing some undesirable mischief unless prevented from so doing by being put into custody. In other words, punitive detention is the result of a sentence by a competent court for the distinct breach of a specific law; preventive detention is the outcome of executive fiat, the arbitrariness of which is somewhat regulated by the legislature and by the Court. As Justice Mukherjee aptly put it in Gopalan's case—"A Person is punitively detained only after a trial for committing a crime and after his guilt has been established in a competent court of justice Preventive detention, on the other hand, is not a punitive but a precautionary measure. The object is not to punish a man for having done something but to intercept him before he does it and to prevent him from doing it. No offence is proved, nor any charge formulated; and the justification is suspicion or reasonable probability and not criminal conviction which only can be warranted by legal evidence."2

Part III of our Constitution deals with the Fundamental Rights. Articles 19 and 21 thereof deal with the rights of an individual regarding personal freedom. Restrictions imposed on the enumerated rights in Article 19, e.g., the right to freedom of speech and expression, (i) must be 'reasonable' and (ii) must be for one or more of the grounds mentioned in Art. 19 clauses 2-6, e.g., reasonable restrictions might be imposed on the freedom of speech in the interests of the security of the State.'

The Courts can inquire both as to the grounds on which the restrictions are sought to be imposed on the rights specified in Art. 19, Clause (1) (a) to (g), as well as the reasonableness of such restrictions; and a restrictive measure not satisfying the Court on any or both of these grounds may be declared ultra vires by it.

Act 21 guarantees that—'No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except

^{1.} Secs. 9(1) and 11(2), Act. IV of 1951.

A. K. Gopalan Vs. State of Madras, 1950 S. C. R. 88.

Gopalan's case3 it was contended that Act IV of natural justice, etc. : 1950 placed unreasonable restrictions on Art. 19 (1) (d) and was ultra vires on that among other grounds. The Supreme Court rejected contention that Arts. 19 and 21 dealt with same subject. As Justice Patanjali Shastri (as he then was) put it-'that the citizen to whom the possession of these Fundamental Rights [rights mentioned in Art. 19 (1) (a) to (g) is secured retains the substratum of personal freedom which alone the enjoyment of these rights That is, on the grounds necessarily rests'.4 mentioned in Art. 19 Clauses (2) to (6) the State may put reasonable restrictions on the rights specified therein in clause (1) (a) to (g). But even if the restricted rights be incompatible with the freedom of the community the State is empowered by Art. 21, subject to the safeguards provided by Art. 22, to deprive the individual of his life and personal liberty in accordance with 'procedure established by law.'5 And since "'Procedure established by Law' must be taken to refer to a procedure which has a statutory origin . . . ",6 the Courts have no authority to inquire into the validity of such a measure, a right which is given to the U.S. Supreme Court regarding all measures affecting similar rights by virtue of the 'due process clause' of the 5th and 14th amendments of the U.S. Constitution. When action has been taken under such a law providing for preventive detention the court may satisfy itself on the following four points only:

(a) Whether the detention is authorised by any statutory provision or not;

(b) Whether the said law is a valid law or not;

(c) What is the procedure prescribed by such

(d) Whether or not the essential requirements of the prescribed procedure have been fulfilled.

The question of the validity of the law permitting total deprivation of the life and personal liberty of an individual is to be judged following grounds alone, and not, as on the

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid p. 191.

6. Shastri J., in Gopalan's case at p. 199.

according to procedure established by law. In stated above, on grounds of reasonableness,

(i) Whether or not the law has been duly passed by a competent legislature; and

(ii) Whether or not the measure violates any other provision of Part III, e.g., Art. 22.

Any statutory provision aiming at the deprivation of the life and personal liberty of any individual must satisfy Art. 22. Art. 19 applies only to citizens, Art. 21 to all citizens and noncitizens alike, and Art. 22 classifies all persons into 3 groups, viz:

(1) Enemy aliens to whom no privileges have been secured.7 Similar is the position in England both under common law as well as under statute law.8

(2) Persons held under any law providing for preventive detention9—to be dealt with at length shortly.

(3) All other persons have been given four enforceable fundamental safeguards whenever he is arrested:10

(i) The right to be informed, as soon as possible of the grounds of arrest;

(ii) The right to be produced before a Magistrate within 24 hours of his arrest, excluding the time taken to travel from the place of arrest to the Magistrate's presence:

(iii) The right not to be detained for more than 24 hours except on the authority of a Magistrate;

(iv) The right to consult and be defended by a lawyer of one's own choice.

A person detained under a law providing for preventive detention has none of these rights. Clauses (4) to (7) of Art. 22, however, entitle him to certain constitutional safeguards.

I. The period of detention may not be unlimited.

(a) No detention is to last for more than three months without the authorisation of the Advisory Board¹¹ (for which See. IV

9. Art. 22 (3) (b).

Art. 22 (1) and (2). 10. 11. Art. 22 (4) (a).

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^{5.} Das J., in State of Bihar Vs. Kameshwar Singh, 1952, S. C. R. 889.

^{7.} Art. 22 (3) (a).

^{8.} Ex-Parte Forman (1917) Chalmers and Hood Phillips, p. 434.

infra), unless Parliament by law prescribes otherwise;12

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(b) Parliament may by law prescribe "the maximum period of detention for which any person may in class or classes of cases be detained under any law providing for preventive detention",13 and the detention of any person beyond such maximum time limit is specifically prohibited.14

II. The detenu must be furnished, as soon as possible, with the grounds on which the detention was made, 15 but it is not essential thereof to inform him about facts considered to be not disclosable in public interest.16

III. The detaining authority 'shall afford him (detenu) the earliest opportunity of making representation against the order' (of detention).17

IV. There is to be an Advisory Board.

(a) This body is to consist of persons who are, or are qualified to be, appointed as Judges of the High Court¹⁸

(b) This Board must authorise all detentions beyond 3 months, unless otherwise provided for by Parliament by law.19

(c) Parliament may by law prescribe the procedure to be followed by the Board case of an inquiry under Art. (4) (a).20

Thus these provisions ensure that:

(1) The executive has no right to authorise preventive detentions except on the strength of an express statutory enactment, and then only according to the procedure established thereby;

(2) The powers of the individual States in this respect have been limited to a great extent, and kept under Parliamentary supervision, e.g.,

(a) Only Parliament may authorise detention for a period exceeding 3 months without obtaining the authorisation of the Advisory Board;21

12. Art. 22 (4) (b). 13.

Art. 22 (7) (b).

14. Art. 22 (4) (a) proviso. 15.

Art. 22 (5). 16.

Art. 22 (6). 17. Art. 22 (5).

18. Art. 22 (4) (a).

19. Ibid.

20. Art. 22 (7) Art. 22 (7) (a). (b) When Parliament has under Art. 22 (7) (b) fixed the maximum period of detention, any detention beyond such maximum period is expressly unauthorised;22

(c) Only Parliament may by law prescribe the procedure to be followed by the Advisory Board.23

Thus, it will be seen that the safeguards provided in favour of the detenu are only meant to control executive tyranny and the excessive zeal of the individual States. The provisions in our P.D. Act itself further tend to check the executive fiat, e.g., the reasonable time within which grounds of detention have to be furnished to the detenu has been fixed at five days, and it is obligatory for the executive to refer all cases of detention to the Advisory Board within 30 days of the order of detention. The right of representation guaranteed to the detenu in Art. 22 (5), has been made into a substantial provision by making it incumbent upon the appropriate authority to forward such presentations to the Board, and the Board may give the detenu a personal hearing. The rulings of the Courts given from time to time also yield the same result, viz., they tend to minimise the danger of executive misuse of special powers, e.g., failure to place a case before the Board within the prescribed time limit entitles the detenu to be released,24 and detention is invalid if even one of the several grounds of arrest supplied to him be irrelevant or vague.25 But none of these checks, viz., the constitutional checks, the checks provided in the P.D. Act itself, and the checks provided by our courts, are in any way limitations on the competence of Parliament to enact any law providing for preventive detention as pleases it.

It will be noticed that Art. 22 does not directly authorise any person being preventively detained for any purpose. It merely conceives of such an issue, and provides for certain safeguards against its tyranny when it does take place. Legislative competence to enact a law providing for preventive detention is derived:

Art. 22 (4) (a) proviso.

23. Art. 22 (7) (c).

24. Parsuram Vs. State A.I.R. 1952 Orissa 208.

Gurbux Vs. State A.I.R. 1952 Pepsu, 126; Ram Krishan Vs. State of Delhi. 1953. S.C.A. 604.

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VII List I, entry 9 (Union List) of the most important,-a democratic Indian Constitution.

'Preventive detention for reasons' connected with Defence, Foreign Affairs, or the Security of India; persons subjected to such detention.'

(b) In the case of Parliament and the concerned State or States, from Sch. VII List III, entry 3, (Concurrent list):

subjected to such detention.'

(a) In the case of Parliament, from Schedule institutions and forms but also and what is outlook and spirit, is indeed an anomaly. Under the English Emergency Powers Act, 1920, the Executive can take extraordinary action in peace time to secure the essentials of life to the community, e.g., have summary trials of offenders against but it does not allow any its provisions Such a detention, cutting preventive detention. sharply across Dicey's exposition of the Rule of Preventive detention for reasons connected Law, is only to be used during war time. with the security of a State, the maintenance of Similarly, the President of the U.S. is authorised public order, or the maintenance of supplies by SS. 100-103 of the Internal Security Act, and services essential to the community, persons 1950, to make a proclamation of Emergency when the country has been invaded, or subject In conclusion it must be said that to have a to insurrection within the country, or when the P.D. Act in peace time on the statute book of Congress has declared war, and only then may a country trying to adopt not only democratic he preventively detain suspected saboteurs, etc.

RIGHT OF PASSAGE OVER INDIAN TERRITORY CASE

By ASIM KUMAR DATTA

THE questions of jurisdiction raised in the case between Portugal and India before the International Court of Justice have been discussed in the October issue of The Modern Review. purpose of this article is to give a summary of the judgment on the merits of the case.1 basic facts of the case may be recapitulated briefly. Dadra and Nagar Haveli were two Portuguese enclaves surrounded by Indian territory. In 1954, there were popular uprisings in these two places and the Portuguese government was overthrown. The only way in which Portugal could regain possession was by sending armed forces through Indian territory. This India refused to allow and Portugal sought redress in the International Court of Justice.

Portugal's case before the Court was that she had a right of passage between her territories on the coast and the enclaves, and between

Case concerning Right of Passage over Indian Territory (Merits), Judgment of 12th April, 1960. I.C.J. Reports, 1960, page 6. (The references here are to the English text of the judgment reprinted by the Government of India).

the enclaves, across intervening Indian territory, "to the extent necessary for the exercise of her sovereignty over the enclaves subject to India's right of regulation and control of the passage claimed, and without any immunity in her She relied on a treaty made with the Maratha Government in 1779 and on two Sanads issued by the Maratha Government pursuant to this treaty in 1783 and 1785, as her title to sovereignty over the enclaves. She claimed the by long-standing local custom, she enjoyed right of passage to the enclaves, and also in voked general international custom in support of her claim.

India's first objection was something like demurrer. She contended that the alleged right as formulated by Portugal was contradictory vague, and not maintainable in law. was admitting on one hand that the exercise of this right was subject to India's regulation and control as the territorial sovereign, and that the right was not accompanied by any immunity even in the case of passage of armed forces. Yel Portugal was asserting that India must admi

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must have complete, absolute and unrestricted right to regulate the passage of goods, men and traffic-and restriction must include complete prohibition. To the extent that Portugal claims that India cannot prohibit her passage to enclaves it must inevitably mean the dismemberment of her sovereignty—it must involve restraint and limitation of her sovereignty." As such a right of passage cannot be reconciled with the admitted sovereign rights of India, was contended that it could not exist.

Then, contested India, how could this right of transit exist without any immunities whatsoever? Portugal admitted "that she has right to object to the manner in which India can regulate this right. (India) can impose customs duties. She can prohibit the entry of certain types of goods, she can insist on authorisation before arms or armed men can enter or leave the enclaves But (says Portugal) she cannot completely cut Portugal's communications with her enclaves · · · . In the ultimate analysis, Portugal (was) in fact claiming a right of transit with immunities. She (was) claiming certain immunities which India cannot change or abolish."2

The right claimed was also vague inasmuch as Portugal conceded that India was entitled to judge to what extent the right should be allowed, and Portugal was to determine what exactly she required for "the exercise of her sovereignty over the enclaves." Portugal was unable to define the extent or the content of this right, she was unable to indicate what the conditions or modalities of this right should be. to her, India was to lay down the conditions, According only they were not to conflict with her fundamental right to maintain a liaison between her coastal possessions and the enclaves. Chagla remarked that the right she was claiming was "like a geometrical line between two points without any breadth." Needs of Portugal would be a subjective concept, and they will vary from time to time. In the absence of defined limits

that such a right exists so that she is able to of the right, who is to strike the balance between exercise sovereignty over the enclaves. India the needs of Portugal for the exercise of sovereignty contended that such a contradictory position is over the enclaves and the sovereign powers of inconceivable. The argument may be quoted India to regulate and control the right of passage to and from the enclaves? India contended "To the extent that India is sovereign, she that if the Court holds that any such right exists, it will only be sowing seeds for future disputes. She urged that as the Court would not be able to define that right clearly, it should dismiss the claim.

The Court, by a majority of eleven to four, held that the right of passage claimed by Portugal, has been defined with sufficient precision so as to be capable of judicial decision. They admitted that the day to day exercise of the right it may give rise to delicate questions of application; but they were convinced that the right claimed was not so vague as to deserve dismissal limine. The Judges did not give detailed reasons, but a factor which possibly influenced them was the common ground between the Parties that the passage of private persons and civil officials was not subject to any restrictions beyond control during a long period of history.

In Municipal law, a general right of user of a road or of a similar amenity, is not considered incompatible with an undefined right of control enjoyed by the owner of the property. An instance from Indian law would be the case of Nar Hari Sastri versus Shri Badrinath Temple Committee.3 It was held by the Supreme Court that just as the trustees of a public temple are entitled to regulate the time of public visits and of laying down and enforcing in good faith rules for maintaining good order and decorum, the public also has a right to come and worship in the temple. That right is a legal right in the true sense of the term, and is not a precarious or permissive right depending for its existence upon the arbitrary whims of the temple authorities. Judge Basdevant, one of the majority judges, observed that when such a right of the user exists, the right of regulation or control cannot deprive it of "all substance", and the facts should be carefully considered-a given example of regulation is not be interpreted as equivalent to a gratuitous concession nor an example of restriction as necessarily an infringement of the right.4

^{3.} (1952) S. C. R. 849=A. I. R. 1952. S. C.

Declaration, page 45.

Page 113.

The majority judgment mentioned Portugal's stand was that India was to exercise fore, it is agreed that Pandit Pradhan shou her right of regulation and control in good faith.5 Judge Wellington Koo and Judge Sir Percy jagir of the revenue of twelve thousand rupees Spender, who were with the majority on this Prant Daman. Accordingly, a sanad listing point, suggested how the mutual rights could be villages be given to the Firangee State by making reconciled. Judge Koo said that the existence6 a separate agreement."9 In the Portuguese of two conflicting rights is not an uncommon sion, the word corresponding to jagir was phenomenon in international law, nor is it an intractable problem. He added that the method in which the Parties had successfully adjusted their rights down to 1954, shows how this could be done.7 Judge Spender went further to specify that the right of India to control went so far as from the village of Dadra. All the judges, exce was required for the purposes of the normal day to day administration, including the maintenance of law and order, and no more, and that Portugal could claim the right only to the extent necessary for making her sovereignty effective, as she had actually pleaded before the Court.8

The Dissenting Opinions of Judges Koo and Fernandes indicate that the Counsel of Portugal had advanced an argument on the basis of some analogy with rights recognised in Municipal law, but the details are not given. An obvious analogy would be with the right of easement. A right of passage over the land of a neighbour is a very common type of easement, and the enjoyment of such a right by another is not considered a negation of the rights of ownership of the proprietor. Hence Portugal's case was that the right claimed did not lead to the dismemberment India's sovereignty, but only the acceptance India of certain obligations towards Portugal in her capacity as the sovereign of the enclaves.

India denied the validity of the treaty of Poona of 1779 on which Portugal based her title. The Court held the treaty to be valid, but did not on the other hand accept the contention of Portugal that sovereign rights over the enclaves were conferred by the treaty. The material clause was Article 17, which ran as follows in the Marathi version: "The Firangee State (i.e., the Portuguese Government) entertains friendly sentiments towards Pandit Pradhan (i.e., the Maratha

that ruler); the envoy conveyed assurances. assign towards Daman from the current year tribucao. In neither language does the word ind cate sovereignty. The Sanads (decrees) of 178 and 1785 issued by the Maratha Governme specified that the promised revenue was to collected from the Pargana of Nagar-Haveli as Judge Armand-Ugon and Judge Fernande agreed that what Portugal got was a revent tenure which was a common form of grant India. The Marathas specifically gave authority to the Portuguese to put down rebellion in assigned villages, and this was an indication th sovereignty had not been parted with, for it is n necessary to recite that the future sovereign w have authority to quell a rebellion in his or territory. Judge Moreno Quintana pointed additional circumstances to prove that the gra was a revenue tenure. The villages were mentioned in the treaty, but the Maratha Gover ment, by an administrative act, was to specify t villages. Secondly, the first annual payments we not collected by the Portuguese from the villag but were paid directly by the Maratha Gover ment. Finally, on three occasions, the Maratt even confiscated the said revenues.10

The conclusion of the majority of judges ! expressed thus—"During the Maratha per (1779 to 1818), sovereignty over the villages co prised in the grant, as well as over the intervent territory between coastal Daman and the village vested in the Marathas. There could, therefor be no question of any enclave or of any right passage for the purpose of exercising sovereign over enclaves. The fact that the Portuguese access to the villages for the purpose of collect revenue and in pursuit of that purpose exercisuch authority as had been delegated to them

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^{5.} page 25.

^{6.} A more appropriate expression would be "co-existence"!

^{7.} Dissenting Opinion, pages 59-64.

^{8.} Dissenting Opinion, pages 103-4.

^{9.} Quoted in the Dissenting Opinion Judge Moreno Quintana, pages 87-88. Spender states that the "grant was made for purpose of supporting the Portuguese fortress Daman", Dissenting Opinion, page 92.

^{10.} CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

the Marathas cannot be equated to a right of passage for the exercise of sovereignty."11 They however came to the view that the

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situation underwent a change when the British obtained sovereignty over the Maratha territories in 1818. The Portuguese, then in occupation of the villages, "held themselves out as sovereign over the villages. The British did not, as succesas cor sors of the Marathas, themselves claim sovereignty over them. Portuguese sovereignty over the villages was recognised by the British in fact and by implication and was subsequently tacitly recognised by (independent) India. As a consequence, the villages acquired the character of Portuguese enclaves within Indian territory."11

Judge Moreno Quintana adopted a different line of reasoning. He said that once it was found that the treaty of 1779 had not conferred sovereignty upon Portugal, her claim lost its legal foundation. It was acknowledged that the right of passage that she was claiming was only a corollary of her sovereignty over the enclaves. If the treaty of 1779 did not give her sovereignty, then she never acquired it. He added that territorial sovereignty cannot be acquired by prescription, "a private law institution which finds no place in international law", and no legal act by the British altered the status juris established by the Maratha rulers with regard to the villages. "Portugal could not claim any more rights than it had previously possessed " and "in the circumstances, no usage in the matter of passage · · · . could be transformed into such a practice as to create an international custom invocable against any territorial successor." He even warned that "to support the Portuguese claim in case, which implies survival of the colonial system, without categorical and conclusive proof, is to fly in the face of the United Nations Charter."12

Judges Badawi and Kojevnikov also held that Portugal had failed to prove sovereign rights over the villages and so her claim could not be

The judges then proceeded on to examine the practice that had developed between Portguese and the territorial sovereign with re-

gard to passage to the enclaves. They overruled the objection of India that no local custom could be established between two States only. They held that a "long continued practice between two States accepted by them as regulating their relations (may) form the basis of mutual rights and obligations between the two States."14

Then they observed that "it was common ground between the Parties that the passage of private persons and civil officials was not subject to any restrictions, beyond routine control Goods in general, that is to say, merchandise other than arms and ammunition. also passed freely between Daman and the claves subject only, at certain times, customs regulations and such regulations control as was necessitated by conditions security or revenue The scope and purpose of each prohibition and restriction clearly defined. In all other cases, the passage of goods was free With regard to (three categories, viz.,) private persons, civil officials and goods in general, there existed during British and post-British periods a constant uniform practice (Such) practice accepted as law by the parties and has given rise to a right and correlative obligation."

As regards other three categories, viz., armed forces, armed police, and arms and ammunition, the Court held by a bare majority of one (eight to seven) that the position was very different. There was no evidence that upto 1878 when a treaty was made by Britain with Portugal, passage of armed personnel to the enclaves was permitted or exercised as of right. The treaty laid down that "the armed forces of the two Governments should not enter the Indian dominions of the other except for the purpose specified in former treaties, or for the rendering of mutual assistance as provided for in the treaty itself, or in consequence of a formal request made by the Party desiring such entry." Portugal argued that on the evidence that on occasions between 1880 and 1889, her armed forces crossed British territory between Daman and the enclaves without obtaining permission, it should be held that a right of passage existed. The Court drew exactly the opposite conclusion from the evidence, and held that the Portuguese Government acted

^{11.} Page 36.

^{12.} Dissenting Opinion, pages 84-91.

^{13.} Declaration of Judge Badawi, pages 47-48; Declaration of Judge Kojevnikov, page 49.

^{14.} Page 37.

the basis that prior permission was necessary for passage of armed personnel. Correspondence between the two Governments showed that once when a complaint was made that Portuguese armed forces were crossing British territory in violation of the treaty, the Portuguese Governor-General replied that "Portuguese troops never cross British territory without previous permission", and added that "for centuries has this practice been followed, whereby the treaties have been respected and due deference shown to the British authorities." He assured that "injunctions will be given for the strictest observance" of the treaty. The reference to "centuries old practice" was not surprising, because in a treaty between the Marathas and the Portuguese made in 1741, there was a clause that "a soldier of the Sarkar (Maratha Government) entering the territory of Daman will do so only with the permission of the Firangee (Portuguese Government). If a soldier of the Firangee were to enter the territory of the Sarkar, he will do so only with the permission of the Sarkar." Analysing the evidence, the Court said, "(we are) not concerned with the question whether any violation of the relevant provision of the treaty in fact took place. Whether any such violation did or did not take place, the legal position with regard to the passage of armed forces appears clearly from this correspondence."15

The Treaty of 1878 also provided that the exportation of arms, ammunition, or military stores from the territories of one Party to those of the other "shall not be permitted, except with the consent of, and under rules approved by, the latter." Certain regulations were laid down as to the passage of armed police in the same Treaty. These provisions were renewed in subsequent treaties, and the system established during the British period was continued by independent India.

The Court concluded that the territorial sovereign reserved a discretionary power to withdraw or refuse permission in respect of passage of armed personnel and arms and ammunition. "There was nothing to show that grant of permission was incumbent on the British or on India as an obligation." Thus, on this most crucial issue, the Court held against Portugal.

The reasonings of the Judges who differed from the majority are stated in the dissenting opinions of Judge Wellington Koo16 and Judge Sir Percy Spender.17 Judge Spender stated that the right of passage claimed by Portugal was indivisible one-she did not claim one right of passage for goods, another for private individuals. and a separate one for armed personnel or arms and ammunition. The Court had held that in respect of private persons, civil officials, and goods in general, although India had a legal right of control, and although India did in fact exercise a routine control, Portugal had acquired a right of passage. In the opinion of the minority, the position with regard to armed personnel or arms, was exactly similar, only that India in fact exercised a stricter control. So they came to the view that no real distinction could be drawn between these two types of traffic based upon this difference in the degree of control. They put reliance on the circumstance that "it was the constant and uniform practice during the British and British periods to permit passage in respect of all categories of traffic". The view of the majority was that the fact that "permission was

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granted does not affect the legal position". Judge Koo, Judge Spender, and Judge Fernandes18 were of the opinion that the most important factor in this case was the sovereignty of Portugal over the enclaves. Sovereignty over the enclaves could not be exercised by Portugal unless she was allowed this right of passage, and Portugal also claimed to possess such a right only to the extent necessary for her to exercise sove reignty. Judge Armand-Ugon said, "all existing enclaves known to history have always enjoyed right of passage, expressly or tacitly."19 Judge Koo observed that "it is inconceivable in inter national law that one sovereignty exists only by the will or caprice of another sovereignty."20 Hence, reasoned the minority, an inference must be drawn that Portugal has a right of passage in respect of all types of traffic as may be necessary to make her sovereignty effective.

Portugal's last reliance was on general international custom. The Court held that this was

^{15.} Judgment, pages 38-39.

^{16.} Dissenting Opinion, pages 51-64.

^{17.} Dissenting Opinion, pages 92-109.

^{18.} Dissenting Opinion, pages 116-136.

^{19.} Dissenting Opinion, page 80. 20. Dissenting Opinion, page 62.

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concrete case with special features, where by long practice certain well-defined relationships had grown up between the Parties. Here "particular practice must prevail over any general rules".

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During the time of the insurrection in the enclaves, the Government of India did not permit certain civil officials of the Portuguese Government to go across Indian territory. There was considerable tension in the surrounding Indian territory, and the Government of India stated that in view of this, the passage of Portuguese officials might lead to undesirable consequences. The Court by a majority of nine to six held that India's refusal of passage was, in the circumstances, covered by her power of regulation and control of the right of passage. The majority was probably raised by the support of Judge Spiropoulos who struck a new note. He agreed with the majority that upto 1954, Portugal had all the rights that she had claimed, but in his opinion India cannot be asked to honour those obligations now. He said, "after the departure of the Portuguese authorities, the population of the enclaves set up a new autonomous authority based upon the will of the population. Since the right of passage assumes the continuance of the administration of the enclaves by the Portuguese, the establishment of a new power in the enclaves must be regarded as having ipso facto put an end to the right of passage."21 Or, the ninth judge might have been Judge Armand-Ugon, who after upholding every contention of Portugal, held finally, that in the set of circumstances which prevailed in the

claves since the uprising, the right of passage "must be regarded as incapable of exercise". His reasoning was this—"the right of passage . . . arose and was exercised in normal periods when the enclaves were indubitably under effective Portuguese sovereignty. The right was not granted for a situation such as that which has arisen in the enclaves. The existence of a de facto government there is a contingency not contemplated These new facts must lead to holding either that the right which has been recognised must be suspended or that it has become extinguished "22"

Indeed, India urged for holding that Portugal's right had lapsed. The contention was based on "India's right to adopt an attitude of neutrality in the conflict between the lawful Government and the alleged insurgents", and secondly, on the provisions of the United Nations Charter relating to human rights and to the right of self-determination of peoples. She also pleaded that as the local government that had been set up in these villages was not represented before the Court, the case could not go on. The Court held that the case pleaded by Portugal was for the recognition of a right which was denied by certain obstacles put by India, and therefore, "it is the eve of the creation of these obstacles that must be selected as the standpoint from which to ascertain whether or not Portugal possessed such a right." Hence the Court left open the question whether the right had lapsed subsequently.23

21. Declaration, page 50.

22. Dissenting Opinion, page 83.

23. Judgment, pages 29, 26.



KAUTILYA'S ARTHASASTRA: A QUESTION OF ITS DATE RE-EXAMINED

By SRI CHANDIKAPRASAD BANERJI

Since its discovery in the early part of the present century much controversy has centred around the Arthasastra of Kautilya (a work of fifteen books or adhikaranas and one hundred and fifty chapters) traditionally reputed to be identical with Chanakya or Vishnugupta, the famous minister of Chandragupta Maurya. growing tendency is apparent among modern scholars (with a few exceptions) to refuse to accept it as a contemporary work of the Maurya period. The purpose of the present article is to show that, in spite of the presence of quite tenable grounds for the above view, a fairly strong case can be made for assigning this work of political science to the Maurya period, i.e., to 4th-3rd century B.C.

All historical thinkers, however, agree that the Arthasastra cannot be placed later than the early centuries of the Christian era and that it is undoubtedly a work of the pre-Gupta period. Here are the grounds for this view:

The Arthasastra is mentioned in Banabhatta's Kadambari (7th century A.D.). The mention of it is also found in the Jain work Nandisutra (5th century A.D.) and probably in the Nyaya Bhasya of Vatsyana (early Christian era) as well. The Junagarh Inscription of Skandagupta makes reference to the practice of testing officials which seems to echo Kautilya's own suggestions. The earlier Junagarh Inscription of Rudradaman (2nd century A.D.) gives clear indication of its knowledge of such technical Kautilyan terms as Pranaya (benevolence) and Vishti (forced labour). Negatively, the absence of such terms as Dinara mentioned in the Nagarjunakonda Inscriptions, is suggestive of its freedom from Bactrian Greek influence.

to a post-Maurya period:

Discrepancy on material points be-(1) tween the Arthasastra and the account of Megasthenes.

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Discrepancy with Asokan Inscrip-

Use of Sanskrit language. (3)

(4) Presence of political terms geographical names as reflect a later age (e.g., Chakrabarti, Samaharta, Matsyanayaya, China, Nepal, Harahuras, Prak-Hunas, etc.).

Total absence of any reference to (5) Chandragupta Maurya, the Capital city of Pataliputra and of Takshasila, the reputed home town of Kautilya

or Chanakya.

(6) The Government contemplated in the Arthasastra is that of a small state while Chandragupta Maurya ruled over a vast empire covering two-thirds of the Indian subcontinent.

Dr. Beni Madhab Barua conceded that the poetical portion of the Arthasastra (Kanika) might be recognised as an earlier work, while the prose treatise of Arthasastra which forms the bulk of the work, is definitely of post-Asokan origin.

Let us now comment on the above ob-

jections, one by one.

(1) It is true that vital disagreements exist between the Arthasastra and Megasthenes (as recorded by later classical writers) on such matters as wooden fortification of the capital city, practice of Municipal administration by six boards, system of military administration, alleged absence of slavery, absence of famine, etc. These can all be explained, one by one.

Kautilya's distrust for use of timber in fortification does not positively rule out its use while Megasthenes defintely states that those cities which were bounded in com-The following constitute the principal manding places were built of brick and arguments for assigning the Arthasastra mortar (H. C. Roy Choudhry—Political History of Arya India-P. 275). The speci-

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri fic informations regarding municipal and of Bullock teams, as described by Megasproved.

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of points where Megasthenes and the Arthaguarded by striganaih dhanvivih (women by torture. provided with bows) and that menials callof Arthasastra. The Assessors of the (I, 9), while the Adhyakshas of the dhata), correspond more or less, to the which contains many Adhyakshas of Kautilya. Strabo speaks of Karmanta or industrial centres. Magistrates in charge of market, city, soloccupation connected with land and of public issued in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. roads. These can be equated with Kautilya's Panyadhyaksha

military administration as furnished by thenes, correspond to the Navadhyaksha Megasthenes do not find confirmation from and Godhyaksha of the Arthasastra, while any other source, while his views regarding the overseers of Arrians and inspector slavary, famine and illiteracy of the contem- of Strabo correspond to the Gudhapurushas porary Indians have been thoroughly dis- of Kautilya (I-II-I, 16). The prevalence and importance of secret service is emphati-Again, there are quite a large number cally mentioned in both the works.

Megasthenes's definite reference to the sastra agree with each other. Thus the state- severity of the Maurya Penal Code, with ments of Megasthenes regarding the amazo- such features as mutilation, amputation of nian bodyguard of the king, the practice of hand, torture and death by torture are fully daily massage, the use of palanquins, horses corroborated in the chapter entitled Kantakaand elephants for moving from one place to sodhana (IV, 9, 10), Kautilya uses such another, are all corroborated by the Artha- technical terms as Chitradanda (IV, 11)-i.e., sastra (I, 2). We learn that the king is to be punishment by torture, chitrabadha, death

The high idealism of king's duties as ed Samvahaka and Snapaka attended his enunciated in the Arthasastra (Prajasubha massage and bath. We further learn that sukham rajnas prajanam cha hite hitam .his body was rubbed by an instrument call- In the happiness of his subjects lies ed pragharsha, which is nothing but the happiness of the king, in their good is ebony roller mentioned by Megasthenes his own good) is correctly reflected in the The king's executive, judicial and military account of Megasthenes. While the Arthafunctions narrated by Megasthenes fairly sastra allows the king only four and a half tally with those described in Book III, hour's sleep (I, 19), Megasthenes states: "The Councillors and king does not sleep in daytime but remains classical writers con- in the court the whole day for the purpose form to the Amatyas of the Arthasastra of judging cases and other public business".

Other informations furnished by Megas-Arthasastra are none but the Magistrates. thenes, such as the prevalence of special rules The variety of Magistrates spoken of by for protection of husbandmen, and growth Megasthenes, broadly divided into Ashty- of art and industry under state patronage nomoi (Sannidhata) and Agronomoi (Sanni- are in accord with Kautilya's Arthasastra

The Maurya origin of the Arthasastra diery, care of the rivers, measure of the land may also be judged by a comparison with and irrigation, hunters, collection of taxes, the Asokan Inscriptions, all of which were

One serious objection to the synchroni-(II, 16), Nagaradhyaksha sation of the Arthasastra with the Asokan or Nagarika (II, 16), Baladhyaksha, Nava- edicts is that while the former enjoins the dhyaksha, Manadhyaksha, Paulabadhyaksha, use of sanskrit in the Prakarana on Rajalekha Vivitadhyaksha, Samaharta, Rathyadhyaksha (II, 10), the language of the Asokan Inscripetc. Again, the assertion that prostitutes tion is Pali. This objection may be met were employed for espionage purposes (II, with the following arguments: (1) the use 27), fully agrees with the reports of Arrian and recommendation of Sanskrit in the and Strabo regarding the utilisation of Arthasastra does not necessarily prove its courtesans by inspectors (ephoroi) or over- post-Mauryan origin, since Panini, who is Seers (episkopoi). Similarly, the Chief known to have stabilised the sanskrit langu-Naval Superintendent and Person in-Charge age flourished before the 4th century B.C.;

make a direct appeal to the people.

priya and Prativedaka.

As a counter argument it may be stated that actually the Arthasastra terminology is in most cases almost identical with that sastra and the Asokan epigraph do employed in the Asokan edicts.

discernible between the Kautilya Arthaeconomic nature and names of places.

Thus, terms like Mahamatra, Mukhya, Pradastris, Yuktas, Dutas are common to val of a century. both, even though the Asokan epigraphs excepting in one case (Queen's edict), mention Dharma-mahamatras and Striyadhyaksha mahamatras and not simple mahamatras. The Nagala-Viyohalaka (i.e., Nagara-Vyavaharikas of the Asokan edicts are virtually the same as the Puravyavaharikas of the Arthasastra (I, 12 and II, 36). Though doubts exist if the Asokan Rajukas (mentioned in R.E. III,— P.E. IV and P.E. VII) are equivalent to the Chora-Rajjukas of the Arthasastra (IV, 13), the fact remains that the Rajukas of Asoka like the Chora-rajjukas, were provided with police powers. The Asokan Purusha (Pulisa-P.E.I., P.E. IV & P.E. V) has been identified with Kautilya's Gudhapurusha (I, 11-13) by such eminent scholars Hultszch. The Vrajabhumikas of Asoka (R.E. XIII) were obviously officers-incharge of Vraja or pasturage, a term familiar with Kautilya. Again, R.E. VI contains name of minor officials called Dapakas, whom Dr. Barua considers to be subordinate officers in the imperial secretariat. The Arthasastra also contains the reference of officials of the same name (II, 7 & II, 8), who fixed and collected the amount of taxes. Another Kautilyan officer Karanaka, mentioned in the same Chapter (II, 7) is probably mentioned in the Yerragudi Copy of Asoka's Minor Edict Choudhury, p. 321). Both in the Artha-

(2) Asoka deliberately used the spoken or sastra and Asokan Inscriptions we find colloquial language in accordance with mention of princely officers called Kumaras Buddha's own instruction and in order to who governed outlying territories (V, 3 & Lastly, in con-S.E.R. I, respectively). Another objection is that the Artha- formity with the Kautilyan Provision of a sastra does not contain many of the familiar Mantriparishad (E. 15) we find that Asoka Maurya terminologies such as Devanam- too had a Parishad or Council (Parisa-R.E. III & R.E. VI).

There are, however, many cases when the names of officials given in the Arthatally. Thus for the Kautilyan Charas Close similarity and even identity are have Prativedakas in the Asokan edicts. On the other hand, the Kautilyan Dapaka sastra and Asokan epigraphy in respect of and the Asokan Dapaka, though bearing names of officials, technical terms of socio- the same name discharged different kinds of duties. But such variations are quite natural to occur in the course of an inter-

> Besides identity, or similarity in the names and duties of officials, the Arthasastra affords many parallelism with the Asokan Inscriptions in respect of technical terms and practices which were part of the the social life of the period. Thus the same terms are used in the Kautilyan text and the Asokan epigraphs to denote such things as festive ceremonies (Samaja), kitchen (Mahanasa), mutual contact or assembly (Samavaya), pasturage or rancho (Vraja), huntsmen (Lubdhaka), orchard (Arama), foresters (Atavikas), slaves and servants (Dasas and Bhritakas), elephant preserves (Nagavana), fishermen (Kaivartas), land revenue cess (Bhaga and Bali), men of the sects (Pashandas), Buddhist mendicants manas), a religious group similar to Buddhists and Jains (Ajivikas), etc. Very minor variations are found in regard to such things as prison (Bandhanagara in Arthasastra and Bandhana in Asoka edicts) and royal pleasure trips (Yatravihara text and Viharayatra in the Inscriptions), prayer-halls (Chaityas), etc.

> In addition to the above, the common presence of such technical names of administrative and political nature, e.g., Vyushta i.e., elapsed (Arth. II, 7-M.R.I.), Sasanas, ie., royal edicts, Chakra, i.e., unit of polity or kingdom (R.E. XIII) is really significant. Besides these, such practices as leases at the time of the monarch's birth

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Calingae, Abastonoi, Omphis, Prasii, Kapisi, and Matsya Purana. and Sarostos) of the names of various mentioned in the Arthasastra denotes the canonical works, forming part Tamraparni has been identified.

period) of such places and peoples as bharata as a Himalayan country. Avanti, Kasi, Madraka, Panchala, Malla, Gauda, It is also rather curious, and not a little A.D. revealing that Kautilya should mention all Matsya.

The other place names mentioned in danta, Vatabyadhi, Bahedastriputra hitya, Karusa, Surastras, Kambu, Mahendra Arjuna the Haihaya King,

specified birds and animals are enjoined in Satakarnis (2nd century A.D.). Most other names are available in such works as the The question of the date of the Artha- Mahabharata, the Ceylonese Chronicles and sastra may now be examined in the light Markandeya Purana and Brihadsamhita, of of the geographical date furnished by it. Varahamihira. As Prof. Mehendela has Gandhara, Haimavate, Tamraparni, Pandya, stated, the composition of the Great Epic Kalinga, Ambastha, Ambhi, Prachya, Kapisa, can be pushed back as early as the 4th century Surastra, etc., are easily identifiable with B.C. (The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 251). the names found in the accounts of the Prof. R. K. Mukherji thinks that Aratta is classical writers including Megasthenes (e.g., a corruption of Arastraka (kingless country Gandarii, Hemodos, Taprobana, Pandion, i.e., Punjab). Karusa is mentioned in Panini

The greatest stumblig block to the places and tribes, etc., alluded to in the theory of Maurya origin of the Arthasastra Arthasastra, which are traceable in the is the mention of China and Nepala (II, 11), Asokan Inscriptions are Aparanta, Kam-regions, believed to have been unknown boja, Kalinga, Gandhara, Tampraparni, before the second to fourth century A.D. As Pandya and Megadha. Doubts have, how- a matter of fact, China is mentioned in the ever, been raised whether Tampraparni Buddhayamsa and Ahedana, two Buddhist of the island of Ceylon with which the Asokan Khuddakan Nikaya, the earliest possible date which may be of the Maurya age. The name As regards other geographical terms China might have been given to a portion of which are mentioned in the Arthasastra there the country long before the establishment is no controversy about the antiquity (and of the Han dynasty in the 3rd century B.C. therefore co-equality with the Maurya Similarly, Nepal is mentioned in the Maha-

More difficult is the problem with such Vanga, Videha, Pundra, Kuru, names, as, Debasabha, Parasamudra, Papaya, Mathura, Vatsa and Vanga. Vanayu, Kambu and Kartasava. The identi-Though they do not figure in the Asokan fication of Vanayu with Arctic (as has been epigraphs they are mentioned in such Maurya done by Dr. R. G. Basav) lacks confirmation. or pre-Maurya works as the Vedic texts, Parasamudra probably stands for Ceylon (e.g., Aitareya Brahmana), Panini, the and is to be identified with Palaesimundu Digha Nikaya and the Anguttara Nikaya. of the Periplus, a work of the 1st century

Of the personages alluded to in the but three of the sixteen Mahajanapadas, the Arthasastra, apart from the leaders of exceptions being Kosala, Surasena and various schools of political science, such as, Bharaddaya, Visalaksha, Pisuna, Kausapathe Arthasastra, are Aratta, Kukura, Sindhu- Parasara, special mention may be made of Sauvira, Vanayu, Papeya, Kantanava, Lau-such mythological figures, as, Krishna, Samkarsana, and Mekala, Malaya, Darada, Debasabha, Yudhisthira, Janamejaya, Narada, Nala, Svarnabhumi, and Dasarna. There is also Duryodhana, Shambara, Kangsa and Bali, reference to such peoples as Mlechchhas, most of whom are well-known in the Maha-Kirtas, Harahuras and Prag-hunas. The bharata. It, however, contains a few charac-Digha Nikaya uses the term Mlechchaha, ters of the Ramayana as well, such as, though with a different spelling Kukura, Ravana, Kumbha and Nikumbha. It is Sindhu-Sauvira and Surastra are mentioned curious that the Arthasastra has no know-

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and Karala, king of Videha (I, 6). It is to be preference for a bigger council may

Maurya period.

The deities specifically mentioned the Arthasastra are Indra, Varuna, Aparajita, Jayanta, Vaishravana, Yama, Sankarsana, Aswinikumar, Krishna, Siva, Sri, from the Himalayas to the seas (III, 1 and Vaijayanta, Madira, Agni and Paulomi. The IX, 1) are also significant. chapter entitled Aupanishadika (XIV, 3) is replete with Atharvavedic rites and spells. adduced above, it may now be argued if i References to Buddhists (Sakyas, III, 20) indicate Brahmanical bias. This is in line with the theory of Kautilya being Brahman belonging to an age when Buddhism had not yet received imperial recog- contain minor interpolations of a later date nition. The Arthasastra also indicates know- He further says that the contents of the ledge of the Buddhist monarchs' organisation (i.e., Sangha). It may be stated that as existing immediately before the though Siva is mentioned as a deity, his position of unquestionable supremacy was view which is held by such top-ranking yet to be established (Age of Imperial historical thinkers like Thomas, Meyer and Unity, p. 453).

The use of such technical terms as Matsyanyaya, Pradviveka Chakravarti have been scholars to be indicative of a post-Mauryan period. The word Suruga, they say, is Arthasastra. The writer does not claim the derived from Greek. Yet it is to be noted scholarship or the originality which that the familiar Indian term for the Greeks, enable him to arrive at a decisive con i.e., Yavana is conspicuous by its absence clusion.* in the Arthasastra. As regards the term Chakravarti, it may be pointed out that one Asokan Inscription (R.E. XIII) uses the term Chaka (i.e., Chakra). As regards, Matsya- The Political History of Ancient India: nyaya and Pradviveka definite proof of the prevalence of these terms in the Maurya Chandragupta and His Times:

age is available.

The view that the absence of the name Asoka and His Inscriptions: B. M. Barua. of Chandragupta Maurya in the Arthasastra Kautilya's Arthasastra (Bengali): is a positive evidence of its later origin can be practically countered by arguments. It The Arthasastra: Ganapati Sastri. is a well-known fact that Indian writers Asoka: Bhandarkar. of the early period have always been rather The Age of Imperial Unity: charry about making direct personal or

ledge of Sita the consort of Rama, though local references. Secondly, the Arthasastra places. Thus emperor in several A few historical figures are also alluded author speaks of a king who may ultimately to, such as, Udayana (IX, 7), Nandaraja conquer the entire world. Again, (as Dr (IV, 1), Vishnugupta (XV, 1), Ambhi (I, 17), H. C. Roy Choudhury points out) Kautilya's seen that all these characters are of pre- presumed to indicate that he worked to provide for the need of a growing empire in (p. 282). References to Chaturanta Prithiv (empire girt by the four seas) Chakravarti-kshetra, i.e., empire spread

In consideration of the reasoning is not possible to accept the view-point of V. H. Smith. According to that eminen historian, the Arthasastra is a genuine work of Maurya age though the existing text may Kautilyan text describe the state of thing blishment of the Maurya empire. This is the Jacobi.

What has been written above is only and by way of suggestions and may be regarded considered by as a modest attempt at re-examining controversy regarding the date of

References

Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury.

R. K. Mukherji.

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THE CONGO STORY

Chitizency Collapse condition poddas alleus egotri

By CHANAKYA SEN

The Belgians believed that the House that Leopold had built and which they had streamlined over a period of half-a-century was the most immaculate colonial structure ever brought into shape. They had tried their best to keep politics out of the Congo; and, like Canute, were they convinced that the African revolution would stop on the frontiers of their empire. The Congo gave Belgium the trappings of a big power; it brought wealth, prestige and grandeur. In return, Belgium wanted to give the Congo modern cities, hospitals, hydroelectric projects and tenements for workers, everything within the limits of an enlightened paternalism, everything but politics.

They had almost succeeded. Even six or seven years ago nationalism was not a problem in the Congo. The country was more or less contented; in any case, whatever discontent there might have been was not permitted to leak out to the rest of the world. The Heart of Africa was warped in classical darkness and the writ of Belgium ruled

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> Even in the mid-fifties when the American writer and journalist, John Gunther, visited the Congo, he found that the people had not learnt to think in nationalist terms. "The great bulk of Congolese do not think at all in nationalist terms, i.e., of freedom from Belgian rule, because they are not educated enough to know what nationalism is," John Gunther reported. "The Belgian system works well, and organized discontent does not exist." And yet he noticed an extraordinary thing: 3,800 Congolese were in prison for political offence! He also noticed that the Belgian selfconfidence was passing through a period of fast and deep corrosion. There was loose talk in the air about "elections", something quite unknown to the Congolese so far. And Belgian officials knew that once came the elections, however and however loaded with political conditions, the

*This is the second instalment of Chanakya Sen's article. In the first, published in the December issue of *The Modern Review*, the writer had dealt with the historical background and the political and economic foundations of the Belgian Empire in the Congo. The next article will be on the birth of Independent Congo and the crisis it faced as soon as it was born.

THE Belgians believed that the House that Leopold end of the empire could not be far off. A Belgian had built and which they had streamlined over a whom Gunther describes as the "single most period of half-a-century was the most immacuperiod of half-a-century was the most immacuperiod

The "single most powerful living Belgian" was wrong. The first elections ever to be held in the Congo took place in December, 1957. After

that, it was not five, but three years!

For the sudden upsurge of political unrest in the Congo, Belgians rightly blamed developments outside their empire but within the continent of Africa. In 1956, the Gold Coast became independent and took the name of Ghana. This heralded a period of change in Africa. Ghana's independence exercised a profound emotional influence on the minds of Africans everywhere. The French Government began to give a new shape to the socalled French Community in Africa. Each of its twelve constituents was made a republic, and one of them, the former French Congo, became the Republic of Congo in 1957. The French Congo is separated from the Belgian Congo by a lake called Stanley Pool; there is an old and established ferry service between the two.

Ideas respect no frontiers and the frontiers of the Belgian empire were no exception. In December, 1958, an All-African Peoples Conference was held in Accra, attended by two hundred representatives from fifty African political parties, trade unions, student movements and other organizations. Among them was a delegation from Belgian Congo. It was at this conference Tom Mboya, the African leader of Kenya, raised from the chair the slogan "Europeans, Scram Out of Africa." Although the Congolese delegates at this conference adopted a more or less moderate line in their speeches, they saw with their eyes the fascinating spectacle of the African march to freedom, and they brought back to their country revolutionary ideas which spread wild fire.

Sensing that unrest was brewing, the Belgian Government had decided in 1956 to hold municipal elections in Leopoldville the following year. These elections were called a consuliation. The

^{*}Inside Africa, Pp. 654-656, by John Gunther, 1956.

choice of voters and to nominate the Mayors. increased from 43,000 to 350,000. The bulk The electorate was strictly limited by educational this population suddenly found themselves with and other qualifications, so much so that only out work. The prosperity of the European sector 47,000 out of a total African population of of Leopoldville showed up in sharp 350,000 were able to vote. Even then the election the destitution in the African quarters. ·resulted in a victory for the political party which was, at that time, the best known in Leopoldville. What the Belgians in the Congo could never have It was called ABAKO, and its leader was a man imagined broke out suddenly in the evening named Joseph Kasavubu. The ABAKO was January 4, 1959. Several thousand Africans had founded in 1950, as a tribal traditionalist organi- gathered for a meeting called by the Abako Party zation: it evolved in the course of years into a They clashed with the police. The police opened chauvinistic organization. It stood for the revival fire. The crowds began looting shops and restauof the 18th century Kingdom of the Congo, em- rants, sacked Catholic missions and attacked bracing the territories between Leopoldville and police stations and European dwellings. Rioting the sea-coast as well as the former French Congo broke out again on the following morning and and the Portuguese enclave of Cabinda. Joseph there was sporadic looting and pillage. The police Kasavubu was, thus, the first Congolese political fired indiscriminately, more than five hundred leader to raise the banner of disintegration of times, and unofficial reports said that as man Belgian Congo. Kasavubu claims to be a descen- as 1,500 Africans were killed. The official figure dant of the Bokongo King who had fought the however, was forty-nine Africans killed and 291 Belgians bravely in the first days of coloniza- people injured including 49 Europeans. tion.

Seven other African Mayors protested. One of streamlined official propaganda that the application to the Congo of the liberties Belgian Chamber cratic election of city and provincial councils, Mr. Van Hemelryck made a statement. He defend Africanization of the administration, and imme- ed the police firings, gave a detailed account diate adoption of transitional measures leading to the damage done by the rioters and eventual independence. M. Petillon ruled the that a Parliamentary Inquiry Commission would motion out of order and this immediately led to go out to the Congo soon to study the situation a commotion in Leopoldville and other major on the spot. M. Hemelryck also confessed, for the cities of the Congo.

This resulted in a general depression in the to decide on its future policy in Africa. Belgian Congo. The volume of foreign investment could, and should, have been defined earlief slowed down and Belgian capital began to fly We have introduced the political virus into struction works undertaken earlier by the Belgian the elite a political training. Exported to the

administration reserved the right to over-rule the 1940, the African population of Leopoldville had

Hunger and unemployment led to violence

The riots in January, 1959, puzzled and be In April, 1958, Kasavubu, as Mayor of a wildered the Belgians. That such a thing could suburban town, delivered a speech demanding happen was totally outside their conception general elections all over the Congo, freedom of Suddenly they found the paternal system built st the press and association and home-rule for the carefully over half-a-century collapse like a hous country. The Belgian Governor-General, M. Petil- of cards. Public opinion in Belgium was shocked lon, imposed a "warning sanction" upon him. beyond words. It had been fed over decades them brought forward a motion in the Governor- was perfect in the Congo. There was a clamow General's Council on June 21, 1958, demanding for the truth. An emergency session of the of Representatives met of defined in the United Nations Charter, demo- January 8, in which the Minister for the Congo first time, to the basic weakness and failure of the The political tension in Leopoldville was Belgian system. The agitation had developed greatly aggravated by economic factors. In 1957- the Congo, he said, because "the population have 58, there was a slump of world copper prices. been waiting too long for the Belgian Government back home. For the first time since 1908, the Congo without having any clear idea on the instru Congolese budget showed a deficit. Huge con- tutions to be set up or on the possibility of giving authorities had drawn a large African population Congo, our White quarrels have certainly into the capital from neighbouring areas. Since enhanced our political prestige in the

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shocked the Belgian public by its exposure of dark bined with a rapid extension of the overlooked for decades!

The Commission told the Belgians that there was in practice in the Congo large-scale racial discrimination, although the Government had consistently denied this over many years. The average white settler had nothing but scorn for the blacks; human relations had not kept pace with the evolution of African society and thinking. Many Europeans had not appreciated the changing situation while Africans had become over-sensitive and feared that complete equality would never be achieved. The main political cause for the riots of January, said the Parliamentary Commission, was the slowness of progress towards self-government, which, Africans felt, was being deliberately delayed at a time when it was being accelerated in other parts of the continent. More diminished the Africans' faith in European words. kens, in the same month. The programme "Political events in neighbouring territories and vided for the election of municipal and been the granting of independence to French 1960; establishment of a General Council Equatorial Africa and the directives given to the a Legislative Council as the nucleus of a to African employees; and extension of adminis- gressively but rapidly " trative authority of the elected Mayors.

Abako leaders.

lem which had already passed out of its control. cil. Local disturbances, however, continued

eyes. They have brought about a progressive de-declared that it was his Government's firm resolve "to lead the peoples of the Congo to inde-The Parliamentary Commission visited the pendence in prosperity and peace", and visual-Congo and issued its report in March. The report ized "a large measure of de-centralization, comand sinister realities which the authorities had system and the abandonment of all discrimination between Black and White."



Detailed constitutional proposals were promises had been made than fulfilled, which had nounced by the Prime Minister, M. Gsten Eysforeign propaganda have acted as accelerating councils by adult suffrage at the end of 1959; factors. The most important of these seem to have election of provincial councils by these bodies in Accra Conference." The Commission approved of chamber Parliament; abolition of racial discrimithe Belgian Government's proposals for gradual nation; and the appointment of Africans to all evolution towards independence. This, it said, grades of the civil service. The promise of indeshould proceed "in conditions of good order and pendence was given although no date-line was with respect for private property". Specifically, fixed. "The power of decision will progressively it proposed that a Congolese nationality should be left to them (the Councils) in wider and wider be created as a legal entity without waiting for fields and in accordance with democratic reindependence; there should be a higher level of forms, side by side with the transformation of investment; wider opening of the public services institutions, which will be carried out pro-

The Minister for the Congo, M. Hemelryck, Meanwhile, the authorities had arrested both visited the Congo from January 15 to February Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Daniel Kanza, Vice-Presi- 14, and discussed the Government's proposals dent of the Abako party, and had banned the with Belgian as well as Congolese leaders, inparty itself. The Parliamentary Commission ad-cluding Mr. Kasavubu. Before returning to against a political trial of the arrested Belgium he announced that all traces of racial discrimination would be removed and Africans In January, 1959, the Belgian Government would, in future, be allowed to live in areas preannounced a programme of reforms. It made a viously reserved for Europeans. In February, the cautious and phased approach to a political prob- Governor-General appointed a Consultative Coun-In a broadcast on January 13, King Baudouin Leopoldville province throughout January

authorities released the Abako leaders on March 14, only to fly them the following day to Brussels where they were allowed freedom of movement and were, in fact, taken out in Government transports to see for themselves the industries built in Belgium since the Second World War.

In April a conference of Congolese political parties was held in Leopoldville. It adopted programme demanding the establishment of Congo Government in January, 1961.

For the first time a new political force came upon the scene. It was the M.N.C. or the National Congolese Movement, a political party which, from the beginning, declared its objective to be an independent, sovereign national state of the Congo and immediately drew the wrath of chauvinistic elements, especially the Abako, which was still in favour of a loose federation between a number of fully autonomous Congolese states. The leader of the National Congolese Movement was Mr. Patrice Lumumba, At the Leopoldville conference the M.N.C. pressed for full independence for the Congo, while the rest of the delegates envisaged a period of internal autonomy during which the new government would itself decide the date independence.

In June, M. Hemelryck paid a second visit to the Congo and met with a hostile reception from many Europeans. M. Hemelryck toured the provinces and when he returned to Leopoldville on June 24, he was presented with new demands by the leaders of the various Congolese political parties.

scheme to M. Hemelryck proposing the union of ryck said that the day of compromise in the prising Leopoldville province in January 1960. policy of granting the maximum concessions, of This, they said, would be the first step towards a policy of allowing concessions to be successively this proposal as being contrary to the whole ticable now, but let us see what will happen in Belgian policy for a unitary Congo state. Throughout 1959, and even during the early months of 1960, the Belgian Government consistently sup- Cabinet's Congo policy to a great deal of confir ported the idea of a unitary Congo state and it sion. One constitutional proposal followed another was pitted against the centripetal forces led by as pressure grew within the Congo for rapid pro-Mr. Kasavubu.

Returning to Belgium, M. Hemelryck

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri
February, and newspapermen attributed them to affirmed Government's determination to carry out imprisonment of the Abako leaders. The its programme of reforms in accordance with the schedule laid down in January. In the Congo. however, the authorities now turned against the National Congolese Movement and several of its leaders were arrested which touched off a huge demonstration at Luluabourg, the chief town of Kasai province, in August. Both the Congolese Movement and the Abako that they would not take part in the municipal elections in December, unless the arrested political leaders were released and the agreed to preliminary discussions on the pace of constitutional reforms. Mr. Lumumba in a speech which was widely reported at that time, declared that "the political situation in the Congo is worsening from day to day" and demanded "the immediate setting up of a Congolese Government which alone will be capable of restoring dence within the Congo".

At this time a serious difference developed within the Belgian Cabinet over its Congo policy. M. Hemelryck who, as Minister for the Congo, had been pressing for rapid transition to independence, found the Prime Minister and a majority of the members of the Cabinet unprepared to support him. He offered his resignation which was accepted. M. Auguste de Schryver was appointed Minister for the Congo on September official announcement in Brussels that M. Hemelryck's resignation followed the Cabinet's rejection of his proposal for immediate steps to hand over political responsibility to Africans in the Congo.

M. Hemelryck was understood to have pro-The differences between truly nationalist posed the setting up of a Constituent Assembly elements and those favouring a loose federation and a Provisional Government after the December began to break out on a wide scale at this stage. elections. The Cabinet, however, favoured a more The leaders of the Abako party submitted a gradual evolution. In a public statement M. Hemelan autonomous Republic of Central Congo com- Congo had gone. "There is a choice of an active a Federation. M. Hemelryck, however, rejected torn from you. The latter may perhaps be pracfew years' time."

M. Hemelryck's resignation put the Belgian gress towards independence. The Congolese poli re- tical parties were far from united; as the Belgial

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Government became more and more hesitant and ing many Africans. African crowds subsequently involved in quarrels and controversies. But they curfew imposed on Stanleyville, which was parted with power the better were the prospects the December elections. of enforcing a Federation. Mr. Lumumba, on the other hand, was convinced that the Belgians would eventually side with the Federalists and he. too, believed that time was an important factor.

Between October, 1959, and January, 1960, as many as three sets of constitutional proposals for the Congo were announced by the Belgian Government.

On October 16, 1959, the Belgian Prime Minister announced that following the election of a Parliament, a Central Government for the Congo would be set up by September, 1960, at the latest. Within four years after that date the Congo would be able to choose independence, if it so wished, and decide what form of association it would maintain with Belgium. The constitutional proposals were divided into four stages. The first stage was the election of local councils in December by universal male suffrage. The second was the establishment of new provincial councils in March, 1960, with wide powers over education, public works and other matters. The third stage envisaged the creation of a Central Parliament and Government, with authority over internal affairs by August or September, 1960. The Government would be presided over by the Belgian Governor-General and the Lower Chamber of Parliament would be elected either directly or by the local councils, while the Senate would be chosen by indirect election. The fourth stage provided for a referendum on a new Constitution to be drawn up by the Congo Parliament within four years of its establishment. At the same time Belgium and the Congo would decide, each in full freedom, on the form of their future association and common institutions.

Mr. Lumumba's reaction to the October pro-Posals was that the National Congolese Movement would boycott the December elections and launch "a positive plan for the immediate liberation of the Congo". Mr. Lumumba was arrested on November 1, which was followed by wide-

unsure of its capacity to hold the Congo by force, attacked Europeans and destroyed Europeanpolitical factions in the Congo were more deeply owned property. Martial law was declared and a all unanimously stood for speedy transition to scene of the most serious trouble. When Mr. independence. The Federalists came to the con- Lumumba was imprisoned, some "moderate" memclusion that delay would only strengthen the bers of his party broke away from the National nationalist forces and that the sooner the Belgians Congolese Movement and decided to take part in

Two days after Mr. Lumumba's arrest, Belgian Prime Minister announced that a conference would be held from November 20 to 30, in the Congo to enable the Belgian Government to explain its policy to Congolese party leaders. The Congolese leaders would also be able to put forward their own views. But the plan for the conference was given up because the Belgian Socialist Party and several Congolese parties refused to have anything to do with it. On November 21, the Belgian Premier flew to the Congo for individual discussions with Congolese leaders. after his arrival three Congolese parties, Abako, the breakaway wing of the National Congolese Movement and another rather insignificant group published a plan for an independent federal Congo state and submitted it to the Belgian Premier. It proposed that the six existing provinces of the Congo should be transformed into states, each with an elected Assembly Government. There would be a federal government to which each state should cede part of its sovereignty.

After the Belgian Premier's talks with Congolese leaders (the National Congolese Movement did not take part in them as Mr. Lumumba was still in prison), it was agreed on December 1, that leaders of the three parties would immediately fly to Brussels for further talks with the Belgian Government and that these talks would be preparatory to a round-table conference in Brussels in January, 1960. Consequently, a seven-member Congolese delegation led by Mr. Kasavubu including Mr. Albert Kalonji, leader of the breakaway group of the National Movement, arrived in the Belgian capital on December 3.

The talks, however, were not held. misunderstanding arose between the two and the Congolese delegates returned home. But almost as soon as they landed back in the Congo, the Belgian Prime Minister announced in the Chamber of Representatives that a round-table spread disturbances. The police opened fire kill- conference would be held in January. This con-

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ference, he said, would draw up the procedure Government. The second resolution would be attended by representatives of the Belgian Government and Parliament as well as elected and non-elected* Congolese representatives.

Rather unexpectedly King Baudouin accompanied by his Prime Minister undertook an extensive tour of the Congo in 1959. In all major towns he visited he heard for the first time Africans shouting "independence". There were black flags and some demonstrations. When the King was on tour of the Congo Mr. Kasavubu took the initiative to call a convention of Congolese political parties. The National Congolese Movement boycotted the Convention. The three other parties elaborated on the federal plan they had already submitted to the Belgian Prime Minister in November. One of the two resolutions adopted at the Convention called for a Union of Central African Republics, consisting of the six provinces of the Belgian Congo. Each province would become a republic and would, of its own volition, cede certain powers to the Federal

*He was referring to the December elections.

for the granting of independence to the Congo. It immediate and complete independence for the Congo and proposed that talks for this purpose should begin in Brussels on January 5. Mr. Kasavubu had an audience with the King and was immensely satisfied with the nature of the talks.

The local elections in December came as a great disappointment to the Belgian Government The Abako party came out victorious in Leopoldville, while Mr. Lumumba's National Congolese Movement won the majority of seats in Stanley. ville. This happened in spite of very restricted African voting because the leaders had asked their followers to boycott the elections.

When the results of the Municipal elections were known the Belgian Government realized that the plan for a phased transition to independence in the Congo would not work. An emergency meeting of the Cabinet was held on January 11, 1960, and it was announced that a round table conference of Congolese leaders would begin in Brussels on January 20.

It was at this Conference that the decision was taken to grant independence to the Congo or June 30, 1960.

GENOCIDE IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

The Muhammadan rulers and invaders of India systematically and as a measure of policy win a view to Islamise India destroyed temples, desecrated places of worship and pilgrimages, forcibly converted the Hindus, and with a view to terrorise and reduce their numbers slaughtered them in thousands, often enslaved and deported en masse prisoners of war and captives outside India, and confiscated their women. they did for centuries; not only in course of their invasions and wars, but even when there were settled governments. Besides. there were economic and social oppression. The Hindus had to pay jiziya; and higher rates of taxes; e.g., they had to pay Rs. 5 for sale of a horse, while a Muhammadan

certain clothes and ride horses, etc.; all they had to suffer petty humiliations, the could not hope to get justice against Muhammadan, for the evidence of a not Muslim against a Muslim was at a di count before the Kazi.

The Muhammadans ruled over major part of India for over five or six cer turies; and yet the percentage of Muhammadans to the total population India was 22.2 in 1931. They have increase their percentage from 19.74 in 1881 22.16 in 1931. This they have done, not mass conversions—though an individual mass have been converted here or there, but cause the mass of Muhammadans occupy relatively healthier regions; and they prapaid only Rs. 3. The Hindus could not wear tise almost universal re-marriage of wido

Count Leo Tolstoy's relatives at his grave



Guard of Honour being presented to the Crown Prince Akihito and Princess

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they belov and thus having greater birth-rate. The regions mainly occupied by the Hindus suffered during this period of fifty years from the ravages of malaria, influenza and plague; and also from famine. For example, in the U.P., where the Hindus are 84.5 per cent, the population decreased by 3.1 per cent during 1911-21 on account of the influenza epidemics of 1918 and 1919; Bengal as a whole showed an increase of 2.7 per cent during 1911-21, but the Burdwan Division, where the Hindus are 82.8 per cent showed a decline of 4.9 per cent. The Central Provinces, where the Muhammadans are only 4.4 per cent, showed a decline of 7.0 per cent during 1891-1901 on account of the two severe famines of 1896-97 and 1898-99, and a decline of 0.3 per cent during 1911-21.

The Muhammadans in Bengal formed 54.44 per cent of the total population in 1931; in 1881 they were 49.69 per cent. If we assume the natural rates of growth of the Muhammadans and of the Hindus, to have remained the same for the previous century, an assumption greatly to the disadvantage of the Hindus on account of the prevalence of 'Burdwan' and 'Nadia' fever in the Hindu majority areas for nearly two generations, the proportion of Muhammadans in Bengal would be some 40 per cent towards the end of the eighteenth century.

It is estimated that their all-India proportion towards the end of the eighteenth century or the beginning of the nineteenth century was not more than one-sixth. And of this, a certain proportion was of foreign origin, diluted by inter-marriages with women of this country.

The Punjab Muhammadans, includthey are more than 5,00,000 strong are given probably professed a

Chennai and eGangotri	alway .	
Area	14	Percentage
Bihar		4.75
Bombay	 f	2.04
Sind	 	3.65
C.P.		0.88
Madras		4.26
N. W. F. Prov.		2.87
U.P.		9.25
Hyderabad	THE PARTY OF THE P	1.97
Kashmir		3.63
W. I. States		0.70
Assam		3.55
		37.55
		01.00

The above table together with the figures for the Punjab and Bengal accounts for 92.57 per cent of the Muhammadans in India. If we exclude Burma and Aden, the percentage accounted for would be higher. This was the distribution in 1931.

The Punjab Census Superintendent, (1911), after comparing the caste names and tribal names of those who described themselves as Muhammadans, is of opinion that not more than 15 per cent of the Muhammadans of the Punjab are really of foreign origin. The Census Commissioner of India for 1921 says: "Of the 12 million followers of Islam in the Punjab, 10 millions showed by the caste entry (such as, Rajput, Jat, Arain, Gujar, Muchi, Tarkhan and Teli) that they were originally Hindus. The number who described themselves as belonging to foreign races, such as, Pathan, Baloch, Sheikh, Saiyid and Moghal was less than 2 millions, and some even of these have with little foreign blood in their veins. Panait Hari Kishan Kaul is of opinion that only 15 per cent of the Muhammadans of the Punjab are really of foreign origin." (See p. 128).

"Bengal contributes 24 millions or 36 per cent, to the total number of Muhaming those of the Punjab States and the madans in India. They are found chiefly in Punjab States Agency form 19.22 per cent the eastern and northern districts. In this of India's total; and the Bengal Muham- tract there was a vigorous and highly sucmadans form another 35.80 per cent. The cessful propaganda in the days of the Pathan two together are more than half the kings of Bengal. The inhabitants had never Muhammadans of India. The percentages of been fully Hinduized, and at the time of the the Muhammadans in other areas where first Muhammadan invasion most of them they are the state of the state o debased form of Buddhism. They were spurned by the high

class Hindus as functean, and so listened the lands from Merv and Makran to Tripoli readily to the preaching of the Mullahs, who and Tunis. By later conquests the Islamic proclaimed the doctrine that all men are Empire stretched from Spain in the west to equal in the sight of Allah, backed as it often the borders of China and India in the east was, by a varying amount of compulsion." And all this within a century and a half (Ibid, p. 128).

foreign born among the Muhammadans of have made part of the map of the world

Punjab, Kashmir, North-West Frontier Pro- and the whole of northern Africa. The vinces and Sind are assumed to be foreign population became overwhelmingly followborn; those of Bengal and Assam are ers of Islam; and the few Christians and the assumed to be descendants of Hindu con- Jews and followers of other religions that verts; and in the rest of India, the proportion were, there were allowed to live by mere is taken to be 7.5 per cent. These assump- sufferance as zimmis and by paying jiziya tions, though arbitrary, are very near the and by suffering daily humiliations of truth; and the assumptions are generally in dress and attendance. Population of Persia favour of their being foreign born. In Bengal, was about 11 or 12 millions at the opening of there are certain families, e.g., the Nawab the 20th century, but there were only 8,000 Bahadurs of Murshidabad, who are Hasan-fire-worshippers. "The old religion has been ul-Hosseini Syeds, who are really foreign rooted out; it counts to-day only eight born; but their proportion to the total popu- thousand followers, who live in poverty and lation is infinitesimal.

per cent of the total Muhammadans thus:

$$\frac{15}{100} (19.22 + 3.63 + 2.87 + 3.65) +$$

$$\frac{0}{100} (35.80 + 3.55) +$$

$$\frac{75}{100} (100 - 29.37 - 39.35)$$

$$= 4.40 + 0.00 + 1.17 = 5.57\%$$

Indian origin.

the modern world has been dominated by ground on the whole" writes the Western Europeans and their offshoots authority; and he in the New World, so the Middle Ages were "Under Akbar dominated by the conquering Islam.

Islamic Empire was twice as large as the We estimate the proportion of the Roman Empire had ever been. The Arabs indelibly their own by permanently Arabiz. 15 per cent of the Muhammadans of the ing and Islamising most of the Middle-East under oppression, in a few villages of The proportion of foreign born is 5.6 Kirman." (Historians History of the World Vol. XXIV, p. 488).

It took them several centuries to conquer India. The invasion of Sind took place in 712 A.D., and Malik Kafur successfully raided the Deccan in 1310 A.D. "The Muhammadan conquest of India did not begin until the last quarter of the twelfth century; if the frontier provinces of Kabul the Punjab and Sind be excluded" writes Vincent Smith. Thereafter their progress was rapid, and may be reckoned to have continued till 1340, when the empire of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak attained its maximum extent. Even then the extreme south of the Deccan, the Or in other words, one among 18 Muham- Malabar coast, western half of Gujarat and madans, taking India as a whole, is of non- Cutch, and Rajputana remained unconquered. "It may be affirmed with truth that Just as the ancient world was domi- for more than two centuries from 1340 to nated by the Greeks and the Romans, and the accession of Akbar in 1556 Islam los goes to and successors his Muslim frontier was extended from time to The first mosque was built by Muham- time until 1691, when the officers of Aurang mad in 622 A.D. at Medina. He died in 632; zebe were able for a moment to levy tribute and within a generation Islam conquered all from Tanjore and Trichinopoly in the For

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of Feristha, even if he had made an error of submission". (p. 223). two hundred or three hundred per cent there de-growth of population from 1,000 or 1,100 A.D. to 1600 A.D. Kapilendra Deva Gajapati of Orissa (crowned 1435, died 1470) claimed to have ruled over 90 million souls over a region whose present (1931) population is population of the region is estimated to c.1600 A.D. It is strange that the decrease of his relatives". (p. 218). in each case is about one-sixth.

and pestilence. The general histories of a lakh. India do not give the neccessary details and and facts as we have gathered we have no south of Simla, (c. 1242 A.D.). doubt that genocide was practised on a large to publish them in easily available form.

South. After the date named the Marathas of the time, merciless and fanatical. His enlarged the borders of Hindu dominion valour and profuse liberality to his comtill 1818." It is not for nothing that Sir rades endeared him as having been a 'bene-William Hunter says that the British con- ficient and victorious monarch'... His gifts quered India from the Hindus. The we are told, 'were bestowed by hundreds of Muhammadans failed in Islamizing India; thousands, and his slaughters likewise were the tactics which succeeded elsewhere from by hundreds of thousands.' (italics ours). China to Spain failed here. And they were All the leaders in the Muslim conquest of Hindostan similarly rejoiced in committing Feristha (1580-1626) writes that the wholesale massacres of Hindu idolaters, population of India at the beginning of the armed or unarmed. Their rapid success was Muhammadan conquest was six hundred largely due to their pitiless 'frightfulness', millions. And at the death of Akbar it was which made resistance terribly dangerous, one hundred millions. Whatever the errors and could not always be evaded by humble

How cruel and ferocious these Muhamcannot be any doubt that there had been madan invaders were, and what slaughters and destructions they inflicted upon the defeated may be realised from the sack of Ghazni, a purely Muhammadan city, in 1150 A.D. by Ala-ud-din Husain, a prince of Ghor. "The unhappy city was given to the flames 54 millions. At the death of Akbar the for seven days and nights, during which 'plunder, devastation, and slaughter were have been 16 millions. Whatever the errors continuous. Every man that was found was in estimation and even assuming that the slain, and all the women and children were Gajapati has exaggerated the number of his made prisoners. All the palaces and edisubjects two or three hundred per cent, fices of the Mahmudi kings which had no there cannot be any doubt that the popula- equals in the world' were destroyed, save tion has suffered de-growth during c.1450- only the tombs of Sultan Mahmud and two

And Ghazni was the seat of the Ghaz-Genocide by the early Muhammadan navid Empire stretching from Persia to the invaders and rulers seems to have Punjab, and from the Persian Gulf to the been the primary cause, followed by conse- oxus for over a century and a half. Its quent famines and severe scarcity of food population is estimated to have been at least

Coming to India, Vincent Smith says: facts; they generally describe the events in "The nature of the warfare of the period is broad terms, occasionally giving stray facts illustrated by the description of the campaign here and there. From such descriptions in Sirmur, a hill state of the Punjab, to the

"Ulugh Khan Azam, by a stroke of Scale. The subject requires careful investi- sword, turned that mountain tract upside gation, and we appeal to the scholars to down, and pushed on through passes and collect facts from contemporary accounts defiles to Sirmur, and devastated the hilland histories written by Muhammadans and tract, and waged holy war as by the faith enjoined; over which tract no sovereign had Vincent Smith in Oxford History of acquired power, and which no Musalman army had ever before reached, and caused "He [Kutb-ud-din] was a typical speci- such a number of villainous Hindu rebels to men of the ferocious Central Asian warriors be slain as cannot be defined or numbered,

From the description it would seem that almost the entire population was slaughtered. The populations of Sirmur and the Simla Hill States including it are 1,48,568 and 3,30,850 and the percentage of Muhammadans is less than 10. Assuming the 10 per cent Muslims to be the descendants of converts, all of the remaining 90 per cent who could be caught were slaughtered as 'by faith enjoined'.

well-established Coming now to the Muhammadan rulers as against mere in-

vaders of India we find:

(1) Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak (1325-1351) "came to hate his subjects and to take pleasure in their wholesale destruction (italics ours). At one time he forth his army to ravage Hindostan. He laid the country waste from Kanauj to Dalman (on the Ganges, in the Rae Bareli district, Oudh), and every person that fell into his hands he slew. Many of the inhabitants fled and took refuge in the jungles, but the Sultan had the jungles surrounded and every individual that was captured was killed'.

"The victims, of course, were all or nearly all Hindus, a fact which added to the

pleasure of the chase." (p. 242).

The distance from Kanauj to Dalman is 100 miles as the crow flies. The Dacca University History of Bengal, Vol. II, describing the Maratha Bargi raids in Bengal says:

During this retreat, whenever the Bengal army halted, the Marathas used to halt likewise, just beyond the range of long muskets, while their roving bands plundered and burnt the villages for ten miles on

each side of the track." (see p. 455).

and burn villages for 10 miles on each side due to improvements of their track during retreat, followed by the regular army of the Nawab Aliverdi and defenceless peasantry for at least 15 reasons, (1) during

nor be contained in record nor in narration." miles, if not 20 miles, on each side of the line.

The area devastated by the Sultan is:

 $100 \times (15 + 15) + 11.15^2$ sq. miles = 3,000 + 707 sq. miles = 3,707 sq. miles.

The areas and populations of the dis. tricts, through which the devastated track passed are:

District	Area in	Pop. (1931) in
	sq. miles	000's
Hardoi	2,323	11,28
Unao	1,787	8,56
Rae Bareli	1,749	9,74
Farakkabad	1,643	8,77
Cawnpore	2,368	12,12
Fatehpur	1,642	6,89
Total	11,512	57,36

The average density of persons sq. mile is 498.

Multiplying this by the area found above, we get 14,97,500 or 15 lakhs in round numbers. The population of the U.P. in 1931 was 484.08 lakhs. So, about 3.1 per cent of the population was deliberately killed in man-hunt.

We shall now try to get in absolute numbers the magnitude of the slaughter. Moreland estimated the population of India at the death of Akbar to be 100 millions; In 1931, the population was 338 millions. At this rate the population of the devasted area

10 in 1600 would be $-\times15=4.4$ lakhs.

was the population two centuries and a half earlier?

The average decennial increase between If the Maratha bargis could plunder 1881 and 1931, after excluding the increase method of in enumeration, and for the inclusion additional areas is 5.84 per cent. At this Khan, the numerous Imperial army of the rate the population of India in 1801 would Sultan, who could send an expedition of be 161.2 millions. And the rate of increase 1,00,000 cavalry to conquer China, could do per century is about 27 per cent. This rate surely greater havoc against an unarmed cannot be applied backwards for several the period 1600—1800

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of the world the rate of growth in mediaeval increase to about 32,20,000 in 1545. times was much slower than in later periods.

For if we apply the rate backwards for six centuries the population of India in 1000 A.D. would be 24 millions; and in 1100 A.D. would be a little over 30 millions—an absurdly low figure. If the present proportion held good the population of Orissa would be a little over 10 lakhs. With such a small population and the revenue derived from them it would have been impossible for the Gajapati kings to erect the Temple of Jagannath.

The easiest thing would assume as a first approximation that as there had been frequent wars, mass-killings, mass-enslavement of population and transfer of them outside India as slaves, confiscation of women, and consequent famines and contraction of areas under agriculture, especially in Northern India, the population has not increased between 1350 and 1600. In that population the case slaughtered would be of the order of 4.4 lakhs.

Studies of the population of Britain in Roman times, based on a systematic use of archaeological material, support a figure of approximately one million. Collingwood's first estimate was 0.5 million, and some scholars who have reviewed the material have suggested 1.5 million. next substantial basis for estimation, provided by the Domesday Book, indicates that in 1086, the population was in the neighbourhood of 11,00,000—approximately

there was Mughal peace for over a century; per cent from 1348 to 1377 and another de-(2) there was no genocide on a large scale; cline of approximately 25 per cent by the (2) progress of civilisation and introduction first decade of the fifteenth century which of arts and crafts helped to increase the rate may have reduced the population to about of natural growth; and (4) in all countries 21,00,000. The evidence then shows a slow

> Taking 250 A.D. as the middle point of the Roman times, the population has increased from (0.5+1.5)/2=1 million to 3.22 millions in 1545 A.D. The rate of increase per century works out to 9.4% per century.

> Levasseur estimates the population of France at the time of the Roman conquest to be about 6.7 millions, and about 8.5 millions under the Antonines, and a somewhat similar figure under Charlemagne. From that time to the middle of the thirteenth century there was a fairly constant increase to a total of 20 millions, followed by a decrease of one-third to one-half at the time of the Black Death and the Hundred Years War. This decrease was regained during the sixteenth century, although the population growth suffered another check at the time of the religious wars (1565-1580). Another increase occurred during the seventeenth century, followed by a sharp reverse in the early eighteenth century which reduced the population to an estimated 18 millions in 1712.

The Romans commenced the conquest of Gaul in 125 B.C., and completed it at the time of Julius Caesar in 58-51 B.C. We take 50 B.C. to be the date of the Roman conquest. The population growth. during 50 B.C. to 1250 A.D. is at the rate of 8.8 per cent per century; and that between 50 B.C. and 1700 A.D. is at the rate of 5.65 per cent.

The most rapid increases of population equivalent to the "medium" estimates for in Europe during the mediaeval period Roman times. Monastic records show that a took place in the north of the Alps and rapid increase occurred between 1086 and the Carpathians, where the enlargement of 1240, but indicate that a decrease in the rate forest clearings and the extension of agriof growth occurred before the outbreak of culture provided an economic basis for the the Black Death in 1348. By that time support of additional people. Landry, in the number of persons had risen to about agreement with Beloch, assumed an in-37,00,000 company from 2 or 3 millions in 37,00,000 and was three or four times greater crease in Germany from 2 or 3 millions in than it had been some 12 millions at the than it had been about 250 years earlier. Caesar's time to some 12 millions at Life-table. Life-table methods show a decrease of 40 beginning of the fourteenth century.

The rate of

per cent per century.

Beloch estimated the population of It is generally recognised that the total rate. population of the Empire increased during rally accepted by other competent students.

population of the Roman Empire increased the de-population due to the at the rate of 47 per cent per century.

Nath in A study in Economic conditions of Ancient India has suggested a population of 100 to 140 millions for the time of Asoka at the beginning of the second century B.C. Kingsley Davis accepts these estimates of the population of ancient India

as having approximate validity.

Assuming the population of India in 200 B.C. to have been 120 millions, and assuming further that the rate of increase from 200 B.C. to 1100 A.D. (when there were frequent large empires and peace over large portions of the country) to have been half the Mughal rate of increase, viz., 13.5 per cent per century, we get a population of about 624 millions in 1100 A.D. or a population of about 552 millions 1000 A.D.

Ferishtha's figure of 600 millions is not so absurd as it appeared at the first sight. Using 9% per century as the rate, and 140 millions as the base the population in 1100 A.D. would be 434 millions. But such large population is doubtful.

Even if the production of food per acre was more—and there are reasons to think so as the rainfall was more equable and soil was not so exhausted as at present, the in his man-hunt from Kanauj total area cultivated was far less due to was of the order of 3,90,000. large tracts of land being wild forests in-

increase is 1.86% or 12 bisons, and other animals. It could not have supported such a large population.

Further there were famines and pesti. the Roman Empire at the death of Augustus lences peculiar to tropical countries; and (14 A.D.) to be 54 millions. Caviagnac, after there were internecine wars in which the adjusting the records used by Beloch for Hindus also ravaged the land they invaded omission of children, arrived at an estimat- and conquered—although the slaughter and ed population of 80 millions. Then, genera- enslavement was not a hundreth part of lizing and extra-polating estimated increases what was practised by the Muhammadans in selected areas, he concluded that there but it led both to famines and pestilences were over 150 million persons in the Empire The growth of the population was likely at the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 A.D. to be slower than even half the Mugha

Even if Ferishtha had made an error of the first two centuries after Augustus, but two to three hundred per cent in his esti-Caviagnac's conclusions have not been gene- mate of total population, even allowing for reduction in his figure due to famines On the basis of Caviagnac's figures, the pestilences peculiar to the soil of India and internecine warfare amongst Hindu kings there cannot be any doubt that there had been serious de-growth of the population between 1100 A.D. and 1600 A.D.

The population of Europe has increased from 274 millions in 1850 to 53 million in 1930. The decennial rate of increase works out to 8.6 per cent; while the 1. Nor average for India between 1881 and 1931 is 5.84% per decade. The rate of growth i 2. India, both in ancient and mediaeval times has probably been slower than that in the corresponding periods of Europe. It is for this reason, we have taken 13.5% per century as the rate of growth between 200 B.C. and 1100 A.D., while in the Roman Empire il was 47% per century for nearly two centuries.

The rates of growth in England, France and Germany over long periods have beel 9.41%; 5.65% and 11.86% per century Giving equal value to all, the average 8.97% per century. We take the rate of growth in India between 1350 especially in Northern India, to have been smaller, say 5 per cent per The population which was 1,000 in 1600 increased from 885.2 in 1350. The populaplentiful in the north-west India; and the tion slaughtered by Muhammad bin Tughlat to Dalman

Sultan Firoz Tughlak, habited by lions and tigers, rhinoceros and Akbar of his time by Sir Henry Elliot if CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

1353-54 Bengal The B battle 1 indicate for eac be beli exceed result eviden the pr provin years 1 ed. A: arrange the inc ed". (\

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(a) W

11,76,000

(b). Within a radius of 40 miles 7,53,000

Two centuries and a half earlier, the estimated populations would be:

Region II Region I

(a) 7,32,000 (a) 11,44,000 (b) 10,45,000 (b) 6,69,000

And of this population at least 1,80,000 were slaughtered and paid for. The percentage of the slaughtered to the total population of the several regions works out to:-

Percentage killed:

Region I	Region I	
(a) 15.7	(a) 24.6	
(b) 179	(h) 270	

About one-eighth of the total population is generally regarded as men of fighting or military age. The fact that the percentage of the slaughtered largely exceeded 12.5 goes to show that not only men able to bear areas were slaughtered but there was indiscriminate slaughter of all men within the range of operation, older men and younger adults not being spared. Human life was held very cheap.

The Bahmani dynasty lasted from its foundation in 1347 to 1526, a period of centuries. Vincent two nearly writes: "The Bahmani Sultans failed in the atrocious attempt made more than once by members of the dynasty to exterminate the Hindu population of the Deccan, or in default of extermination to drive it by force into the fold of Islam. They succeeded in killing hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, and in making considerable numbers of 'converts'; but in spite of all their efforts the population continues to be Hindu in the main, the percentage of Mussalmans in the Nizam's Dominions and the Bijapur District at present being only about eleven." (Ibid, p. 284).

The details, when, where and to what extent the slaughters took place are not

t have 1353-54 "engaged in a war with the king of (b) Within a radius pesti. Bengal which lasted for eleven months. The Bengal monarch was defeated in a battle the locality of which is not clearly indicated. Firoz Shah offered a silver tanka for each enemy head. If the historian may be believed, the heads counted and paid for exceeded 1,80,000. The campaign had no result except the wanton slaughter thus evidenced. No territory was annexed and the practical independence of the eastern province continued unimpaired. years later the war with Bengal was renewed. After some fighting terms of peace were arranged, and from that time, about 1360. the independence of Bengal was uncontested". (V.S., p. 247).

The battle referred to was fought somewhere in North Bengal, most probably in the district of Dinajpur. We give below the area and population of the several areas, as well as density of persons per sq. mile:

	Region	Area in		Density
	the House of	sq. miles 1	1931 in000'	S
1.	North Bengal	19,163	1,06,68	557
	(Dinajpu:	r 2,609	14,29	1
2.	Maldah	1,764	10,54	509
	Rajsahi	3,948	17,55	
	Total	8,321	42,38	

The population within a radius of 50 miles from the Imperial camp of Firoj Shah, situated somewhere in North Bengal, most probably in Dinajpur would be (1) 43,76,000, or (2) 39,99,000. We have taken 50 miles as radius, as it is the maximum distance which it is possible for a cavalry to raid from its base. Probably the raiding radius was smaller as the region is intersected by several rivers and there are swamps. If we reduce the raiding radius to 40 miles, the population within the raiding radius would

be reduced to (1) 28,00,000 or (2) 25,60,000. The population of these regions at the death of Akbar (C. 1600 A.D.) would be:-

Region I (a) Within a radius of 50 miles 12,87,000

(a) Within a radius of 50 miles 8.24,000

Region II

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the liot in authors have mostly described them in is 13,51,000 in 1931. About 1600 A.D. the slaught general terms. We give below such instan- population would be: ces as we have been able to find.

"The reign of the second Sultan, Muhammad Shah I (1358-73) was chiefly occupied by savage wars waged against the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagar and Telingana or Warangal. Horrid cruelties were com- Two centuries and a half earlier, it would not give mitted on both sides. The ferocious strug- be: gle continued until the Sultan was reputed to have slain half a million of Hindus. The population was so much reduced that the Kanarese country did not recover for ages. At last the butchery was stayed and the parties agreed to spare the lives of prisoners. The entire population of this area and of age in his own dominions as he was against Emperors later he sought to suppress rob- devastated. bery by indiscriminate massacres, and in the course of six or seven months sent nearly eight thousand heads of supposed robbers to be piled up near the city gates." (Ibid, p. 276).

From the account given by Nilkantha Sastri in his History of South India (p. 234-5), it appears that the Raichur Doab, and the adjoining districts of Bellary, Dharwar, Sangli, Anantapur and Chitaldrug of defenceless villagers.

The areas and the population several districts are given below:

* de , === "	Area in sq. miles	Population (1931) in
		000's
Bellary	5,713	9,70
Raichur	6,630	9,38
Dharwar	4,606	11,03
Sangli	1,111	2,58
Anantapur	6,741	10,50
Chitaldrug	4,149	6,57
Total	28,950	49,76

The over-all density of persons per nate slaughter and enslavement of the civil sq. mile is 172. The population of an area population, destruction of temples and the

easy to find in books of general history. The within a circle with a radius of 50 miles

$$10$$
 $\times 13.51$ lakhs=4 lakhs.

$$\frac{885}{1000} \times 4 \text{ lakhs} = 3,54,000.$$

and non-combatants. Muhammad Shah was other adjoining areas were deliberately as blood-thirsty when dealing with brigand- killed. The average density of persons per sq. mile about 1350 was 45. To kill half a his external Hindu foes. Like the Mughal million, an area of 11,111 sq. miles was

> Sultan Ahmad Shah (1422-35) "resumed the war with the Hindus, to revenge the losses suffered by the 'army of Islam' in his brother's time. He attacked the Vijayanagar territory, with savagery even greater than that shown by his predecessors.

'Ahmad Shah, without waiting besiege the Hindu capital, overran the open country; and wherever he went, put to were the scenes of this wholesale slaughter death men, women, and children without mercy, contrary to the compact made by his uncle and predecessor, Muhammad Shah of the and the Raya of Vijayanagar. Whenevel the number of slain amounted to twenty three days and thousand, he halted made a festival in celebration of the blood event. He broke down also the idolatrous temples and destroyed the colleges of the Brahmans'.

> "Those atrocious proceedings enables the Sultan to assume the title of Wali, of Saint." (see Vincent Smith, p. 277).

> Nilkantha Sastri says: "Ahmad proceeded against Vijayraya of Vijayanagar l avenge the disasters of the last reign; battle on the banks of the Tungabhadra was followed by the most ruthless devasta tions of Vijayanagar country. Indiscrimi

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of this campaign." (p. 239).

suffered from a severe famine' (V.S. p. ed and there was famine' (Sastri, p. 240). The number of the slaughtered is

would not given; we may well believe that the number exceeded half a million of Muhammad Shah I.

slaughters took about the middle of the fourteenth century. below the number of the We tabulate slaughtered:

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Muhammad Firuz Shah	bin Tughlak		3,90,000
Muhammad	Shah Bahmani		
including	8,000 brigands	• •	5,08,000
	Total		10,78,000

The population of India, (C. 1350), was 88.5 millions. The percentage of those killed was 1.22. If the population was increasing at the rate of 5% per century; the decennial rate would be 0.487 per cent. These three slaughters alone wiped out the natural growth for more than 25 years or nearly a generation.

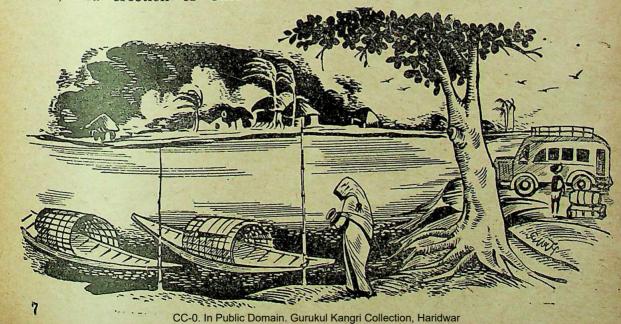
of the administration normal Mughal Emperors, crime was

miles slaughter of cows were the special features Vincent Smith notices the massacre of at least 2000 least 8,000 persons within a short time, say 'About the year 1420 the Deccan again a year in the Cawnpore District, (See p. 417). The population of Cawnpore is estimated to suffered to Suffer it is likely to have increased by 10 per cent; and the population was about 3,92,000. Quite two per cent of them were slaughtered within a year.

> The Mughal rate of growth is 27% per place century or 2.4 % per decade. If we assume that the 'natural' rate of growth of Indian population is about 6% per decade; and such Chor Minars were erected every five years, the growth would come down to about 2 per cent—the observed rate.

Mewar, The population of 1580, is estimated to have been 13.5 lakhs. Even Akbar "massacred 30,000 of the country people who had taken part in the defence" of Chitor, besides the garrison, (Vincent Smith p. 350). This works out to more than 2 per cent of the population.

These are but few instances of mass slaughters. Continued mass slaughters for over four or five centuries must have affected the growth of population, and possibly to de-growth. Mass slaughters, especially of men of prime age, lead to the decrease of birth-rate and increase of death-rate. And this is a factor which must be considered in assessing the de-growth. Ours is a prelimisought to be repressed by indiscriminate nary essay, written to draw the attention of massacres, and erection of Chor Minars. the learned scholars in studying the subject.



LOST

By PREMENDRA MITRA

THE passage through the lane, meant a short-cut. So, usually I left the main street alone and went home this way.

The lane was dirty and dark. But it had become familiar through long use. I knew almost by heart where to expect puddles and where to guard against slipping.

The first part of the lane was very dark. On one side was a long blank wall and on the opposite side was the rear portion of a building. No light fell here from the main road and the street lamp at the corner of the lane did not illuminate this place.

That night I nearly stumbled over somebody and cried out in irritation, "What are you doing here, little one?"

I was about to crush the foot of a little girl. She was about ten years of age and was dressed in a dirty frock.

What was she doing there squatting in the dark?

I took out my box of matches and struck a light. With her thin piteous face, she looked up at me in alarm.

I knew who she was. They lived in this lane. She lived with her maternal uncle. They were very poor. The uncle had a job in a cloth dealer's shop. What he earned there was not sufficient to feed his numerous progeny. So this orphaned niece served as a maid of all work, without any pay.

She ran on all sorts of errands, did the daily marketing most of the time. But she did not mind. Though she looked thin and haggard, yet she moved about with plenty of energy. She had a smile on her face too. She did not regard her menial duties as a punishment. It was a sort of play.

With a gunny bag in hand, she went about the market. She stood in queues for the cereal rations of the family. If the uncle and aunt happened to be in good mood, she went and brought cheap fried food from the vendor at the street corner.

I have seen her many times in this lane ar about w in these shops. Everybody liked her for her sweet sunny. temper. Though she was very young, she wi in this very smart.

The other day she bought some spices from Ramu's shop. Then she burst into loud laught as she counted the change she had got back, "He much have you given me back, Ramuda," s cried, "don't you know what to do with Na Paise?"

"What," cried Ramu, "I don't know how! count money?" He was very much aggrieve "You mean to say I have given you less than should? Have I ever swindled anyone?"

Ramu was justified in saying so. His price were rather high, but he never cheated or gar short weight.

The girl went on laughing, "But you has cheated yourself. You should give me back eleven annas. But you have given me seventyone Nat my hou Paise. Here are your extra two paise."

Not only Ramu but we also were dum no time founded. The girl went away laughing.

Ramu was pleased, though a bit embarrasse "She made a fool of me," he said. "If only s were not so unlucky."

Many people thought so, when they saw ! girl. But times were hard and the struggle existence so severe. The stream of mercy drift up now-a-days, as soon as it began to flow.

But just now I felt a twinge of pain as looked at her piteous face. Even in this flickers dimlight from a match-stick, I could disce the utter despair of her sad face. I have new before seen her like this.

"What has happened, little one?" "I have dropped the four anna bit," sobbed out.

To lose a whole four anna bit was a stall tragedy, when I looked at it through the eyes. I heard the story from her as she brown it out bit by bit.

Her uncle suffered from acidity. As he an attack of colic pain coming on, he gave child a four anna bit and told her to buy a bott

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At drunken It lane.

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The for sucl of soda water from the shop at the street corner. I had to tell Hazra, about the lost four anna

She was running along the lane, when a large musk rat squeaked by, and as she jumped back in terror, she dropped the four anna bit.

Though she did not say so, I understood that she would be punished severely for this loss, and that she dreaded this punishment. She went lane ar about with a smiling face, because her nature was ner swe sunny. Her environment did not help her at all she we in this matter.

I struck match after match and sought for

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But we did not find it. It was no easy job ck, "Ho to get back a four anna bit, that had been dropped from the luckless hand of an orphan girl, who ith Na worked as a servant for her food.

While we were still searching, the uncle of the girl suddenly appeared. He had waited and waited, and then had come out to see why the girl was so late.

When he heard that the child had lost the is pric coin, only my presence restrained him from or gar striking her. Abuse flowed from his lips in an unbroken stream.

As he left, he delivered his parting shot. "If you hat ck eleve you don't find the money, know that the door of one Na my house is closed."

My box of matches was nearly empty. I had dunt no time to look at her face, so busy was I search-

> I was about to strike the last of the matches when I was interrupted. A light from an electric torch flashed on my face.

At the same time I heard the drawl of a drunken voice, "What's the fun here?"

It was Dulal Hazra. He also lived in this lane.

He had not given up his rooms here, though his business had gone up by leaps and bounds and he might be said to have reached ringhee," metaphorically.

His big car could not enter this lane. So he had rented a garage on the main road for the car. He walked home for the rest of the way, always reeling slightly.

The lane ought to have been grateful to him for such high honour.

bit.

He was extremely annoyed with me. So I was dragging the child about, in this refuse bin, to find a four anna bit? Was not there a human heart inside my body?

"Take this, little one," he cried and thrust

a whole rupee into her hand.

I tried to restrain him, which made him more angry and ended in his forcing a five rupee note into her hand.

The girl seemed stunned and finally walked off towards the shop.

Hazra looked at me, perhaps a little disdainfully and started for his home.

In the dark I could not see his expression. I too, was rather bewildered at this royal munificence of Dulal Hazra.

II

For a few months after this, I had to live outside Calcutta. On my return, I got down one day from the tram on the main road and tinued on my way, on foot.

I found a crowd and stopped to see

was going on.

The crowd had collected round that small girl. She looked the same and was dressed in the same way-only today she was weeping weeping.

A man in the crowd explained everything

to me, unasked.

The girl had lost a rupee. It had dropped from her hand and perhaps rolled into the gutter.

Another man remarked, "All bunkum, my dear sir. It's a new device for begging. Only the . other day, I found this very girl on another street, shedding copious tears. She said she had lost her money. She has not lost anything at all."

I got out of the crowd and started for home. Whatever the people said, I knew that the girl had lost everything. She herself was lost in this our world of charity."

^{*} Translated from the original Bengali by Sita Devi.

THE BIRTH OF 'METRE'

By ANIL KUMAR ACHARYA

Joint Secretary, Indian Decimal Society

WITH the progress of civilisation man felt the necessity of measurement, but it was not before long that he could evolve some standard. This standard (if it was a standard at all) varied from country to country. It was unscientific and arbitrary. But even in the midst of these arbitrary varieties, one remarkable coincidence does not escape our notice. We find that in looking for standard men all over the world used their own limbs as units. Thus, we have in India, haat (cubit), angul (fingers), bighat (span of the hand), gira (18th part of a cubit), etc. England and the continental countries have foot fathom, yard, etc. Before 1790 there were in Europe more than 280 kinds of measuring feet, varying from one another. In the 12th Century the 'yard' was defined as the distance between the tip of the nose of His Majesty Henry I of England and the tip of the thumb of his outstretched 'hand'. In the 16th Century 'foot' was defined as the average tread of 16 men. Fathom was defined as the distance from the tip of the head to the tip of the toe of a man.

Realising the necessity and advantages of better defined and uniform standards of weights and measures, every country tried some sort of uniformity or other. But this only added to the confusion, the system varying from country country, from town to town, from village to village.

The most bewildering situation is found in India where numerous systems of weights and measures prevail, some of them most primitive. In many parts of our country pieces of woods and stones are still now used as weights, while baskets and odd-shaped earthenware vessels serve the purpose of measures of capacity. It is still now a custom to measure cloth by arms length and reckon small lengths by the span of the palm or by the width or thickness of the thumb. The situation in other countries was not better. In order to put an end to this most unsatisfactory situation, scientists began to think seriously and the following propositions were advanced re-

garding the choice of the unit of length: a mea sured fraction of the length of an arc of meri dian, or of the circle of the terrestrial equator or the length of a second's pendulum.

The first proposition owes its origin to Ab Gabriel Mouton, a French astronomer and mathe matician, who suggested in 1670 a comprehe sive system having as the basis the length of a arc of the earth's circumference. The idea using the pendulum probably came from the Royal Society of London and had the support Picard (1671), Huygens (1673) and Roemer. I March, 1790, Talleyrand, then Bishop of Autr placed before the Constituent Assembly of France a plan of the unification of weights and measure based on the length of the pendulum. In fixing the base of the new measures, collaboration England was also sought for; but for sor reason or other, the desired co-operation not become available.

However, after discussing the plan, the Academie des Sciences (of Franc appointed a commission which adopted the det mal scale for all the divisions of weights, me sures and coinage.

A second commission composed of Bord Monge, Condorset and Lagrange rejected t idea of using the length of the second's pendulu on the ground that the length depended on intensity of the force of gravitation and cons quently was not the same at all points on earth's circumference. The commission find decided in favour of quadrant of earth's me dian to be the actual unit of length. It decided that this unit should represent the millionth part of the distance between the equal and the pole. As it was not possible to measure the whole distance, they decided to measure arc extending from Dunkirk in France to Bar lona in Spain, the extremeties of this arc meridian, both at sea level, located to the not The Assemb and south of the 45th parallel. Nationale adopted the plan on March 26, 17 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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The measurement of the arc of meridian, as mentioned above, began in June, 1792, and the determination of the length thereof could not be finished before June, 1798. The work was very onerous, difficult and hazardous. France was then in the throes of a revolution. In the course of the execution of the plan, the executors Delambre and Mechain and their assistants were victims of many unfortunate events, viz., arrests, revocation of their rights of passage, damage to and destruction of their work, etc. Yet in the midst of all these difficulties the work of measurement was completed satisfactorily. From this distance (from Dunkirk to Barcelona), the whole distance and the ten-millionth part of it were This was 'metre' (approximately 1.1 yard.) derived from Latin 'Metrum' (to measure), cognate with Sanskrit ma.

All the plans for reform emphasized some correlation between the units of length, weight and volume. This part of the work was taken up by the Academie des Sciences. The work was first entrusted to the Academicians, Lavoisier and Houy, who almost completed the work in August, 1793. The work was then taken over from them by Scientist Lefevre Gineau who, assisted by Fabbroni, completed the work. These two scientists determined the weight of a known volume of water by weighing successively in water and in air a hollow brass cylinder whose dimensions had been carefully determined. These data yielded the weight of a cubic centimetre (1 centimetre = 1/ 100th metre) of distilled water taken at its maximum density (4°c-four degree centigrade) and weighed in a vacuo. The unit of mass was thus linked with the unit of length 'metre' and was named as gram=mass of one cubic centimetre of water at the temperature of its greatest density (at 4°c). The actual standard is a cylinder of platinum which has the same weight as a litre (one thousand cubic centimetre) water at its greatest density and is called the standard kilogram (one thousand grams). The unit of time in the metric system is the second and is equal to 1/86,400 part of the mean solar day. The unit of time is fortunately the same in all civilised countries. In this way, after arduous labours of scientists and academicians the elements requisite to the establishment of standards of units of length and weight were

1795, the nomenclatures 'metre' for lengths, 'arc' for areas, 'litre' for capacities and 'gram' masses were fixed. An article of this law also stipulated that the 'metre' which had been adopted as the fundamental unit of the entire system of measures should be traced on a platinum bar. Several bars of standard metre length and kilogram were then carefully constructed, legally approved and preserved as the standard prototype till the platinum iridium prototypes International Bureau of Measures and Weights substituted them later on. The international prototype metre is a bar of an alloy of 90 per cent platinum and 10 per cent iridium in an X-shaped cross section in order to eliminate influence of bending. The prototype of kilogram is a cylinder of an alloy of 90 per cent platinum and 10 per cent iridium of 39 millimetre height and 39 millimetre diametre. Both the prototypes are preserved at the International Measures Laboratory at Sevres, France, which was established by the International Metric Convention in 1875. The platinumiridium was adopted for the prototypes because such a combination keeps the standards from changing with variations in temperature.

Besides, the idea behind linking the standard with a fraction of the quadrant of the earth was that the metre could be restored even if it were But accurate scientific or damaged. measurements in the thirties of the present century showed that the fraction 1/10,000,000 not accurately represent the measure. Further, since the size of the earth is liable to alter with time, its quadrant is not a suitable standard for most accurate reference. The metre is, therefore, now simply defined as the distance between the scratches on the above-mentioned platinum-iridium bar. In order to restore it if it were lost, and to guard against any change of its length due to alteration in the crystalline structure of the material of the bar, a number of physicists, French and American, measured its length in terms of light-wave of a particular colour. The idea of linking the unit of length to a quantity in terms of physical phenomenon ensuring permanent stability was engaging attention of the Scientists from the earlier part of the last century. The possibility of using the length of a light-wave as a natural standard of length was put forward by J. Babinet, the French

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last century the International Bureau of Weights and Measures also undertook the study of the question of constituting a secondary natural basis for the unit of length. The work of A. A. Michelson and J. R. Benoit (1892-1893) is notable in this connection. The work led to the first determination of the value of wave-length of the lines of the Cadmium Spectrum in terms of the metre, thus fixing the Spectroscopic scale in terms of the metric unit on a definite basis. But it was only during the last two decades that the matter engaged the serious attention of the Scientists.

At the request of the General Conference on Weights and Measures in 1948, considerable research on the interference of light-waves was carried out at the International Bureau and in other important metrological laboratories, which definitely brought out the possibilities of the satisfactory use of such a standard. As a result of strenuous research, additional knowledge about the structure of radiations became available. Moreover, the recent development of light sources enabling hitherto unattained metrological accuracy led the International Committee at its biennial Conference in October, 1958, to adopt a draft resolution recommending the definition of the metre as the length equal to 1650763.73 wave-lengths in vacuo of the orange radiation of the Krypton atom of atomic mass 86. On October 15, 1960, at the Eleventh Session of the General Conference of Weights and Measures at Paris the Scientists assembled from all over the world

Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennai and eGangowi draft resolution, now physicist, as early as 1829. At the end of the confirmed making it possible to define the metre with an accuracy 100 times greater than it is possible with the present platinum-iridium standard.

> As for the second, the standard unit of time the Scientists decided that instead of reckoning second as the 86400th part of a day as hitherto. it would now denote the 31556925.974th part of the total time in the year 1900 A.D. To the ordinary man these changes are practically meaningless. But to the Scientists the consequences of these changes are far-reaching. declaring the recent decision of the conference as "historical," it was pointed out that an error of one millionth part of an inch in releasing a rocket to the spheres would result in a deviation of thousands of miles from the traget. A Submarine conducted beneath the glaciers in the polar regions would be more fatal.

> The smallest length susceptible of accurate measurement with the existing platinum-iridium bar is only one millionth part of an inch. But with the help of wave-lengths of the Krypton atom-86 it will now be possible to measure accurately even hundred-millionth part of an inch, a single wave-length of the Krypton-86 denoting twenty-millionth part of an inch. Besides, the length of the light-wave of a particular colour is invariable; it does not alter with If by a world time of change with place. catastrophe all the metre-scales were destroyed today it would still be possible to reconstruct the metre equal in length to the newly defined wave-length of the Krypton atom-86.



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SOMERSET MAUGHAM AS A TELLER OF TALES Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and Gangoth TALES

By BEJAN DARUWALLA

Somerset Maugham, the last of the three understating this intensity of literary giants (Wells and Bennet the other two, are dead), is content to regard him-"primarily as a teller of tales". Maugham took to short story writing late in life, when he had already mastered his medium and won fame as a novelist and dramatist (it is interesting to note that Maugham has never looked back since the performance of his drama "Lady Fredrick" as a stopgap, in 1907). But even then he very characteristically says: "I write not as well as I would like to, but only as well as I can". However, the autobiographical touch which best reveals the man, and specially his short stories is:

"Though I have been in love a good many times, I have never experienced the bliss of requited love. I know that this is the best thing that life has to offer. I am incapable of complete surrender. And so, never having felt some of the fundamental emotions of normal men, it is impossible that my work should have the intimacy, the broad human touch and the animal serenity which the greatest writers alone can give".

I feel Maugham's judgment is not only harsh, but positively unfair. It is suggested that it is precisely his having "never experienced the bliss of requited love", that makes him pine all the more for it in his stories. Is it any wonder, therefore, that nearly all of his famous short stories are love stories?* Maugham runs through the whole gamut of love—sexual, sensual, passionate, platonic, possessive, tender, zealous, brutal, foolish and helpless. Love, in one form or another, is indeed his magnificent obsession. His characters live most fully only when touched by the flame of love. This limits his 'range', but also gives his stories great intensity of feeling.

English is a language of ments—and none knows it understate-Maugham. It is Maugham's technique of

his characters who are in love, that has an impact on the readers. In his stories, we do not have any purple patches. His style is essentially simple, direct, economical. Even an average reader is hardly ever called upon to refer to the dictionary. But this simplicity is deceptive—there is genius behind it.

As an illustration of a powerful love story, simply told, let us take the story, "Before the Party". In it, Milicent, the murderess of her drunkard husband Harold, narrates before her nervous mother and pompous solicitor father, the actual murder: "The parang was on the wall. I don't know what happened. There was all the blood, and Harold opened his eyes. He died almost at once." When asked by her mother. "Milicent, you didn't do it, did you?", Milicent replies with a chuckle: "I don't know who else did." In that one line have the character entire Milicent; hard, cool, too frustrated to care a jot for whatever happens. Never was so much, so simply said, in so little.

Maugham seems to believe that too much physical beauty brings sorrow and ruin on its owner or his loved ones (psychologists may see in it Maugham's unrealised desire of being an attractive person). And yet he gets into raptures over it! He delights in the very animality and grace of the human body. The stories 'Red' and 'A Casual Affair', best endorse this view. In 'Red', Red is spoken of as "the most comely person you ever saw." He had "that suave feminine grace which has in it something troubling and mysterious". His skin was "dazzling white, milky, like satin; his skin was like a woman's." But it is this very beauty, which brings untold misery and suffering to the woman he loves! And the irony of it all is that Red ends up as a red and blotchy mountain of a man with bloodshot eyes, features sunk into fat and a look of sheer imbecility on his oncehandsome face! In the other story, 'A Casual Affair', Jack Almond, the handsome and dashing officer, courts death and dis-

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^{* &#}x27;Rain', 'Red', 'P & O', 'The Book Bag', 'The Letter', 'A Casual Affair', are only a few of his justly famous love stories. and dasning of his justly famous love stories. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

climber. After his death, Maugham re- carrying his child. He gets all soft and fatal features!

have a twist ending. If one were to ask human: him the reason, I feel he would reply that human nature itself is very strange ('baroque' is the word he uses) and that literature No finer deals with human nature. example of a typical Maugham twist ending can be given than that of the famous story 'Rain'. In this story, Miss Thompson, a prostitute, is matched against a very strong willed, zealous missionary, Mr. Davidson. He, at last, brings the prostitute to her knees! She is all set to start a decent life. The missionary, however, himself falls for the prostitute! He cuts away his throat in remorse, guilt, shame and disgust. The prostitute resumes her former ways-much to the annoyance of Miss Davidson-and when the very tolerant Dr. Macphail (could this be our author?) goes to her, she spits out with great hatred and contempt: "You men! You filthy, dirty pigs! You're all the same, all of you! Pigs! Pigs!" Our author seems to be sniggering at all those who forget that the flesh is always weak.

Love is a woman's whole existence and a writer of love stories is expected to have known more about the rage and know a woman's heart through and hatred in her heart, if another writer had through. Our author certainly knows. written fifty pages on it! Women are more emotional than men- "The Letter" Mrs. Joyce, and so, when they are thwarted in getting collected, so self-controlled, so elegant and at the object of their love, they go to any so very fragile to look at-pumps bull length to achieve it! This, perhaps, ex- over bullet in the body of her lover Geoff plains the overwhelming murders and because he preferred a fat Chinese woman killings which his women characters resort to her! It seems as if Maugham wants to in very many stories. 'The Mother' and tell us: "You never can be sure with "The Undefeated' are cases in point. In women!" 'The Undefeated' we have a picture of victorious Germany over-running France of his locale as Maugham. He had first-hal in the War. Hans, a big, brutal German experience of life in the Malaya rubbe soldier rapes Annette, a sensitive, patriotic plantations—and he uses this

grace for the love of a worthless social Later on, Hans learns that Annette is marks to us: "I didn't add, because I was sentimental and even proposes marriage afraid they might think me cynical, that But Annette takes a terrible revenge on maybe if only Jack Almond hadn't had Hans. She murders her own babe by those incredibly long eyelashes, he might drowning it in a pool of water! It is grue be now alive and well " The eyelashes some in the extreme! And yet when we are, of course, Almond's most attractive— think of Annette's character—it is quite in keeping with it. Annette is not shown to Practically all of Maugham's stories exult in her deed, but rather too, too

> "Annette sank into a chair and leaning her forehead on her two fists burst into passionate weeping." She has our sympathy and admiration, murderess though she is! Great art this is by any standards! This is so, because we get to know the woman-hurt, humiliated, seeking real revenge on her enemy, achieving it, and vet human enough to weep passionately at the consequence of her own revenge! In 'The Mother' we have the possessive love of a horrible, old crone for her handsome son, who wants to have some fun from life. Maugham squeezes every drop of drama from this story. He introduces as attractive girl Rosalia, who flirts with the young man just to tease the old crone. Rosalia, does succeed in diverting the young man's attention completely to her. The crone, one day, buries her knife " Rosalia's neck! As she is caught and let away by the policemen, all she asks whether Rosalia is dead or not. When told that Rosalia is dead, she merely says:

couldn "Thanks be to God!" We In

There has never been a writer as sufficient French girl, in love with a French teacher. with telling effect. It is in the locale of CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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Malaya becomes a blinding passion, a married life, runs into a big, husky flares up, sort of compulsion, that ends in disaster. planter Gallagher, returning for good to the human drama. It makes the story future. He has money, looks, health, in fact, knows no bounds; and yet "she has to for it. stay-or starve; and Norman had to keep her—or hang". been avoided. The great stretches of water, Woman Of Fifty" is such a story. impulse daubed it (the lipstick) all over her nose like a red-nosed comedian," then looked herself in the mirror (being a woman after all!) and shouted: "To hell with life!" She thus stands X-rayed before us—a miserable woman wanting so very much from life, getting so very little!

If Maugham's women characters can violence and freakish impulses, they can also rise to noble heights. They can let go their loved ones—so that they may be happy in their own way. Maugham,

Malaya plantations that love suddenly other woman after twenty solid years of The locale at times becomes a character in England. Gallagher, has big plans for the possible; gives it a meaning and a purpose. everything. But, he suddenly falls ill in the Flotsam and Jetsam' is one such stories. sea voyage—and dies towards the end. It It is a tale of illicit passion set against the is his death that makes Mrs. Hamyln mysterious background of the Malaya realise that man "that is born of woman plantations. The tale is of the marriage of hath but a short time to live, and is full of a very ordinary actress to a planter Nor- misery. He cometh up, and is cut down, man Grange, "a man without a country." like a flower . . . ". It spurs her on to write The sheer monotony of the scene, proves a wonderful letter to her husband, wishtoo much for Mrs. Grange who pines to be ing him many years of happiness with his in England. But her husband feels himself loved one. The freedom she so very selfa stranger there! Enter love in the form lessly grants her husband—also releases of Jack Carr! Norman Grange, catches her from the bondage of jealousy, frusthem kissing, and shoots Carr dead. The tration, bitterness. She also becomes free. hatred between Norman and his wife now Here is an obvious moral-if one cares

Another characteristic of the author, Truly, an impossible is his very casual way of commencing the situation! Were it not for the monotony story and the slow leisurely way of buildof the plantations, this situation would ing it up, brick by brick. It provides a never have arisen-and a terrible tragedy sharp contrast to the twist ending. "A the book-shelves in the planter's house, author is invited to deliver a lecture by the sluggish flow of the turbid stream, the his friend, Professor Holt. After the roll call of the labour, the king-fishers and lecture, he meets Mrs. Greene, a member the birds of different plumages- all help of the staff. Only later on, does the author to build the fatal locale. Mrs. Grange, recollect her-she was twenty-four, he tied down for life to the one man forty, when they first met, and the story she hates most in the world, has her little proper starts. She is described as: "What rebellion when she "on a sudden freakish made her attractive was the odd mingling in her appearance of the Madonna in an altarpiece by one of the later Italian painters and a suggestion of sensuality." True to this devil-goddess combination, she marries a dashing young Italian nobleman and then has an affair with his father, a Count of excellent manners! The son shoots his father. In order to save her husband, she pleads guilty to adultery. But, all the same, she marries again and sits at the head of the dining tableserene, amused, an indulgent smile on her himself also believes that life is fleeting lips! The sheer contrast takes our breath and mi and miserable, and one is entitled to one's away! But we forget, it has been carelove and happiness. This belief, is beautifully prepared all along! Maugham befully fully exemplified in the classic love story lieved that a good story must have a 'P&O', To beginning middle and an end; and 'P & O'. Mrs. Hamyln, mad at her husband definite beginning, middle and an end; and for his having fallen in love with some he practised what he preached.

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And now a word or two about his frequent personal intrusions in his stories. I think this is inevitable with the type of stories he writes. Why? Nearly all his stories begin so casually that he would be hard put to keep them rolling along, if he did not step into the picture and give it a push. But, he does so, very simply and naturally, very artlessly. Again, Maugham is an important but unobtrusive character in his stories. He gives the readers, thereby, a writer's detached viewpoint of the whole affair (his training as a doctor helped him to cultivate such an attitude). There is also a third reason for his personal intrusions. It is to lend authenticity -as only the statement of a man on the spot of the scene of action can give. The great love story, 'The Book Bag', which deals with the delicate problem of incest between a brother and a sister, might have --:0:--

And so to the inevitable question: "Is Maugham an all-time great story teller ?" The answer would be a definite "ves" Maugham, a disciple of De Maupassant and Chekov, hit up a new trend in story writing. It was to show human nature at its most baroque. His is the attitude of the surgeon, cutting human nature into slices. and passing it for our inspection. Every slice is unique. For sheer crispness and naturalness of dialogue, economy of expression, reality and life-likeness of women characters, different variations on theme of love, story build-up and subsequent twist endings which throw to light a peculiar aspect of human nature-Maugham is unrivalled. In him we have the conscious artist at his brilliant best.

SARVODAYA FRONTIERS OF ECONOMICS

By Dr. J. EDWARD SCINDIA, M.A. (Exptl. Psych.), L.T., A.M. (Educ.), Ph.D. (Educ.).

parable of the Vineyard found in Matthew XX, of All, the veritable Kingdom of Heaven on earth 1-15 on which Ruskin based his 'Unto This Last'. 14. There are forty-nine other biblical references and as a Karmyogin rose up with the dawn to translation of the book was christened by Gandhiji as SARVODAYA.

There is reason why Gandhiji considered the Bible as the greatest book on Economics and Economics to a 'Dismal Science', to use Ruskin's human labour. Man as 'Real Wealth'

THE Sarvodaya concept is directly traceable to Utilitarianism) but takes man unerringly to the the parable of the Good Husbandman or the final goal of civilised society: The Greatest Good

The husbandman in the parable goes out The heading of Ruskin's book is found in verse early in the morning to hire labourers, then goes out about the third hour or 9.00 A.M., offering in 'Unto This Last'. Gandhiji mastered this book work to those whom nobody had hired. The process is repeated three more times at 12.00 A.M., translate its teachings into action. The Gujrati 3.00 P.M., and 5.00 P.M., when the day's work is about to end, finding employment for the unemployed, forestalling a social order providing employment for all. The Five-Year Plan, it is said, was rejected by Vinobaji on the score of Christ as the greatest economist of his time and not being 'National' because of its low employ possibly of all times. The concept of wealth enunment potential. Economics is called upon ciated in the parable takes us far beyond the change its outlook on wealth from 'maximum limits prescribed for the Economic Man in the production at minimum cost' to a virtual 'minimum cost' to a virtual Acquisitive Society perpetually engaged in wealth- mum production at maximum cost', offering the getting and wealth-spending activities, reducing widest possible opportunities for employment of expression. It refuses to be tied down to "The first and foremost a reorganisation of society Greatest Good of the Greatest Number', (Mill's wherein ample opportunities will be available for CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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society ole for the contribution From Each according to His in the life of Sarvodaya society. The basic value Ability' employment for all, a hundred per cent

employment potential.

The husbandman, who goes out from dawn to dusk seeking the unemployed and providing them with work, is obviously more interested in the unemployed than the vineyard. He is interested in 'Wages' not in the sense of minimum wages for maximum work, as is the practice of the acquisitive society, but wages equal for all, giving each one a 'living wage' even though brought into the vineyard at different times to work, rescued from unemployment imposed upon labourers through social arrangements based on callous indifference to human needs. Economics is called upon to capitalise to the maximum All Available Human Resources and contribute fully to contentment and human happiness.

After painstaking and thorough survey of the ways and means for providing 'for each according to his needs', we need to use all ingenuity and knowledge to secure co-operation of all so that 'Each' will contribute according to his capacity to the common good. Some totalitarian state shall not step in on the plea of advancing production when externally imposed arrangements misnamed 'Co-operative Farming' have the peasants by the throat, getting them to do what they want them to do. The function of Economics is to educate people and bring home to them their own 'enlightened self-interest' and not to 'coerce them even for their own good'. A recent criticism that "year after year, month after month, we are being pushed out of the free and democratic set-up of our Constitution" (K. M. Munshi, Warnings of History, p. 58.) is worthy of sober consideration. We should be interested in an arrangement in which Individual and Society are treated as two ends of a common process and all experiences remain consciously and deliberately shared. Vital sharing is the heart of democracy. Sarvodaya nothing less than the Kingdom of God on earth. scope of economics. Psychology at one In the 'Co by way of increased production, is secondary.

in the economics of Sarvodaya is human dignity. To preserve it intact, the farmer must co-operate when he can and non-co-operate when he must. The role of Sarvodaya economics is unceasing explication of enlightened self-interest in context of associated living so that the area of shared interests registers continuous growth consistently with the growth of human personality. The right to disagree, to be in the majority of one, to be willing to sacrifice even one's country for the sake of one's soul, is a right, a privilege and a duty whose exercise, enjoyment and performance respectively evince the existence of the divine in each individual, however exalted or humble. Therefore, the farmer should have ample opportunities to opt out of co-operative farming if and when he feels that farming on family basis would serve his best interests. Otherwise he will find himself caught in the whirlpool of sluggards who refuse to see their own good and prefer to follow the line of least resistance expressed in the dictum: 'Everybody's business is nobody's business'. In the midst of such economic doom salvation lies in non-co-operation, the assertion of moral right to differ. The role of Sarvodaya economics is to teach persons to respect honest differences.

The scope of economics is limited to study of the activities of 'normal human beings'. (Dr. A. N. Agarwala, Introduction to Economic Principles, p.4). But if a normal individual is one whose deviation from the norm is less than the average deviation for the group at a particular time and place, we are at once faced with a changing concept of the 'normal individual' extremely difficult if not impossible of delimitation. Besides, those who fall either below or above the middle fifty per cent in a Frequency Distribution, may be either a serious liability or a significant asset economically. Hence, ignoring to take coginvites us to share the largest number and variety nisance of the sub-normal as well as the superof interests on the basis of equality. It aims at normal amounts to an undue narrowing of the In the 'Gram-dan' village free and willing co- limited itself to the study of the 'normal' but operation is the primary object the Sarvodaya later discovered that the study of the sub-normal worker must have in view, what is accomplished and the super-normal were as profitable, if not by way of the normal The good of all more, as the study of the normal. The good of all The uniqueness of the individual and the cannot possibly omit the good of the sub-normal sacredness of his personality must remain invio- and the super-normal. They too have appeared lable and lable and inviolate in the 'Gram-dan' if the in the life series as human beings and do not and individual inviolate in the 'Gram-dan' if the in the life series as human beings and do not and individual farmer is to be co-offective participant, Rango estand, unrelated even to wealth-producing happiness. If man is real value whatever his capabilities, he is entitled to economic consideration. Sarvodaya aims to fill up the gap by omitting none from its consideration, as there are none who are not related in some way or the other to wealth. In fact, the inclusion of the study of the sub-normal and the super-normal along with the study of the normal makes the scope of the science of economics scientifically complete, comprehensive and competent to secure the welfare of all.

'the measuring-rod of Economics is money' is unacceptable to Sarvodaya. (Dr. Agarwala, Ibid, p. 19). Money is merely a medium of to his need and in which enlightened self-interest exchange. Barter has at times in the past and may makes all work for the common good. even now dispense with the use of money. Vinobaji's abhorrence of money as a medium of ex- having given due weight to its science change is a significant pointer. For Sarvodaya the measuring-rod of Economics is not money to behave civically. Likewise economics of Sarvo but human welfare. The concentration of power daya considers as its supreme task the inculain money is already so disproportionate that its tion of economics as an art. That art consists it function and value call for serious reconsideration. The tendency of money is to move from centres of poverty to centres of wealth. It, thus, leaves the former poor and makes the latter none too noble. Society's social creation is becoming the cause of its own undoing. Its substituting money for human welfare is one of the chief p. 80). That art compels us to focus attention a causes of its own undoing.

whether economics can be treated as an art or not. insists that man should remain the master and They think that the business of economics is to not become the servant of the machine. collect, analyse, systematise, classify, generalise p. ix). That art, most of all, requires strict ad economic data related to processes of consump- herence to the principle of respecting the person This is following the pattern set by exact sciences. freedom of conscience. But even the exact sciences feel the inadequacy of procedures which stop short of taking cogni- envisages vastly extends the bounds of practice sance of human destiny. Matter that lent itself to economics. Sarvodaya proposes to make explicit statistical manipulation has given unmistakable the Kingdom of God which has hitherto been in evidence of the presence of the non-material ele- plicit. Remember Christ's word: "The Kingdo ment in it. For social sciences there is still less of God is within you." Making explicit here

welfare is primary; all else is secondary. From aim is to provide optimum conditions for growthis rejet for the results of the welfare state with the rejet of th this point of view a living wage for all makes and development of the sense, as does respect for human personality, society. India's foremost genuine sharing, respecting honest differences, who discovered some of his deepest etc., none of which interested economics when it reflected in Ruskin's 'Unto This Last', felt allowed itself to degenerate into a dismal science impact of those stirring economic ideas.

and wealth-consuming activities, let alone human stinct with a vengeance. In fact, that catering a mental disease. Money as an end in itself is at unmistakable evidence of mental degeneration For the salvaging of the individual afflicted with warped values of life and of society gone moneyminded, we need thorough and systematic reeducation to effect the much needed re-orientation proposed by Sarvodaya. Had the art aspect received its due emphasis the dry bones of economics would have been clothed with flesh and blood producing an economic order in which God appears in the form of work and wages for all, to which each contributes according to his capacity and from which each receives according

In order to develop civic sense Civic proceeds to lay down procedures for the citizen emphasising all growing rich justly, the economy no longer depending merely on prudence but of jurisprudence. (Ruskin, Unto This Last, p. 44) That art lays down that consumption is the crow of production and the wealth of a nation is on to be estimated by what it consumes. (Ibid trusteeship so that riches might be harnessed i Some economists are still undecided as to the service of mankind. (Ibid, p. 85). That a distribution, exchange, production, etc. nality of each citizen and guaranteeing him

The transvaluation of values that Sarvodo justification for omitting the art aspect. Why so? now that Kingdom of God is the sine qua non like Not money, but man is real wealth. Man's the fruition of the Welfare State whose socialist pattern economist catering for the demands of the acquisitive with Kangouchitetth Haridwan instantaneous and

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transformation' in his life, and he rose with the interpretation through Programme, p. 3.)

given to Sarvodaya a refreshing and soul stirring is the extent of Sarvodaya frontiers of economics. --:0:--

(Bhoodan), transformation through land-gift (Bhoodan), dawn ready to reduce those principles to practice. wealth-gift (Sampat-dan), gift of body-labour land-gift dawn ready (Sampai-aan), gift of body-labour (M. K. Gandhi, Sarvodaya: Its Principles and (Shram-dan) and the offer of one's self for the Gandhiji who translated Ruskin's 'Unto This achieved indicate vast possibilities of the social Last' into Gujrati and christened it as Sarvodaya transformation of India and possibly of the Last into outled champion of that social order world. Gandhiji's political heir and successor, that looks to the world as the home of man, all Jawaharlal Nehru's Panch Shila is Sarvodaya in that looks and races inhabiting the earth as one World-Politics upholding the worth and dignity SOCIETY. His saintly successor, Vinobaji, has of India and all other nations of the world. Such

SCHOOL MASTER—ASWINI KUMAR

By NARAYAN BOSE

Speaking of Aswini Kumar Dutta, Sister Nivedita described him in unsparing words of eulogy as This schoolmaster's schoolmaster. veritable memory is cherished in the hearts countrymen as one of the few pioneers of the 20th century Bengal. His life and activities merit pursuit in the perspective of the present efforts in our national reconstruction work.

Aswini Kumar was born in a village called Patuakhali in Barisal, in January, 1856. From early life he was imbued with the spirit of service and patriotism. He received his M.A. and Law degrees from the Krishnanagar College. Although son of a judge, he decided to dedicate his life in educating his countrymen not in a routine manner but in a manner which could be helpful in building up their character and inspire them with the ideals of service. With this purpose he started the Brojomohan College and School. The Brojomohan School started by him in the year 1884 became, in course of times, one of the most important centres of learning and was compared by Mr. Cunningham, the then D.P.I. of Bengal, with the celebrated institutions of Oxford and Cambridge.

In running this school he had with him a number of dedicated teachers like Kaliprasanna Bhabaranjan Jagadish Mukherjee, Mazumdar and others. The students who used to come to the Brojomohan School were given on the first day of their admission a table of

instructions which summed up the relationship between the teacher and the taught as something permanent. It was mentioned in the said table that every student would be watched both in the school and at home. In fact Aswini Kumar himself used to go round the houses of the students for inspection and help. In order to combine classroom education with a training in plain living and high thinking and service for the country, he brought into existence a number of organisations which were meant to help people in different ways. These organisations were: (1) Union Brothers of the Poor, (2) Band of Hope, (3) Band of Mercy, (4) Little Brothers of the Poor, (5) Debating Society, (6) Sporting Club (7) Fine Art Society, (8) Band of Labourers.

It was in the mind of Aswini Kumar to see the students, develop physically, culturally and socially, as self-reliant good citizens so that they could be of service to the community. Everyone a clear objective, of these organisations had that is, to teach the students the practical principles of unity, friendship, mercy, philanthropy, service to the sick, etc., permeated by a governing motto of truth, love and purity. As a teaching of Aswini Kumar's students used to come out of the portals of the Brojomohan School as truthful, self-reliant, public spirited citizens. There are stories current about the strict adherance to truth of the students of the Brojomohan School. It is said

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Calcutta, of Banerjee, came to visit Brojomohan School and deeds. The mainstay of his life and work The So was astonished to find that there was no invi- religion. He was a devoted student of gilator during the examination. The students Shastras, the Bible, the Koran and the Grant were so much imbued with the spirit of truth- saheb, etc. fulness that copying was not at all prevalent. In the matter of educating the masses Aswini with men like Sri Ramakrishna, Rajnarai the U.S Kumar employed his students as well as men like Mukunda Das and Hem Bandopadhyaya to preach among the villagers the message of good life and the value of education. These preachers disseminated among the people new ideas Karmayoag and Prem made it a point to infuthrough Tarja, Jatra and Kathakatha. The school-building was enlarged with an additional wing for the college classes in the year 1889, to translate into practice the same ideas and ideals established a way of life himself that could guiding the activities of Aswini Kumar for the emulated by others in the country. His in educational preparation of the youth of the fluence was so wide-spread that evil-doers and country. His way of diffusing the ideas for the evil designers were rectified under his spell. A regeneration of the country, to catch up with the an example of this it may be mentioned the new life, was not confined only to the school when Mymensingh, Comilla and and college. In the year 1884, he established were experiencing serious communal distur an association called Swadesh Bandhab Samity bances in 1907, Barisal was not attacked by with the singular purpose of creating social the canker of communalism because of Aswir awareness of the people. As a convenient tool Kumar's moral hold on the people. After for his work he published a journal called a continuous life of service Aswini Kumz the Sov Bikash, setting forth the basic principles of the died at the age of 68 in November, 1922 this cont educational work. In the year 1913, when but he left a legacy of service through the Fu Aswini Kumar was made the President of the education to his countrymen. meeting of the Bengal Branch of the All-India he was instrumental in creating a number Congress, held in Dacca, he said in emphatic of torch-bearers of his ideals who have been terms that educational awareness must have to be transmitting the high educational created in the minds of the people in such a he preached. The question may be asked manner that the Government could not but yield as to what was the secret of his strength for to the demands of the people for the fulfilment this new experiment with education. In a word really ju of their objectives. Here in this particular it was neither his oratory nor his excellence Constitu task he was very much conscious of creating a wisdom but it was his identification with the its original task he was very much conscious of creating a wisdom but it was his identification with the its original task he was very much conscious of creating a wisdom but it was his identification with the its original task he was very much conscious of creating a wisdom but it was his identification with the its original task he was very much conscious of creating a wisdom but it was his identification with the its original task he was very much conscious of creating a wisdom but it was his identification with the its original task he was very much conscious of creating a wisdom but it was his identification with the its original task he was very much conscious of creating a wisdom but it was his identification with the its original task he was very much conscious of creating a wisdom but it was his identification with the its original task he was very much conscious of creating a wisdom but it was his identification with the its original task he was very much conscious of creating a wisdom but it was his identification with the identification w social and moral atmosphere through educa- cause of the people. Today when the community rule car tional means. We find Aswini Kumar here not development programme demands that at the as a political agitator in a political conference village level co-operative, panchayat and the Free but a visionary for constructive work. He school should be considered as the basic instructive work through the programme of education, Kumar in character-building, development undertake

the whole life of Aswini Kumar is that he technique in selected Barisal as the venue of his activities citizenship and social solidarity.

one occasion the Registrar of the where he experimented with the principle. Rev. Kaliprasanna truth, love and purity in the living words

A study of these scriptures and his contaguthorit Bose, Ramtanu Lahiri and Swami Vivekanant future made every fibre of his being religious realised mellowed.

Aswini Kumar in his books Bhaktiyou the basic tenets of good life in the minds of the people. Here also his main purpose was the education of the youth. In this manner other place Consequently Soviet C work that to constructive ments of social change, the experiment of Aswin has to manhood and education, attracts our attention give effective The most noticeable point of attention in and calls for an examination of his positive Western for good freedom educating the people

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By Prof. MANI SHANKAR PRASAD, M.A.

Work THE Soviet Union might be viewed as a colossal t of political laboratory conducting a vast scale ex-Grant periment on socialism; therefore, in no country of the world is the province, the concern of the authority so total in scope as in the U.S.S.R. In ajnarai the U.S.S.R. Socialism is not a programme for ekanane future action; it is something which has been eligious realised in practice.

It has been claimed by the authors of the 1936 Soviet Constitution that the Soviet Constitution is fully democratic since it recognises no reservations and restrictions on the rights of persons such as are found in other parts of the Globe. The democratic spirit of the Soviet Constitution is more emphasized when it is claimed that the latter not merely states the rights of the individuals, but stresses the guarantees of these rights, the means by which these rights can be secured and exercised. In other words, it does not merely proclaim democratic liberties, but legislatively ensures them by providing definite material resources. But on the other hand, there are persons who do not accept the truth of the above statements. They repudiate the attributes claimed for the Soviet Constitution by its protagonists. And this context leads us to make a brief analysis of through the Fundamental Rights as guaranteed in the equent Soviet Constitution.

At the very outset, it would be of major interest to note that the Soviet Constitution is influenced by the ideas of the constitutional charters of the West and by the Marxist theory at one and at the same time. And Towster is really justified when he says that 'the Constitution reflects in practice the dualism ils origin, though the Marxist teachings as rule carry by far the greater weight'.

From the standpoint of implementation, and the Freedoms can be classed as negative and positive depending upon whether the state merely has to refrain from action or whether it must undertake regulating arrangements in order ttention give effect. The Soviet Union has followed the positive Western democracies with regard to negative or good freedoms. But an apparent difference between the Soviet system and the Western system is noticed when we find that the Soviet scheme of rights of radical political writings introduce a number customarily inscribed in constitutional of the West. The American or French declarations of human rights are based on the doctrine of individualism; their aim was to secure to the individuals almost unfettered ownership of private property and the right to invest in it in the best way they liked. But the authors of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. approached matter from a different angle and with a different spirit; they conceived of the rights of citizens in terms of the socialist order in which there is a deliberately planned production for the community as a whole. And consequently, the right of private property has been abolished, though a small plot of land, a dwelling house, livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements are allowed to each household. A novel economic right to which they give the first place is the right to work and which is duly secured by a definite and conspicuous provision for the socialist organization of the national economy and the steady growth of productive forces of the Soviet society. But at the same time it must not, however, be forgotten that what the state gives, the state can take away. Although unemployment does not exist in the Soviet Union, a large number of citizens have to work in forced labour camps.

significant feature of the Soviet scheme of fundamental rights is the inclusion of a series of social rights in the Soviet constitutional charter: The right to rest and leisure, the right of maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability and the right of education. These rights are duly ensured by the reduction of the working day to seven hours for an overwhelming majority of workers, development of social insurance and universal and compulsory free elementary education respectively. The Soviet Constitution also rcognizes and sures the right to equality irrespective of caste, creed and sex. Furthermore, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed inviolability of the persons and their homes also.

Finally, the Soviet Bill of Rights exhibits the unique feature of listing in detail the corresponding duties of the citizens. Among them are of radical innovations in the pattern of rights work, shall not eat), the duty to abide by the

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Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and to observe the law of the state, the duty to maintain labour discipline, the duty to respect the rules of socialits intercourse and the duty to render military services.

In short, the main features of the Soviet scheme of fundamental rights as enshrined in the constitution are its universality, the socialistic foundation, a scheme of ends with means, a

scheme of rights with duties.

Indeed, there is enshrined in the Soviet constitution an impressive catalogue of fundamental rights along with the provisions for their security. In practice, however, some of its rights, particularly in the field of civil liberties, have been honoured more in the breach than in the observance. In most of the cases the potency of the freedoms or rights is reduced by the narrowed interpretation given to them in practical operation.

It is to be noted that in the U.S.S.R. there is no equality in wages. Payment is made according to the quantity and quality of work. Equality in wages has come to be described as

"a vulgarised conception of socialism".

In the Soviet Russia all the civil rights are subject to the interests of the working class. Art. 125 expressly provides that these rights are to be enjoyed in conformity with the interest of the working people and in order to strengthen the socialist system.

There is no freedom of speech in Soviet Russia, in the sense we understand in this country. In India, France and England this freedom is allowed unless there is a breach of the law of the land or unless there is incitement to violence. But in the U.S.S.R. none is permitted to take a privilege of making free and fearless speech. A person or a group cannot express the views which are opposed to the interest of the working people or to the interest of the communist party. While commenting on this right in the U.S.S.R. Andre Gide has rightly remarked that 'in no country of the world is thought less free'. The Press, the Radio and the Movies in the U.S.S.R. are strictly controlled by the party and are propaganda machines of the Government.

When we make a dispassionate analysis of says Towster, "ch the Soviet treatment of the civil rights we find grow. In time, t that the officials pay constant attention to their to the wider of majority duty of protecting the socialist order. liberty" CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

In consequence, a warrant may be issued for arrest with an argument that it was required the protection of the socialist order and working people. Corrective labour camps who hostile classes and political opponents can confined to any length of time are a great by on the workings of the Socialist order.

In theory, no doubt, the right to association is granted to the citizens but any attempt to for non-communist political organizations or entindependent factions is promptly and violent suppressed. The only party known in the Contitution is the Communist Party of the Sov Union. Stalin has made an emphatic declarate that since Soviet Russia is a State of the working people, there is no necessity for any of party except the communist party which is to a vanguard of the working people. A right free movement has been introduced to people that the time of its exercise 'Home Passport' required even for travelling within the country

It can, therefore, be stated rightly to maximum individual self-realisation is complete rejected in the U.S.S.R. and Government guidance is substituted in its place. When the is a contest between the state and the individual the former enjoys priority over the late. And from this viewpoint, does not the Sor Bill of Rights appear merely to be the showed of a big shop where materials are arranged of a to attract customers?

Yet it is probably true that the majority the Soviet citizens are not labouring under undue sense of deprivation of freedom. This primarily for three reasons.

In the first place, the Soviet citizens no tradion of the Western type of liberty.

In the second place, the doctrine ecnomic equality has been injected into per in such a way that they find themselves the helpless to assert themselves for politiberties.

Finally, it may be said that the So society is just emerging from the backward of yesterday. The need and demand for his personal freedom come only with the growth culture. "For the moment, in fact, the ess of individual liberty in the U.S.S.R. constrays Towster, "chiefly in the citizens' change grow. In time, the growth of culture may to the wider demands for greater personal contents."

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The Belgians in Congo unlike the British and the French, never envisaged the days when the native African population would have to be given a major share in the general administration of that colonial area. They had given a larger measure of school education to their subject peoples, it is true, than what had been given by the other colonial powers, but it was on a

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overwhelmingly Congo was Congolese.

A detailed account of the conditions prevailing in the Congo is being given, serially, in article-form in this Review. But we append below a short account of the state of Congo, with regard to health conditions, as culled from the November-December, 1960, issue of World Health,





Dr. M. G. Candau arrives in Leopoldville

strictly utilitarian basis, keeping in view the necessity of filling the lower and lowest categories of jobs by the native peoples for reasons of economy. All higher jobs were reserved for the Belgians and to make that reservation fully effective, not even a trace of higher education was imparted to the Congolese till recently. As a result of this barefaced colonial rule, there was not a single native officer in the Congolese army. In a population of 14 millions, there were at the time of independence and the time of independe ence only 17 Congolese university graduates, but not 17 Congolese university graduates, but not a single doctor, engineer, professor

the magazine of the World Health Organisation. We are indebted to the New Delhi office of the W.H.O. for the permission for using the material contained in that issue and for the photographs reproduced here. The details about the Congo, given below are all from that source:

THE crisis in the Congo seriously affected health conditions throughout the country. The ranks of the medical profession were depleted and the Congolese Government appealed for international assistance in order to be able to maintain the health services, which were in danger of collapsing. Many countries responded or architect, and the colonial bureaucracy at once. The World Health Organization for its

r pers

M. G. Candau, Director-General of WHO, went in person from Geneva to Leopoldville on two occasions in order to confer with the Congolese Government and the United Nations, and to plan the work of the many international health teams.

part sent a group of senior staff members. Dr. Denmark (2), Finland (1), German Democratic Republic (3), German Federal Republic (2) Greece (2), India (1), Iran (1), Ireland (1) Japan (1), Netherlands (1), Norway (1) Pakistan (1), Poland (1), Sweden (1), Unite Arab Republic (1), Yugoslavia (1).



African children threatened by deficiency diseases

When the first WHO staff members arrived in the Congo, the situation might be summarized as follows: there were first class hospitals, modern laboratories and good auxiliary staff. But the country had no Congolese doctors (the first two will not obtain their degree before 1961) who might fill the vacant key positions in the various health services. It was up to the World Health Organization to advise the Congolese authorities on how the many international medical teams might be employed to the best advantage of the country.

At the beginning of September, according to the details supplied the League of Red

Cross Societies in Geneva, 26 teams including physicians, surgeons, nurses, anaesthetists, mid-bananas form the staple foods. Sweet potatots wives, laboratory technicians and a chemist had rice, maize, millet, groundnuts and sugarcan hear sent to the Correction to the Correction of Party and Part been sent to the Congo by the national Red Cross are also grown. Above 1,800 meters, societies of the following countries: Australia and similar vegetables replace manioc (2 teams), Canada (2), Czechoslovakia (1), banana.

The people of the Congo are mostly Negroes (Bantu, Sudanes and Nilotics), but there are also Pygmies and Hamites. The principal languages are Swahili Lingala along the Congo river Kikongo along the lower Congo and Tshibula. The traditional social patterns vary considerably

The tribes who live by hun ting are still in the patriarche stage. When the family grow becomes too large, a section breaks off and forms another group. Among agricultural tribes migration is rarer, and the sense of coming from a common stock is more deeply rooted in the people.



On her way to Coquilhatville a nurse from Canada receives a welcome from the Congolese

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In the forest areas, manioc, beans and The river tribes eat fish,

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Congo

people generally lack protein. Mining and the export of metal and metal ores are the chief resources of the Congo. Copper, diamonds, gold, silver, tin, cobalt, zinc, iron, uranium, radium and germanium are produced. Picture right shows an open mine at Ruwe, at first a gold mine. Other minerals ousted gold production.

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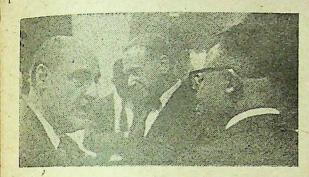
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Mr. Kasavubu, Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld and Dr. M. G. Candau

Output in 1958 amounted to 238,000 metric tons of copper, 11 tons of gold, 670,000 carats of jewellery diamonds. . . . Typical industrial products are cement, lime, and textiles. Exports include coffee, cotton and palm oil. 13 per cent of the economically active population works in industry.

School education is more extensive in the Congo than in many other areas of Africa. The great lack is higher education, and at present there are no Congolese doctors, lawyers qualified engineers. Their education has started at Lovanium University and other centres of learning.

In 1960, there is not one Congolese doctor.

In 1961, there will probably be 2: In 1965. there may possibly be 20. In 1958, there were in the Congo 703 doctors, 82 pharmacists, 43 dentists and 11 biologists, all of them Europeans. These figures indicate how grave a problem the Congo has had suddenly to face.

In 1958, the Congo had 459 hospitals and 2,483 dispensaries. The ranks of the health workers included 581 medical auxiliaries. 1,239 female nurses, and 5.663 male nurses, medical assistants, orderlies, midwives, assistant midwives and auxiliary male nurses. Medical faculties at Lovanium and Elizabethville and three special schools of tropical medicine (Leopoldville. Stanleyville and Elizabethville) have been set up since 1954. Medical auxiliaries receive their education at three special schools.



WHO in Leopoldville: Dr. P. Kaul, (seated), Dr. R. Sansonnens, Dr. G. Meilland, and Dr. J. C. Sinclair

The Congo has 11 schools for male nurses, 3 for sanitarians, 4 for nurse-midwives, 33 for assistant midwives, and 70 for auxiliary male nurses.



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INDO-AMERICAN STAMP EXHIBITION IN CALCUITA Foundation Chennal and eGangotri

The announcement that India's beloved Mahatma Gandhi would be memorialized on a United States postage.stamp was made in Calcutta by U.S. Consul General Gordon Mattison at the opening ceremonies of the Indo-American Society's First Annual Stamp Exhibition at the Academy of Fine Arts.



Mr. Allan J. Funch, Information Officer USIS, Calcutta, delivering the inaugural address at the Chandernagore Stamp and Coin Exhibition

Mr. Mattison told the assembly of distinguished guests that the new stamp, in four-cent and eight-cent denominations, would be issued by the American Government on India's Republic Day, January 26, 1961, as one of the famous "Champions of Liberty" series of postage stamps issued by the United States in honour of the world's freedom fighters. Mr. Mattison pointed out that Gandhiji, as one of mankind's outstanding champions of liberty had asserted that "freedom is the gift of God the right of every nation."

Rai Harendra Nath Choudhury, Minister of Education for West Bengal, snipped the ribbon at the inaugural ceremonies and commented that "nothing is more welcome than this stamp exhibition" in the cause for the furtherance of friendship between India and the United States of America.

Messages of greetings and good wishes came from President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker and U.S. Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield.

President Prasad wrote: "I am glad to know that the Indo-American Society of Calcutta is organizing an exhibition of stamps relating to

which represent the world's pressing problem I send my best wishes to the organizers and wi the Exhibition success."

Ambassador Bunker wrote that "the ide and aspirations, as well as the past history of nation, can be-and have been-portrage through the medium of the postage stamp, while is often a miniature work of art.

"It seems particularly fitting that the ther of this year's Exhibition should be Food, Famil Friendship and Freedom, for these are the for concepts outlined by President Eisenhower whe he inaugurated Amriki Mela at the Wo Agriculture Fair in New Delhi last December

"Both of our peoples and both of o democratic governments believe in and practi these concepts."



Mr. Allan J. Funch, (Centre) examines al exhibit in the Stamp and Coin Exhibition

U.S. Postmaster General Summerfield half the Exhibition as "another milestone in furl 'Food, Family, Friendship and Freedom,' all of solidifying the friendship between the work CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar between the work of the between the

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oldest democracy and world's largest democracy,"

adding:

"It is of the greatest importance that the people of our two countries should come to know more about each other—our traditions, our customs, our habits of thought, our ideas, our ideals. Perhaps in no other way are all these so beautifully presented to the eye as through the art of our postage stamps."

The Government of India's special post office at the Exhibition did so much business on the first day of the Exhibition that it had to send out to replenish its stamps three times. Thousands of First Day Covers, specially prepared by the Indo-American Society's Philatelic Committee, were mailed from the special post office with first day cancellations.

Coinciding with the opening of the Exhibition, announcement of prize-winners of the competitive part of the Exhibition was made by Mr. S. Chatterji, Chairman of the Society's Philatelic Committee.

Consul General Mattison reminded his listeners that Gandhiji believed that "freedom is the gift of God . . . the right of every nation," and then said:

"We believe this truth to be self-evident, and we honour the men who are freedom's fighters in a special series of stamps which are called 'Champions of Liberty.' This series of stamps was inaugurated in 1957 by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and the United States has thus paid signal honour to nine men of different nations as 'Champions of Liberty.'

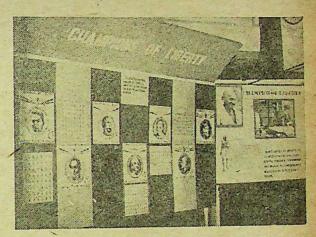
"It is my very great pleasure to announce today, on the eve of the 91st anniversary of his birth, that the United States Government will issue a postage stamp memorializing Mahatma Gandhi as one of mankind's outstanding champions of liberty.

"Thus the United States pays homage to the physically frail man who inspired courage and dignity with his principles of Swaraj (freedom), atyagraha (passive resistance) and Sarvodaya, (the welfare of all)."

One of the two official U.S. Exhibits in the show featured the "Champions of Liberty"

postage stamps and an additional panel containing the likeness of Gandhiji was immediately added to this to coincide with the official announcement made by the Consul General.

The second U.S. Government Exhibit featured the processes used in "How a Postage Stamp is Made."



Panel in the stamp exhibition at the Academy of Fine Arts with photographs of Mahatma Gandhi and other world Freedom Fighters

In addition to the special post office, the Government of India had a special exhibit featuring postage stamp issues since independence.

Philatelic films were shown at regular intervals in the Exhibition's Philatelic Cinema, and visitors also viewed a Philatelic Bookshelf, containing some of the standard reference works and catalogues on this hobby which had engaged the attention of presidents and kings, industrialists and scholars, the young and the old alike.

There were literally thousands of stamps on display, including old and rare stamps such as the famous Scinde Dawk, immediate predecessor to the first series of printed stamps in India in 1854. Many panels of Indian classics were on view.

There were even stamped envelopes sent by rocket mail in India between 1928 and 1932, as well as first day covers from the United Nations and the United States.

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W. C. BONNERJEE AND THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN INDIA

By KALYAN K. SEN, M.A.

AFTER the promulgation of the Queen's proclamation on November 1, 1858, educated Indians thought that they would then have a voice in the administration of their country. But to their utter dismay, they found that all talks of egalitarianism were insincere. It must be admitted that the post-mutiny period was an era of frustrated hopes and blasted aspirations. was promised but little was done. The "Vernacular Press Act" and the "Arms Act" were distasteful to the Indians, who were smarting under a sense of injustice. English implanted a desire for political privileges in the minds of the Indians. An increased study from Milton to Mill made the people eager for democracy and nationalism. As Henry Cotton "the emancipation of India become inevitable ever since a system of English education was established."1 Again a study of the past history of India and the foundation of the "Asiatic Society of Bengal" made the Indians conscious of their tradition and heritage. slow and systematic ruin of Indian economic self-sufficiency also accounted for the unrest of the day. The expansion of the mill industries was discouraged and the export of machinery from England to India was put under embargo.

new awakening in India. From 1872 onwards the word "National" came to be widely popular with the people. In 1867, Nabagopal Mitra (then known as "National" Mitra) started the "Hindu mela". The main object of the mela was to foster a spirit of independence and self-reliance among the Indians. The theatre of Bhuban Neogi was named the "National Theatre", the weekly journal of Kali Prasanna Dey was known as the "National Magazine", the circus of Nabagopal Mitra was called "The National Circus".

To mobilise public opinion, in 1875 Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mukherjee set up the "Indian League". But the league made little headway owing to the differences between the two founders.

Next year, the "Indian Association" was founded by Surendra Nath Banerjee and other like Ananda Mohan Bose, Dwarakanath Gangul and Nagendra Nath Chatterjee. This was the first organised vehicle and instrument of expression for the educated Bengalis. It was the beginning of a really broad-based political agitation. In the year 1883, the "Indian National Conference" came into being for the discussion of national problems. This conference met it Calcutta and was the direct forerunner of the Indian National Congress.

Woomesh Chandra Bonnerjee was born of the 29th December, 1844. His father Girls Chandra was an Attorney in the Supreme Court Young Woomesh Chandra had little fascination for class lectures and very often beguiled away his time by taking the female role in theatre. This histrionic zeal of the son dismayed the father, who ere long made young Woomesh are articled clerk in the office of Mr. Gillanders. But this humdrum life of an articled clerk in solicitor's office palled on him. With the help of one Cockeral Smith, another solicitor, he sailed for England even without the knowledge of his parents.

While in England, Woomesh Chandra, along with his study of law, tried to enlist the support of the English people for the cause of India. There in 1867, he convened a meeting and said "My opinion is that there ought to be a representative Assembly and a Senate sitting India, with a power of veto to the Governor General, but under the same restrictions as existing America with perhaps an absolute power of veto to the Crown".

returned to India as a Barrister, along with popinion, in 1875 Sisir Monomohan Ghosh. From now on he three himself heart and soul into politics. Ever since his return from England Woomesh Chandra CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukur Kangh Collectivit! Hahiswamark as a leading Barrister.

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^{1.} Henry Cotton: New India.

of Calcutta which was then the seat of Indian Government. Two cases made him famous. First was the celebrated "contempt of court" against Surendra Nath Banerjee in which Woomesh Chandra defended the accused. And the second was when he appeared for Robert Knight, the editor of the "Statesman".

Incidentally it may be mentioned, that Woomesh Chandra helped Narendra Nath Dutta (later known as Swami Vivekananda) in settling matters with his relatives regarding property.

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India.

The first session of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay on the 28th December, 1885. It is of interest to note that at first the name of the meeting was "Indian National Union" and only later it was decided to change the name to "Indian National Congress". This Congress was of profound significance. The Amrita Bazar Patrika of 15th December, 1887, pointed out that, "It is the first step of the Indian nation under the British Rule towards the political regeneration of their country." Signs of a new India were in the offing. To quote, Cotton:2 "It is a trite saying that there is no 'Indian Nation'. But apply the touchstone and it will be seen that, that statement is no longer true, and that there is at the present moment a new India rising before our eyes."

At the commencement of the first session of the Congress, Alan Octavian Hume formally proposed that W. C. Bonnerjee be elected President, and Subrahmania Aiyer seconded it.

The Congress was attended by 72 delegates, from places like Bombay, Poona, Calcutta, Ganjam, Agra, Allahabad, Lahore, Lucknow and so on. After taking the Presidential Chair Woomesh Chandra laid down the aims of the Congress under the following heads:

(1) "The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in the various parts of the Empire

(2) The eradication by direct, friendly personal intercourse of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity ever memorable reign.

2. Henry Cotton: New India p. 1-2.

(3) The authoritative record after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing social questions of the day.

(4) The determination of the lines upon and methods by which during the next twelve months it is desirable for Native politicians to

labour in the public interests."

But these were not all for he said, "I am describing only a few of the objects—these are not all, for our aim will be determined on the proposals." In the course of his speech he said that the discussions that would take place would be beneficial to the ruler and the ruled alike. He also touched upon the "inestimable blessings of the western education" and said that, "All they desired was that the basis of the Government should be widened and the people should have their proper and legitimate share in it."

In the days of Woomesh Chandra it was not possible to think in terms of complete independence, and all that could be aspired after was a little more share in the administration of the country. Referring to the educated class of India Cotton observed, "They demand real, not nominal equality, a voice in the government of their own country, and a career in the public service."

Although much enthusiasm was evinced the beginning, as the time rolled on the Congress had to face many serious obstacles. One of these was the paucity of funds. The Amrita Bazar Partika aptly observed, "Remove this financial difficulty and the Congress becomes permanent". It was Woomesh Chandra who came forward to tackle the problem: As a monthly income was successful Barrister his Rs. 20,000, to Rs. 30,000. A large portion of it was spent for the Congress and indeed "Woomesh. Chandra Bonnerjee stood by the cradle of the National Congress which he nurtured with parental solicitude and affection."4 In the Second Congress of 1886, Woomesh Chandra took a prominent part and moved two Resolutions. He lent his support to the system of trial by Jury. Besides, he also insisted upon the setting up of

^{3.} Henry Cotton: New India.

^{4.} Speeches and writings of Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh.

a Standing Committee of the Congress without which it would be "impossible to keep up a regular correspondence between different parts

of the country."

In 1890, the Session Congress was held in Calcutta, but Woomesh Chandra could not attend it because of ill-health. In the Nagpur Congress of 1891, Woomesh Chandra paid a glowing tribute to Dadabhai Naoroji who had been elected a member of the British House of Commons and hence could not participate in the Congress. In 1895, the session of the Congress was held in Poona. There Woomesh Chandra spoke against the policy of the Government which would compel the Jury to give a special verdict.

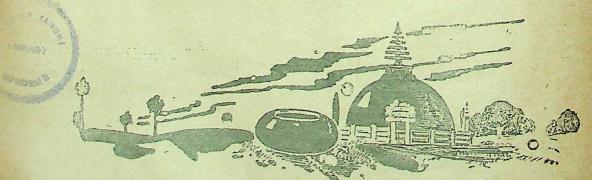
The 8th session of the Congress was held in Allahabad. Special attempts were made to make Dadabhai the President. But since he could not leave England, the choice fell upon Woomesh Chandra. In this session of the Congress one thousand delegates and three thousand visitors attended. Mr. Ananda Charlu proposed and Mr. D. E. Wacha seconded the election of Woomesh Chandra as President. In the course of his Presidential speech Woomesh, Chandra asserted that although Mr. Hume was regarded as the "Father of the Indian National Congress" such a view was not at all tenable. He pointed out that in reality the Congress was the handiwork of English merchants, missionaries, engineers, planters and so on. Thus it is patent that Woomesh Chandra accepted with gratitude the contributions of the Europeans to our country. He also asserted that there should be a complete divorce between social and political matters. He thus said, "I am one of those who have very little faith in the public discussions of social matters, those are things which I think ought to be left to the individuals of a commu-

nity who belong to the same social organisation to do what they can for its improvements." H held that each community, like Hindu, Parset Sikh, etc., has its peculiar and particular pro blems, which can be tackled by the members the same community only. Woomesh Chandra was all for trial by Jury. It was his firm belie that in the absence of such system the necessary outcome would be flagrant injustice to the weat and the helpless. He voiced his feelings h saving: "In this country where unfortunately the Police are not over-scrupulous as to how the get up cases, trial by Jury is the most essentia safeguard against injustice." Besides, Woomes Chandra held discussions on several other topic like the separation of the Executive from the Judiciary, appointment of Indians in responsible posts, etc.

In 1895, Woomesh Chandra went to Englanto act as a lawyer of the Raja of Natore. Even there he carried on his work for the sake of his country. On the 21st July, 1906, Woomest Chandra died in Croyden in his own house.

Wommesh Chandra was a true representative of his age and as such he had little faith if the common people of India. In fact, the Congress, itself could not rely on the massa. The efficacy of the mass support was not realised by the Congress. This defect was pointed on by Bankim Chandra and Swami Vivekanands. Woomesh Chandra was an aristocrat in his woof life as well as in his way of thinking. He appeal was not to the masses but to the intelligentsia. But it has got to be admitted that blent to the Congress "a dignity and an air or responsibility in official eyes, which otherwise would not perhaps have possessed."

^{5.} Surendra Nath Banerjee: A Nation Making.



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Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, schools and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, The Modern Review

ENGLISH

EVOLUTION OF MORALS IN THE EPICS (MAHABHARATA AND RAMAYANA): By Dhairyabala P. Vora. Popular Book Depot. Bombay, 1959. Pp. 280. Price Rs. 18/-.

The distinctive feature of our two great national epics is that, unlike the *Vedas*, they deal chiefly with social ideas and institutions as reflected in the lives or legends of their principal characters. In this respect the *Mahabharata* is of greater importance than the *Ramayana* because in contrast with the unified and somewhat idealistic content of the latter Epic, the former reflects the multi-lateral character of our civilization and comprises traditions extending over several centuries.

In this highly readable and scholarly work the author has attempted fully to trace the evolution of the moral concepts of the most varied character in the light of the ample data provided by these two great source-books. The author's methodology, as we are told in the Introduction, consists in observance of the distinction firstly, between the social traditions of ethical relativity depending upon time and place, or in other words between morality and ethics; and secondly, between the norms of conduct laid down by the cultured persons and the actual practices of the people. The first part of the work (Chapters. I-VII) covering a little less one-half of its contents is occupied with a very thorough analysis of the strands of thought relating to the morals of sex. the restrictions on marriage and the status of women. This is followed by an equally exhaustive analysis (Chapter VIII) of the concepts relating to the distinction between varnas in the light of its justifying principles and the ideas of mutual relations. The doctrine relations of the constituent elements. The doctrine of karm tending of karma, and its various modifications tending as we are told, to undermine its foundations for

the development of individual ethics, are treated in the following chapter (Chapter IX). The subjectmatter of the remaining chapters (Chapters X-XII) is concerned with the ethical development of the individual as reflected in the didactic extracts of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, the ethics of war and statecraft, the two great ethical concepts of truth and non-violence, and finally the practices of fasting, pilgrimage and gifts forming the practical aspect of morals. The work bears throughout the evidence of exhaustive study of the complex and often contradictory data from the standpoint of the evolution of moral ideas. On one point, viz., that relating to the ethics of rajadharma and statecraft in the Mahabharata, there seems to be room for a fuller treatment, such as has been attempted by the present reviewer in his recently published work A History of Indian Political Ideas, pp. 189ff and 244ff. A select Bibliography and a good Index bring this excellent work to a close.

Upendranath Ghoshal

TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF TAMIL LITERATURE: By J. M. Somasundaram Pillai. (1959).

Retiring from the post of Executive Officer of the Sri Ranganatha Temple, Srirangam—recently opened to the Harijans—the learned author gives us this Tamil Anthology with original texts and rough translations. A Tamil expert like Prof. T. P. M. Pillai of the Annamalai University in his foreword, appreciates the painstaking study which gives copious notes and extracts from scholarly translations found buried in old magazines, Indian and Western. Missionary experts like Rev. Pope and English Civilians like Ellis translated parts of the Tamil Classics, so much needed to us for proper appreciation of the conti-

nuity of South. Indian-especially nuity of South. Indian—especially ago, we, India: By Kewal L. Punjabi, I.C.S. (Retd.). North Indian Indologists, read eagerly Mr. Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Pp. 215 K. Pillai's Tamil 1800 Years Ago. Now J. Price Rs. 9/-. M. S. Pillai, encouraged by the Founder of the Annamalai University, has given us an Prasad that he starts independent India in selected from the age of the ancient Tamil cated by the phraseology, 'Log Cabin'to Sangam to

Subrahmanya Bharati. Pattup-pattu, the author gives us some industry and application, an eminence Cameos from Tamil Literature and Ethical which the pampered child of opportuni Selections like Tiruk-kural (so dear to ties may do well to envy. He is the fire Gandhiji). He concludes with gleanings President of India, fashioned out of year from Religious and Philosophical texts of struggle, to which his contribution, ever (pp. 286-378) of Tamil Folk-songs and if he enunciated no policy nor chalked or devotional poems of Saiva Manikyavasaker a programme, is, in point of steadfast devo and Vaishnava Andal and Bhaktas, like tion and integrity of services second to Appar, Sundaramurti and others,—like our none. Such a life, which, again, has mananda, Kabir and Sri Chaitanya. changed in fundamentals with the var Swami Ramalingam (born 1823) preached shift in fortune, must necessarily be sug Life Eternal, defying death and came into gestive of deep thinking. And the author contact with some great Tamil scholars, is to be congratulated for his treatment of like Arumuga Navalar of Ceylon, Tamils the subject-matter with a certain felicit who developed Tamil language and litera- of presentations, which has not slumpe ture for over 2000 years, and are yet perse- anywhere. The book, in fact, is a valuable cuted today by the Sinhalese majority. addition to literature relating to the India Yet Tamil is the only language, spoken by National Movement, which might be said millions, outside India; and the universities have been launched with some consistence of free Malaya and Singapore have made since 1885 with the Congress coming int provision, for the study of Tamil there, being. Pallava art inspired the sculpture and architecture of Indonesia and the large some way or other, given by an officer be fleet of the Tamil Chola Kings crossed longing to the Indian Civil Service and Andaman-Nicobar (Neecobaram) to extend a key position in the India Government 10 Malaysia, Indo-China and Indonesia. So, sauce and quite enjoyable if it is read ! the University of Madras has worthily com- between the lines. The author says, "I pleted the Encyclopedia Dictionary, the (Rajendra Prasad) cannot also (italics mine of Jay Tamil 'Lexicon; and other South Indian fail to note that this organisation (Congress universities, we hope, will encourage the —built up by the toil and suffering author by purchasing his books and pub- millions-has become a happy hunting as well lishing similar Malayalam Bengali Bhakta, Jayadeva's Gita-govinda favours". According to the author, again are n (1150 A.D.) has been translated and sung, it is Rajendra Prasad's deep regret the matters for Temple choirs, as I gladly noticed, 'Many of his colleagues have become suarder while visiting South Indiana. while visiting South Indian temples. So, votaries of power'. In the context of the his we recommend the Anthology to university above, it can be seriously asked if while students both of the North and of C. it. Development the seriously asked if while students both of the North and of C. it. Development the seriously asked if while students both of the North and of C. it. Development the seriously asked if while students between the seriously asked if while seriously asked in the seriou students both of the North and of South Rajendra Prasad has done by just writing Prasad India—jointly conserving for India—jointly conserving for posterity, one letter to the Prime Minister, in the reward some sublime sovings and not posterity, one letter to the Prime Minister, some sublime sayings and poems of Dravi- years, for a high-powered Commission, dian India, indispensable for the comparathe line suggested by Deshmukh to take tive study of Arvo-Dravidian and the line suggested by Deshmukh to take tive study of Aryo-Dravidian art and cases of corruption in the high-ups civilisation.

Kalidas Nag

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chengai and Fango MASAD, First President of Chengai and Fango Masa District President of Control of Control

Can it not be claimed for Rajendra Anthology of Tamil verses step with the U.S.A. in her distinction, indithe modern master poet White House'? Born in a poor family in benighted corner of the then Bengal Presi Starting with Five Tamil Idylls of dency, he has attained, by dint of shee

The inside story of the Congress rule Indian polity and culture, in a fairly long time, is not without some Anthologies in Telugu, ground for seekers of posts and of profit at as he languages. influence and for lucrative concessions all has ac enough. Can he with his sense of problem is a which has earned for the high-ups is a which has earned for him a name; exculpage is a pi

himse back gave in the minin doses, What of s imbue autho point expel 'purel side o sion. result defeat gentle wait to chang fore S stride, Pant constit the co a part much earthy the he elegan

> its pra Th speaking who n how (Prasad ration due to persona undern

dent of himself of their colossal default in going trenchant touch is cumulatively shattering. (Retd.) back upon the plighted word, the Congress Pp. 215 gave on the point of austerity and rectitude in the governance of the country? I do not ajendr: minimize the fact that he has cut down, in ndia i doses, his salary to Rs. 2,500|- a month. n, indi What, however, is of moment is the spirit abin to of self-abnegation, Gandhiji sought ily in a imbue them with. Likewise, I wish the 1 Presi author had refrained from touching the shee point that what Rajendra Prasad did to ninence expel Subhas Bose from the Congress was portuni. 'purely from a sense of duty'. The other e firs of year. side of the medal makes no happy impression. As the Tripuri Congress election n, ever result, which Gandhiji declared as his own ked ou st devo defeat, was out, Rajendra Prasad, the true ond t gentleman he is, stated that they would has no wait to see if Subhas Bose made any material ie vas change in the programme. But even bebe sug fore Subhas Bose had put himself into the author stride, Rajendra Prasad lined up with Patel, ment o Pant and others to humiliate the dulyfelicit constituted President. Therefore, boiled to slumpe the concrete, Rajendra Prasad was as much aluable a party-man; and as a party-man he was as e India much of the earth, though, possibly, not said ! earthy to the extent they were. To present the hero of a biographical study as allsistenc ng int elegance and no scar is to detract much of its pragmatic value. ess rule

The author quotes Jawaharlal Nehru speaking of Rajendra Prasad, 'here is a man who never makes a mistake'. If it is true, how distressingly it bears on Rajendra Prasad's conviction that the rapid deterioration of the Congress is in no small measure due to its relying so much on the glamour of Jawaharlal's personality—'the cult of personality', as the author says, 'has been undermining the spirit of devotion to truth'; nunting as well as on Rajendra Prasad's conviction, cofft at as he expressed it to the author that 'India ons all has achieved independence but the people agail are not happier'. In discussing et the matters, the author is quite skilful and Buarded in his language; and possibly, despite him in his language; pite himself he is remorselessly revealing in f which his side-glance on Nehru vis-a-vis Rajendra "Like a King", says he, "Nehru in the rewards those who are loyal to him and thin for protects them through thick and thin; for others have the through the present is take to there them through thick and think, take to devote has no use. Rajendra Prasad is so devoted to non-violence that he will not comprom:

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As to its justifiableness or otherwise, it is no place for me to dwell on. I cannot, however, forbear asking one question. .Would the author relish, if anyone were to say that Rajendra Prasad, who, according to him, 'is a hundred per cent chela (disciple) of Gandhiji', does not compromise with Truth, but compromises with men. egregiously compromise with Truth in the governance of India: and the President of the Indian Union goes on merrily well?

Joges C. Bose

DOCTRINE OF SRIKANTHA, VOL. II. English translation of Srikantha's Commentary on the Brahma-Sutras: By Dr. Roma Chaudhuri, Principal, Govt. Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta. Published by the Prachya Vani Mandir, 3, Federation Street, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 32/-.

The Brahma-Sutra Bhasya of Srikantha Saivacharya is a very important one, as it is the only one Commentary on the Brahmasutras by a Saiva Vedantist. But unfortunately, this work, practically unavailable, had vet no translation of any kind. Even the single edition of this book is now as rare as a MS. So the scholarly world will remain grateful to Dr. Roma Chaudhuri, the well-known Lady Philosopher of India. for bringing out this beautiful and scholarly English translation of this important work.

Dr. Roma Chaudhuri has already earned great fame by her scholarly works on different systems of Vedanta and Sufism and needs no introduction. As a Brahmavadini of Modern India. she has devoted herself to the propagation of Indian Philosophy and Culture to the benefit of all.

The present work is literal as well as scientific and is a monument of painstaking labour on the part of a research scholar with a wide vision and deep erudition. All the difficult points this obscure work have been clarified in a masterly manner. Above all, the whole work makes very pleasant reading on account of the lucidity of language and beauty of expression.

We have no doubt, this work like its predecessors will prove to be a great asset to every library in India and outside.

Satkari Mookerii

proble compromise with it in any manner". Here Shantaram Balchandra Deo, Reader in Ancient picture of Nehru, which without a Indian History, Poona. Published by Jaina Cul-

tural Research Society, Benares-5. 1960. Pp. 88. Price Rs. 3/-.

The days when Jainism was regarded as an offshoot of Brahmanic Hinduism are long past. Jainology has an immense literature. In this small book the rules of Jaina monastic conduct, the transgressions and the punishments are given in an easy intelligible way; and the hierarchy, the problems of seniority and succession of the custodians of monastic discipline have been discussed.

There has been action and inter-action between Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. To understand fully the rules of succession, i.e., and the organisation of Hindu Mutts this small book will be highly useful. The value of the book has been greatly enhanced by a bibliography and an index. The printing and get up is nice.

J. M. Datta

HINDI

ADHUNIK BHARAT KA VRIHAT BHUGOL. (Advanced Geography of Modern India): By Dr. Chaturbhuj Mamoria, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer and Head of the Commerce Department, Maharana Bhupal College, Udaipur. Gaya Prasad & Sons, Agra. Dipavali, 1960. Price. Rs. 18/-.

Dr. Mamoria is not a new entrant in the field. He has a number of books to his credit and he won the State Government reward in 1958, for a book on Economic and Commercial Geography which ran up to 1,200 pages. The volume under review contains about 900 pages. But the matter of size is only to be considered with reference to the justice which the book has done to the contents of an ever-growing subject. Apart from the Physical Features and the mineral and power resources, it contains interesting chapters on distribution of population, the population problem. the races and tribes of India, which have more significance than a mere text-book appeal. The many statistical tables, sketches, maps will be useful for reference apart from their interest for students.

Books like this will go someway to meet the challenge: "Is not English indispensable?" The technical terms used show the writer's common sense—e.g., refractories has been rendered a tapsaha into (तापसह इटे) The two appendices and the bibliography increase the importance of the book, bringing the Third Five-Year Plan with in its ambit and enclosing sectional bibliographies P. R. Sen

GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA

Editors: Swami Madhavananda & Dr. R. C. Majumdar
Introduction: Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Jacket Design: Acharya Nandalal Bose

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Indian Periodicals

The Road To The Cosmos

a height of 110 kilometres in small hermeti- that of a bullet. cally sealed cabins and three years have all the equipments necessary for man's place him here. future flights. Scientists are trying their Careers and Courses, December, 1960. He

Until now the most diverse problems, such as the exploration of the upper strata of the earth's air cover, the discovery and study of the different belts of cosmic radiaation which, just like rings of Saturn, surround our planet, the flight to the moon and around it, were successfully solved by Sputniks and autommatic rockets without the direct participaton of man.

Quite naturally the question arises: Why is man needed in the cabin of a cosmic ship? Is he irreplaceable as a navigator? No, man's reaction to the changes in the situations that arise is too slow to contend against cosmic speeds. Indeed, man requires at least 1½ to 2 seconds to take any decision, even if it be the most urgent. But in this interval a cosmic ship can cover 12 to 15 kilometres. And if any kind of obstacle arises before the ship, man will be unable to change the course of the space ship rapidly.

But to what obstacles does this refer? After all, the flight of the ship will take place in the great void of the boundless spaces of the cosmos. But it turns out that cosmic space is not at all empty. It is penetrated by cosmic at all empty. It is penetrated by cosmic rays, corpuscles flying from the sun, roentgen and hard ultraviolet rays and a complet

ice, minerals, stones and many other In 1949, Soviet Scientists conducted "cosmic gifts"—are whizzing through it the first experiments in raising animals to with a speed hundreds of times greater than

Man is incapable of preventing beforepassed since the first Soviet man-made hand such an encounter, so that a sensitive satellite was orbited. The first test flight of instrument "groping" for a long distance the cosmic ship began on May 15, 1960. Now the space through which the ship's route there is in the cosmos a gigantic space ship lies and changing in a flash its course if the with a hermetically sealed cabin containing slightest obstacle arises on its path will re-

The absence of ordinary orientation utmost to solve the problems connected marks, colossal speeds and the tremendous with man's future interplanetary flights distances of the cosmic flights that are be-Those problems have been discussed by B. youd the grasp of the human mind substan-Danilin in the above-captioned article in tially limit man's possibilities as a navigator of a cosmic ship. Modern computers can drive the ship along the given course more precisely than man.

> Special detectors will continuously send to the special computer block information on speed, direction and the path traversed. The values received by the machine's memory block will be compared with those given before the start. In the process of flight the ship's electronic brain will continuously solve the equations of its motion, picking the best among the hundreds of variants which it can look through in a second.

The decision adopted by the electronic brain will be transmitted to the control input into action the which mechanism automatically accelerating or decelerating the speed of the flight and changing the course of the cosmic ship if necessity arises.

That is where man himself, his mind, his knowledge, his abilty to orient himself in a new situation and eliminate defects in one or another instrument, and also, if it becomes necessary, to change the ship's course sharply or to stop the flight entirely-and pick the proper site for landing the ship are indispensable.

With the aid of a carrier the first cosmic ship rocket was put into a nearly circular complete spectrum of radio waves. Meteors apogee of 369 kilometres, and initial period the tinical control of radio waves. Meteors apogee of 369 kilometres, and initial period of revolution of 91 minutes. After separatthe tiniest dust, sand grains, pieces of of revolution of 91 minutes. After separat-

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apparatus, whose total weight together accompanied by static and great distortions with the feed sources amounted to 1,477 kilograms, were placed on the ship.

cury Project now being elaborated in the board the cosmic ship. U.S.A. and whose launching is planned for weight of about 980 kilograms.

On the fifth day after the launching, that is on May 19, 1960, the programme for the satellite space ship was fulfilled. At 2 hours 52 minutes on that day the brake engine was switched on by an order from the ground station, the ship was stabilised and the hermetically sealed cabin detached from

it. However, due to a defect coming up in one of the instruments of the orientation system at the time, the direction of the brake impulse deviated from what was planned. As a result, the speed of the ship increased and it changed over to a more protracted elliptical orbit with a perigee of 307 and apogee of 690 kilometres and a period of revolution of 94.25 minutes. The orbit's angle of inclination to the equator remained almost unchanged and amounted to 65 degrees, as previously.

The first test flight of the satellite space ship made it possible to solve a number of important scientific and engineering problems. First of all, the dependability of the start and flight of the powerful carrier rocket. which ensured a high degree of precision in bringing the cosmic ship on to a nearly circular orbit in accordance with the DBT programme, were tested. In the course of several days the dependable control of the ship and its orientation was out during the flight.

by the ground stations shows that all the was felt there that Darwinism was dealing a necessary conditions for the normal func- blow to spiritualism. tions of man, including the normal work of the spiritualism. tions of man, including the normal work of the spiritualism.

ing from the carrier rocket, the cosmic ship the air-conditioning system in the herme weighed 4,540 kilograms. A hermetically tically sealed cabin were ensured during the sealed cabin with a load representing the entire flight. The telegraphic communication weight of a man and all the necessary equip- with the sputnik worked well. But the ment for accomplishing man's future flights work of the telephone system—the relay. were put aboard the ship. The weight of ing of radio broadcasts on earth— through the cabin is about 2.5 tons. Besides, various the apparatus of the cosmic ship—was

The special instruments designed for transmitting orders to the ship, control of For the sake of comparison I would like the orbit, the ship's flight and the transmisto point out that the weight of the American sion of telemetric information from the ship satellite Discoverer, "from which a hermeti- fulfilled their functions well. The selfcally sealed cabin was detached," was 770 orientative solar batteries worked normally, kilograms while the weight of the cabin providing jointly with the chemical sources was no more than 70 kilograms. The Mer- the electricity for all the instruments on

The first test flight of the cosmic ship the end of next year, envisages the building proved the correctness of the main principles of a capsule (cabin) for man's flight with a underlying the designing of the cosmic ship and provided much material for implementing man's future flight into the cosmos.

Victor Hugo

With the publication of the English translation of Kalidasa's Sakuntala by Sir William Jones in 1789, great interest had been aroused amongst the litterateurs of the West to know the classical literature of India. It is not unknown to the intellectuals of our country that some of the topranking English poets like Southey and Words worth were more or less influenced by the ideals of India. But it will be a revelation to many that the attention of some of the French poets were also drawn towards the grandeur of the epics of India and Victor Hugo, the immortal author of The Les Miserables, was the foremost among the French poets who interpreted the spirit of India to France. Mr. Bisoondoyal's Victor Hugo Looks At India, published in The Indian Review, December, 1960, casts new light on the subject. Some portions of this valuable article are quoted here:

In France Michelet, Lamartine and poets were not slow in discovering that Indian authors had enriched the literature of the world Michelet would not set aside the Ramayana even after having acquainted himself with the theor of Darwin. Asked what he thought of the British naturalist and his theory of evolution, he said "Give me back my soul."

Preoccupation with the soul and God wat The processing of the telemetric signals still characterising genuine poets in France.

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siderable time interpreted Indian literature. He wrote to Michelet and said, amongst other things: "I do myself the justice that I understand

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all the works of this great epoch (the nineteenth century) in which you occupy so high a place."

Hugo's energy was superhuman. He who produced a great body of literature could find time to read with the attention they deserved all the works that his contemporaries wrote.

Hugo was poring over Indian works. Pautheir's Les livers sacres de toutes les religions saut la Bible became his favourite book. On his table lay copies of the Asiatic Researches as well as the works of Sir William Jones.

He was quick in realizing that Indian literature possesses a cosmic significance. was not slow in learning that if the average Indian adores the cow, it is because he is full of gratitude for all those who do him good in one form or another. The entire universe is friendly to him. The gentle cow is the most friendly of all the creatures he comes across.

In Les Voix interieures he devotes a whole poem to the cow. Our own Toru Dutt translated it into English in the lifetime of its author. The translation is so excellent that it permits more than a glint of Hugo's genius to filter through. In the illustrated editions of Hugo's works the cow is shown surrounded by pretty little children who know by instinct that milk is their ideal food. Nor does the cow fail to realize that falling victim to so many urchins, it is her duty to mother them. Joy seems to radiate from her whole being.

Hugo goes so far as to find nectar, i.e., amritam in the milk obtained from the cow.

It is pleasant to observe that Toru Dutt whose translation has been given above, was in good company. Andrew Lang, Edwin Arnold and Prof. E. Dowden were among the translators of Victor Hugo's short poems.

That the Asiatic Journal honoured itself by publishing poems by Hugo rendered into English is a proof of the fact that the Indian theme had found favour with the French poet.

He (Hugo) puts into the mouth of his Peri: "My home is afar in the bright Orient." His mind roams in the East: "Vast cities are mine of power and

delight,

Lahore laid in lilies, Golconda,

And Ispahan, dear to the pilgrim's sight, Cashmere; And Bagdad, whose towers to

heaven uprear;

Alep, that pours on the startled ear, From its restless masts the

gathering roar, As of ocean hamm'ring at night on the shore.

Mysore is a queen on her stately throne. . . ."

Hugo's contemporaries were imitating the author's of the Indian epics. Quinet's Ahsaverus was in every home. It was being read from cover to cover. Michelet was writing The Bible of Humanity. Hugo "tried something similar" in the Legende des Siecles.

Hugo's imagination was akin to that of Indian poets. The "Vedic immensities" were appreciated in France at their true value and it is Hugo that appreciated them most. Hugo went a step further and wrote that the Vedic hymns were among the most impersonal creations that existed. He bracketed the Vedas with the Eddas and the Romanceros. In his famous novel Les Miserables he compares French Archbishops with Brahmins.

The translators were being read. Barthelemy Saint-Hiliaire had, amongst others, found favour with him.

The temptation to translate was great. he did not translate the Vedas themselves he put into verse the last part of the Kenopanishad.

He was no Sanskrit scholar. But what was lacking was more than compensated for his having been a poet and a genuine one. What he lost on the roundabouts he gained on the swings.

Louis Renou has of late given us better translations of the Upanishads. He has pointed out that in his version of the Kenopanishad Hugo introduces the Buddha.

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The story goes that in an encounter with the demons the devas had come out triumphant. Each deva was thoroughly convinced that he was responsible for the hard-won victory. They were bragging when Brahman, the real victor, asked each of them to give tangible proofs of his might. Agni failed miserably. Nor was Vayu more lucky. Their pride was humbled down.

He ran to Him (Brahman); He asked him: Who art thou? Why, I am Fire, he said all-knowing (Fire) an I! I can burn up everything on earth!

He set a straw before him, and He said: Burn that! He dashed at it (and yet) with all his might he failed to burn it.

As the reader will have seen, nowhere is the Buddha mentioned. Hugo emphasized Agni's might by stating that the Buddha himself fell on his knees before this deva. He stressed the point that Agni was not altogether devoid of the might that enable one to win

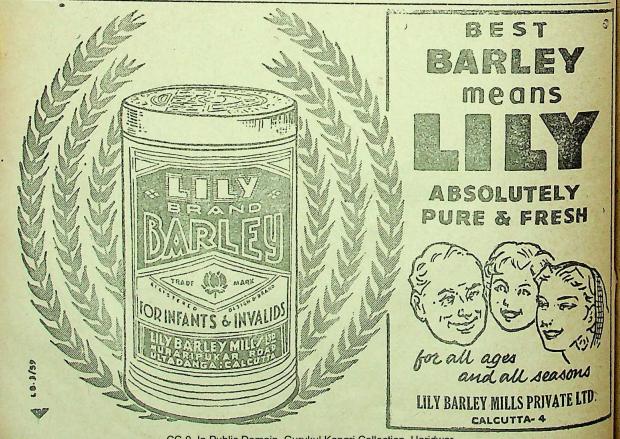
that it was victories. He seems to suggest natural for Agni to be puffed up with pride."

Historians are at one to say that Buddhish is definitely post-Upanishadic.

But Hugo had no time to devote to Indian history. He was a prolific writer. Toru Dul alone who was 21 years old when she passed

away, translated 30 of Hugo's poems.

Hinduism was being studied side by side with Buddhism. Hugo did not even dream that the latter was the younger of the two. Wha matters is that he entered into the spirit of the Upanishad. He understood that it is Brahman that was supreme. Hence the significant title Supremacy he gave his beautiful poem. This title enables us to conclude that when he praise the Vedas he had understood each and ever Vedic verse that he had read. He who could interpret the Vedas and the Upanishads in the last century had known India better than man; of those who visited the country without realising that the teachings of her seers were



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Status of the Teaching Profession

An article entitled Education: The Long View, from the pen of Arnold J. Toynbee, the renowned historian, has been published in Saturday Review, November 19, 1960. A few paragraphs from this article dealing with the teaching profession are reproduced here:

It is true that, in the Western world, the status of the teaching profession varies appreciably from country to country. Austria a professor's wife used to rank with a colonel's while in Prussia she ranked with a major's. If anyone had thought of grading her in England, she probably would have ranked no higher than a captain's wife there, whereas in Scotland she certainly would have ranked as high as a major general's. Before the salaries of professors in the United Kingdom were evened out by subventions from the public purse to counteract the effects of inflation, poor Scotland used to pay her professors higher salaries than rich England cared to dole out in remuneration for the same work. Today, an English professor no longer gains an increase in monetary income if he is posted to a Scottish university; but his wife is still astonished at the deference—out of all proportion to her slender purchasing power with which she is treated in the stores that she honors with her distinguished patronage.

Perhaps one reason why the status of professors remains high in Scotland, is that they still trail some clouds of glory from an ecclesiastical past. Until recently, ambition of every Scottish peasant family was to send a son into the Presbyterian ministry. The enterprise called for immense effort and self-sacrifice; and the professor was the good genius who won whole family's gratitude by helping aspiring student on his arduous road. cannot, however, be the whole explanation, for the state been for the status of professors has also been comparations of professors and Germany, comparatively high in France and Germany, where the status of professors has and where the status of professors has and the status of professors has a status of professors where the professor has been, not a semiservant of a secular state. And anyway, in

the modern Western world, these instances of a relatively high status for teachers are exceptional. The relatively low status to which they have been depressed in most English-speaking countries outside Scotland is more typical of their status in the Western world as a whole.

What, then, can be done today to raise the Western teaching profession's status and standards? Here Russia may be doing the West another unintentional service by giving Western observers the impression that she treats her professors as grandees. Perhaps this impression, whether or not it is correct, may spur America into raising the status of the American teaching profession as an inescapable move in her competition with Russia for world power. This is not the best conceivable motive for an educational reform; but it is to be welcomed if it does move the American people to give American teachers large increases of salary and of leisure. America can already afford to be generous to her teachers, without needing to wait for the superabundance that is to be

expected from "atoms for peace."

But a substantial improvement in the teaching profession's material conditions of life would not be enough in itself. It would merely be an enabling condition to open the way for a rise in the degree of esteem. in which teachers are held in their own estimation as well as in the public's. This esteem cannot be high unless both the public and the profession become convinced of two things: first, that the teaching profession is performing a valuable public service, and second, that it is maintaining a high professional standard in its work. The first of these two conditions will be fulfilled if it is realized that, in the present critical chapter of history, the teaching profession does have an indispensable part to play in helping the human race save itself from selfdestruction by helping it to grow into one family in which the odious traditional division between the privileged and the unprivileged will have been abolished. Here is a ecclesiastical hierophante-o but blic thomain civil kulk is deleted of the teacher of languages and servant of a secular state. And anyway, in the teacher of technology can both prove

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The New Africa

An article under the above caption, adapted from a speech delivered by Alan Paton, a native of South Africa and the author of Cry, The Beloved Country and Too Late has been published in the New Leader, November 14, 1960. A few excerpts from this article are reproduced here:

characteristics. The first is the desire, the the entire world, while examples of tolerdetermination, to have freedom, Uhuru, the ance and harmony are often made to sound East African word which one now finds painted on the walls of Southern Africa, and how the to have it as soon as possible. The second country, the Union of South Africa, has reck striking characteristic is the desire, the lessly thrown away all its chances of leaderdetermination, to enter fully into the modern, ship on the African continent, and has no technological industrial world to eliminate only ceased to be an asset but has become poverty, to educate every child, to train all a burden to the West, because of its policy the men and women required to administer, of apartheid.

teach and operate a modern society.

mean—and we should face the possibility— desires. I want this for two reasons: if often taken by white persons to be a manifunction is to make it possible for man w festation of black ingratitude, but it is in lead the good life. fact a revolt against the arrogance of the color bar, and in this revolt kindness and generosity are hated just as much as coldness and cruelty. I have no doubt whatsoever that some Africans turn to Communism not because they are convinced by its and not because they are convinced by its arguments, but because they so hate the color perform one's duties, and to retain as far as ments, but because they so hate the color possible the belief that one is a self-deter possible the belief that the possible the possible that the possible the possible the possible that the possible the possible that the possible that the possible that the possible the po bar; and these are only too often the most mining creature and isn't just being push gerous enemies of the West implacable in public Destraid Grunkel Kangri Collection; Haridward isn't just being push gerous enemies of the West in the color possible the belief that one is a self-the bitter, the most implacable in push gerous enemies of the West in the color possible the belief that one is a self-the bitter, the most implacable in push gerous enemies of the West in the color possible the belief that one is a self-the bitter, the most implacable in push gerous enemies of the west in the color possible the belief that one is a self-the bitter.

Luckily, however, there lies betwee of its to which the teacher can rise, this will depend these two extremes—the color bar on the cause of one hand and the hatred of the Wes don't v on the other—a great deal of middle ground partly One cannot help thinking at this momen giving of the warmth and generosity that haw characterized the achievement of Nigeria independence; recently Westminster Abber the national shrine of the British nation was filled with Nigerians and Britons giving thanks for this independence. But this should not blind one to the fact that ever in England people are sometimes humiliated because they are colored. Nor do I need to remined Americans that every race class The New Africa has three striking in America is immediately made known to like excuses. Nor do I need to tel Government of my

However, I do not want to dwell any The third striking characteristic is the longer on the sins of the West, for that is dangerous one, and that is a bitter not my subject here. I am here both a resentment, not so much against having been African and Westerner, and I want to see ruled, but against having been ruled arro- the countries of Africa enriched by the gantly. The color bar is the extreme ex- contributions of the West, and helped by pression of such arrogance, and the extreme the West on their way to that kind of reaction to it is anti-Westernism; this can nationhood that each of them so earnestly hostility to Christianity, hostility to the churtwo paramount considerations of my life are white skin, that the countries of Africa hostility to offers of Western aid, even liberated from every vestige of subordina hostility to the United Nations and to its tion to other powers, and that government magnificent Secretary General, Dag Ham- of the people, by the people, for the people marskjoeld, even hostility to Ralph Bunche, should take deep root in these new countries Freedom House It is showesteristic of I want this so that the African people need Freedom House. It is characteristic of the not be subjected to new tyrannies, and so rioting in South Africa that direction of the not be subjected to new tyrannies, and so rioting in South Africa that clinics, schools that the new African state should, in Lord and churches are often burned down; this Acton's words, recognize that its suprementation of the first suprementat And if wants to mean know what I the good life, let me say that I mean the same as he or she does, and if that doesn's

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he Wes don't want to speak about any more, and honour of having inspired pre-Mughal ground partly because of its own self-interest— architecture to the Pathans. Nigerial ways. The first is to help these countries Abbey to develop their resources and raise their standard of living; the second is to help s giving them to educate their children, their young nation men and young women in such a way as to ut this make their independence real. at ever

Pathan Style Architecture in India

Sir Olaf Caroe, who has earned a very great reputation as the author of an authentic work on the Pathans, delivered a lecture about the art, architecture and literature of the Pathans to the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society of Arts, London. This lecture, which testifies to Sir Olaf Caroe's deep erudition and his extraordinary power of clear exposition has, under the caption of The Pathans, been published in an article-form in the November issue of the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts. After dealing briefly with the Pasthu language he turns to the lan-

guage of stone and observes:

The Muslims, whose faith denied them the enjoyment or practice of the pictorial arts, have been distinguished for the grandeur and simplicity of their architecture. And it is not surprising that it is those Pathans who turned their faces towards the ancient culture of Hindustan who have been famous above other Afghans for their architectural monuments. They had come the spear-head of the armies of Mahmud sub-continent invading the (A.D. 1000—1030) and from his time onward through the era of the Ghorids who took Delhi in 1192, and the Turkish slave-kings who followed them, they became more and more important as mercenaries, generals and governors, until in due course the Khaljis, or Ghaljis, won through to the Sultanate of Delhi. This dynasty lasted 1290-1321, with Alauddin the greatest ruler in northern India since Gupta times 1000 years before. It is this Alauddin who may be said to have been the first who may be said to have been the first builder in India in probation and the essential characteristic of Muslim art style.

Fergusson in his History of Indian on the cause of these sins that I spoke about and Architecture, following Raverty, denies the momen giving the most generous assistance to the ground is that the dynasties in question at have new African countries, primarily in two were not Afghan but according to him caste converted Hindus'. This is a travesty of fact, for there were three illustrious Pathan dynasties in Delhi, the Khaljis equivalent to Ghaljis (as already shown), (1451-1526), and the Surs the Lodis (1539-55). And the builders under these dynasties, instead of copying or filching Hindu models, as did the Turkish slavekings, drew from the undefiled well of Ghazni, where Mahmud and his successors had developed a style essentially arcuate and Muslim, after gathering craftsmen from the then newly-founded Cairo, from Damascus and from Iran.

Muslim architecture in India does not begin with Alauddin; its earlier manifestations are in the mosque and great tower known as the Qutb, 10 miles south of Delhi. But the early Muslim architects, and indeed later ones not inspired by the Ghazni tradition, used Hindu masons and craftsmen and clung fondly to a trabeate form of building, even, as in the courtyard of the Qutb mosque, employing pillars, capitals and vaults torn from Jaina temples. It is the glory of the Pathan dynasties that they adapted to India a style essentially arcuate, of which the inspirations had come from the monuments raised by Mahmud and his

successors at Ghazni.

There is a very suggestive passage in Fergusson's book showing that he was groping for a truth which eluded him. Speaking of Mandu, the seat of another Pathan dynasty, he writes: 'It is not easy to understand why the architects of Malwa should have adopted a style so essentially arcuate, while their brethren at Jaunpur and Ahmadabad clung so fondly to a trabeate form wherever they had an opportunity of employing it. The Mandu architects had the same initiation to the Hindu forms, and there must have been innumerable Hindu and Jaina temples to furnish materials, but we find them neither borrowing nor imitating, but adhering steadily to the pointed-arch style, which is

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built by craftsmen brought from Ghazni typical of the Indian craftsman. and elsewhere by Pathan rulers. These disdained to loot pillars, they did not Afghans in history, Sher Shah, the Sur imitate, they built to the glory of God or to their own fame in mosque, fort and tomb in the tradition of the Muslim world from which they drew their inspiration.

and striking, and stand in a pleasant garden eight feet thick-with some delicate detail Lodi, was defeated and slain by Babur, the man. The great battlements of Mughal invader, on the field of Panipat.

architecture because their inspiration can stands to the Mughal much as be traced to the renaissance styles of Italy. These Delhi and Mandu monuments are Normans as builders, gloriously inspired. Even so were the Pathan Sultans of Delhi and Mandu.

For what they did was to achieve a revolution in the architectural style of the sub-continent, developing a fully arcuate technique. The distinction between the trabeate and the arcuate is familiar enough; it can be illustrated by comparing the Greek temple with the Roman and Romanesque basilica. But in other respects the comparison is not a good one. The Romans vulgarized; they turned the Greek genius the other hand the Pathan simplified; he are Rohtas and the Purana Qila at Delhi.

The answer is clear enough. It was plain surfaces for the profuse and almost because these Pathan monuments were wild embellishment of each available inch

greatest of all There remains the Sultan of Delhi. He reigned for less than six years (1539-45), but what years!

He restored the Afghan dynasty. In those six years he laid the foundations of The Lodi tombs are particularly solid the administrative and revenue later perfected under Mughal and British just south of New Delhi. They combine an rule. There is a host of stories of his attenastonishing mass of ashlar—the walls are tion to detail and his genius in government

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That could be said of many kings. It of blue-enamelled tile decoration. The is as a builder that Sher Shah will be re-Lodi Kings were the second Pathan dynasty membered. To see the Purana Qila at to rule in Delhi; their power endured for Delhi and the Rohtas Fort in the Salt 75 years, when in 1526 Ibrahim, the last Range is to recognize the strength of the Purana Qila make the Red Fort of Shah It has been suggested that, even if the Jahan, three miles away to the north, look Delhi Sultans were Afghans, that does not like the puny castellations of a child, put in itself dignify their architecture as together from a box of bricks. Within Afghan or Pathan. But admitting that those ramparts is his mosque a buildbeginnings can be traced to Cairo ing with a simple, noble grace, all its Damascus, that does not make it own, more in keeping surely with the true Pathan architecture. Nobody aspirations of Islam than any of those pearsuggests that St. Paul's, or the Royal Hospi- ly caskets built by the Mughals to the tal or the City Churches are not English glory of God. Indeed Pathan architecture Norman to the later Gothic.

This is the cream of Pathan architecindeed as Pathan as Durham and Tewkes- ture, the monument to the genius of a bury are Norman; the fact that Norman people. To reach the heart, the inner sigarchitecture is derived from the Romanes- nificance, of Sher Shah, it is best to visit his que does not lessen our admiration for the vast frontier fortress at Rohtas. There it stands, the great ramparts growing from the cliff like a wall of China, looking north to the low hills of the Salt Range, and beyond, to the snows of Himalaya. As befits a work of military fortification, overpowering gates and bastions do not carry the embellishments added to the Citadel at Delhi, but the ashlar is finely iointed and the proportions fill the The conception was Sher Shah's, and in those walls he lives again. Sher buried in Bihar whence he came, in a fine for proportion into a lumpy fussiness. On is called a tank. But his real monuments

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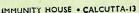
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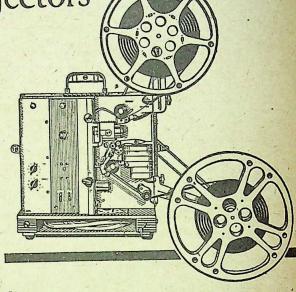
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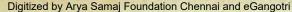
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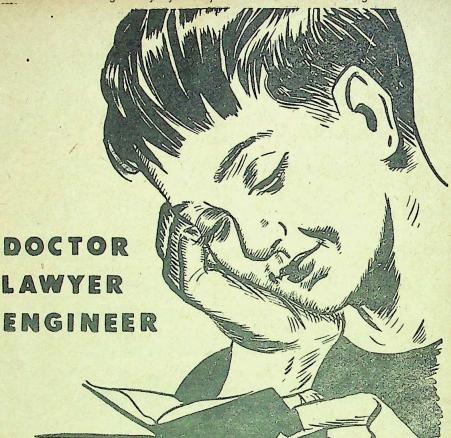
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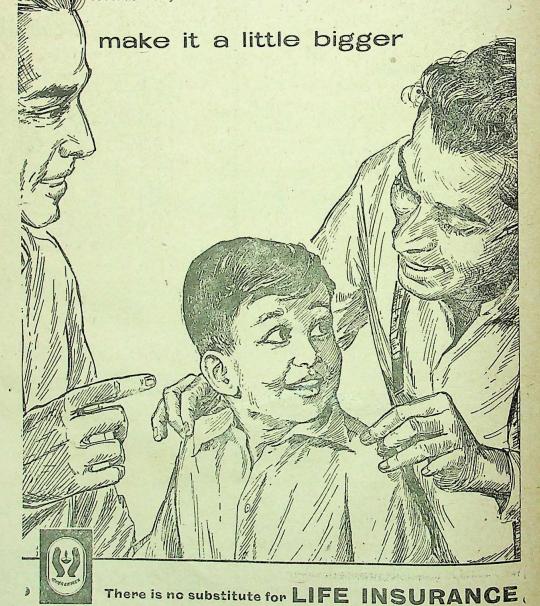
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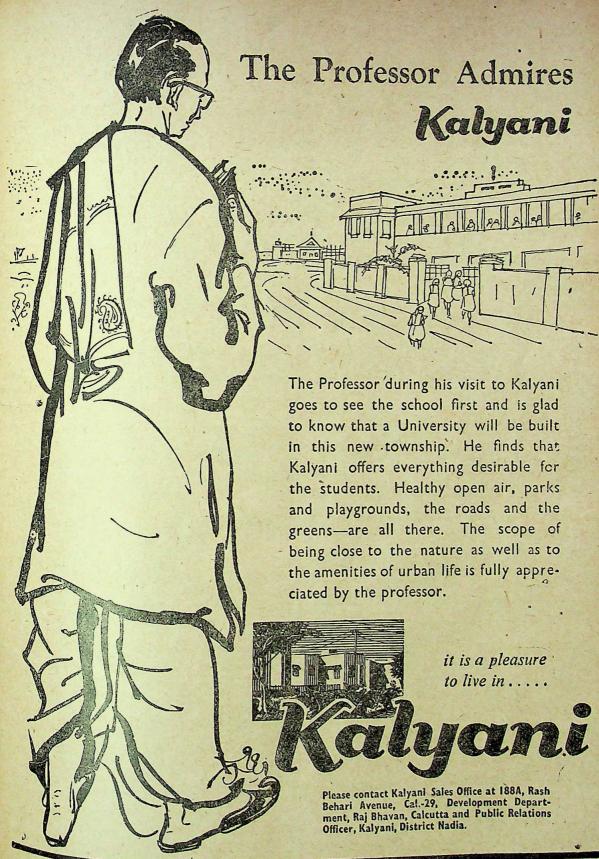
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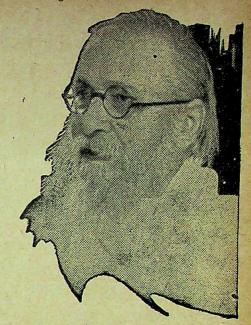
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- একটি একাক্ষ নাটিকা। লিখবেনঃ শ্রীমতী বাণী রায়।
- গল্প। লিথবেনঃ এপ্রিমাঙ্কুর আতর্থী, এনারায়ণ গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, এপরিমল গোস্বামী, একালীপদ ঘটক, প্রীঅশোক চট্টোপাধ্যায়, প্রীহরিনারায়ণ চট্টোপাধ্যায়, জরাসন্ধ, শ্রীমতী আশাপূর্ণা দেবী, প্রীমতী শাস্তা দেবী, বনফুল, শ্রীশরদিন্দু বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীমতী অমিতাকুমারী বস্ত্র, শ্রীমতী মহাশ্বেতা ভট্টাচার্য্য, শ্রীপ্রেমেন্দ্র মিন্ত্র, শ্রীবিমল মিত্র, শ্রীধর্মদাস মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীবিভৃতিভূষণ মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীবামপদ মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীশৈলজান মুখোপাধ্যায়, এত্রদাশঙ্কর রায়, এসরোজকুমার রায়চৌধুরী, এচাণক্য সেন, প্রভৃতি।
- কবিতা। লিখবেন: শ্রীসভোষকুমার অধিকারী, শ্রীস্থীর কর, শ্রীবীরেন্দ্রকুমার গুপ্ত, শ্রীমণীশ ঘটক, শ্রীবিমল ঘোষ, শ্রীশন্থ ঘোষ, শ্রীঅমিয় চক্রবর্ত্তী, শ্রীনীরেন্দ্রনাথ চক্রবর্ত্তী, শ্রীসাবিত্রীপ্রসন্ন চট্টোপাধ্যায়, প্রীকৃষ্ণধন দে, শ্রীবিষ্ণু দে, শ্রীসুশীলকুমার দে, জীমতী উমা দেবী, শ্রীমতী হেমলতা দেবী, শ্রীনিখিলকুমার নশী, প্রিস্থনীলকুমার নন্দী, শ্রীনিশিকান্ত, প্রীপ্রভাতমোহন বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, প্রীকরণাময় বস্ত্র, শ্রীমতী মায় বস্তু, প্রতিষ্ঠিত ভট্টাচার্য্য, প্রীকুমুদরঞ্জন মল্লিক, প্রীপ্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র, প্রীস্থভাষ মুখোপাধ্যায়, প্রীকালিদাস রাষ, শ্রীসতীশ রায়, শ্রীকানাই সামন্ত, শ্রীকিরণশঙ্কর সেনগুপ্ত, শ্রীমতী হেনা হালদার, প্রভৃতি।
- মহিলা মজলিস। এতে লিখবেনঃ শ্রীমতী কমলা দাশগুপ্ত, শ্রীমতী স্থলেখা দাশগুপ্ত, শ্রীমতী বেলা দে প্রীমতী ইন্দিরা দেবী, প্রীমতী গিরিবালা দেবী, প্রীমতী হাসিরাশি দেবী, প্রীমতী রেণুবালা বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীযোগেশচন্দ্র বাগল, শ্রীঅরুণ মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীমতী কনক মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীমতী আরতি সেন, শ্রীমতী স্থক্রচিবালা সেনগুপ্তা, প্রভৃতি।
- ছেলেদের পাততাড়ি। এতে লিখবেনঃ প্রীযোগেন্দ্রনাথ গুপ্ত, শ্রীশিবরাম চক্রবর্তী, শ্রীশৈল চক্রবর্তী, শ্রীকেদারনাথ চট্টোপাধ্যার, শ্রীস্থীরকুমার চৌধুরী, শ্রীকাভিকচন্দ্র দাশগুপ্ত, শ্রীমতী আশাপূর্ণ দেবী, শ্রীমতী স্থনীতি দেবী, শ্রীমতী আভা পাকড়াশী, শ্রীবিশু মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীমতী স্থখলতা রাও, শ্রীজীবনময় রায়, প্রভৃতি।
- রবীজ্ঞ-রচনাপঞ্জী। সঙ্কলন করছেন শ্রীপুলিনবিহারী সেন। রবীজ্রনাথের একটি অপ্রকাশিত গান ও এীশৈলজারঞ্জন মজ্মদার কৃত তার স্বর্র লিপি।

এছাড়া থাকৰে ৪

বাংলার বিশিষ্ট শিল্পীদের আঁকা, মূল্যবান্ আর্ট পেপারে ছাপা, অন্ততঃ চব্বিশটি **তিনরঙা ছবি।** অন্ত কুড়িটি উড্কাট্ ইত্যাদির একরঙা ছবি। গল্প, উপ্যাস, নাটকের মনোজ চিত্রালক্ষরণ।

অনতিবিল্পে প্রকাশিত হবে।

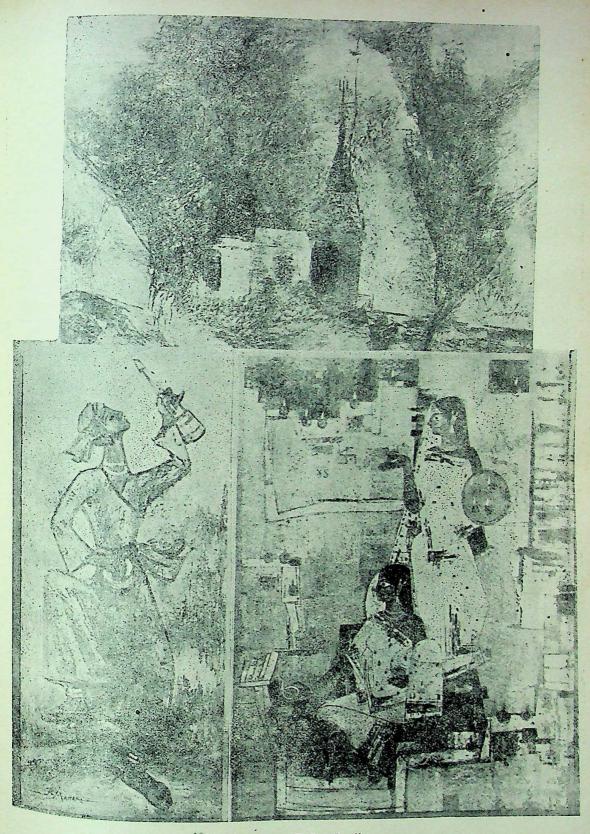
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১২ টাকা ৫০ নয়া প্রদা। ডাক্মাণ্ডল আলাদা!

প্রবাসী প্রেস প্রাইভেট লিমিটেড

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"Way to Dehradun" Gopal Ghose

"Baul" Rathin Maitra

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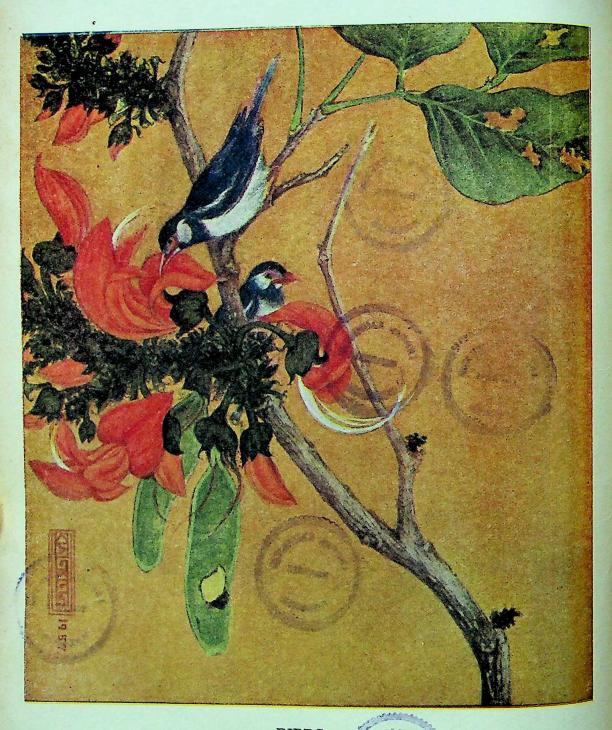
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"At Work" P. C. Sagara



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

BIRDS Sm. Chitraniva Chowdhury

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FEBRUARY



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WHOLE: No. 650:

NOTES

The Outlook

Now that we have entered into the New Year. it is necessary to look for the presages that it has brought in its train from the past year and to make preparations for all eventualities that might be out of the ordinary. The questions that arise therefore, are, (1) what is the World Outlook, and (2) what is the outlook where our own internal affairs are in consideration? These two questions are interlinked undoubtedly to a very great extent but when resolved into their most exclusive connotations, they become simplified into a consideration of the most urgent international problems and the most pressing internal problems.

What are the most urgent international problems? There is the Cold War, to which is linked the question of Disarmament with all its involved problems. There are the various areas in the world where internecine struggles are going on, which may or may not result in major conflagrations, with possibilities of a world conflict, according as they proceed in the course of the next few months. And lastly, there are those intangibles that influence and bring about changes in the psychology of world leadership, which changes become apparent only when the resultant effects take concrete shape, but give very conflicting and disturbing indications while they are in progress.

What are our own most pressing internal problems? On 25th December last, the A.I.C.C. teleased three resolutions for discussion at the Congress Session at Sardarnagar, near Bhavnagar. They were on "National Integration", the "Third Pive-Year Plan" and "Panchayat Raj". The Congress duly considered these and passed the reso-

were discussed, in the course of the proceedings. The President of the Congress, Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy suggested that persons in power for ten years should retire and take over organizational work. This, according to him, would not only ensure equitable distribution of talents between the Government and the organization, but would also check the growing tendency among Congressmen to seek power through "machinations and intrigues, for selfish ends". He also brought up the question of stemming the fissiparous tendencies, generated by linguism, casteism and provincialism. The Indo-China border dispute was also mentioned by him as was the foreign domination over Goa. He laid stress on the importance of moral and spiritual values in public life.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi, while moving the resolution on National Integration, said: "Today our unity-in-diversity is in danger, and the tendency of communalism and linguism will assume a dangerous magnitude, if we allow it to grow further".

The Congress luminaries left out from their deliberations the problems of corruption, blackmarkets-which include the creation of artificial scarcity of essentials and the consequent rise in the cost of living-and the general lowering of standards, not only in the abstract, moral and ethical values, but in the observance of laws and practices that regulate the life of a nation. These problems are eating into the vitals of the nation, and National Integrity and the Third Five-Year Plan resolutions become merely farcical recitals of platitudes, for electioneering propaganda, by this deliberate exclusion of such crucial issues. lutions, but there were some other problems that was a first breath ohelene and the lack of evidence, which seemed to refute the seriousness of the

charge by implication.

The All-India Congress is an effete body now, by all appraisals, but this annual function allows the public to have more than a passing glimpse into the mentality of those who are in power, collectively and separately. And, therefore, we are forced to say that we find no reason for optimism, where the nationals of India are concerned. Disintegration can be stopped only if disruptive forces are tackled firmly and openly. Mere pious resolutions only encourage the anti-national and anti-social elements within the nation, and so they are worse than useless.

Republic Day

The Indian Republic entered into its 12th year of existence on the 26th of January last. There were the usual countrywide celebrations, with the customary parades and pageantry. The only extraordinary feature was the presence in New Delhi of Queen Elizabeth of Britain and her Consort, Prince Philip, at the celebrations.

Queen Elizabeth had arrived January 21, which was Basant Panchami, the day fixed by the Hindu calendar for the advent of Spring. She had been given a warm but dignified and disciplined welcome by well-over a million peole, who thronged the eleven-mile route from air-port to the Rashtrapati Bhavan. It was a colourful welcome by gay and goodhumoured crowds who greeted the Royal visitors with loud cheers and broad smiles. So much so that one of the most anti-Indian dailies of London, made a departure from its usual mood of Indo-phobia and reported the event with a seven-column headline declaring—"India greets the Queen with a million smiles."

Our President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, very properly set the tone of the welcome in his brief speech, in Hindi and English, greeting the Queen at Palam Air-port, in which he declared that she was not only the head of the oldest democracy in the world but also was the head of a great Commonwealth. The Queen in her reply said that she was "thrilled" to be in India for the first time.

The President, incclois Public Dombin Gorakul Kantari Collection Haridwar in future.

broadcast, called for fresh dedication to the service of the country and said that the work for the establishment of the Welfan State cannot be executed on sound foundations "unless there is the silken threat fellowship, unifying and strengthening alour national endeavours."

President Rajendra Prasad laid stres in this year's broadcast on the vices of parochialism and utter and blind selfishnes that erupted into the sorry events that took place last year. He referred to the grim tasks ahead and referring to the worldone in the eleven years of the India Republic, he said:

"These eleven years form but an infinite simal part of the history of India but they are for us today of the utmost importance. For, it is a period in our history when we are busy laying the foundations—sound and secure—of a democratic State of socialist pattern, whose guiding principles are human dignity and freedom and is which poverty and ignorance are outlawed. Or concept of the Welfare State is one in which every citizen, without any distinction or discrimination, has a chance of honourable existence and of full growth.

"It is to that end that all our planning I directed. The work that we are doing today and what we have done since independence, is going to determine our future. Therefore, we must marshal all our resources, spiritual and material And this we cannot effectively do unless there is the silken thead of fellowship unifying an strengthening all our national endeavours.

"If we pride ourselves on the fact that we had attained a high degree of culture at a time when a large part of the world was passive through the Stone Age, we should also ask our selves why we are where we are today, while many of the erstwhile backward nations have laboured hard and gone ahead. Is it wise to be oblivious of the lessons of bictory?

oblivious of the lessons of history?

"The darkest spots in our history have bet those when our people lost a sense of proportion and attached undue importance to things were secondary, in fact, petty and ignored demands of the country. Let us not forget lesson which our history teaches us and let make sure that the causes, which brought about downfall do not operate in our national is sands. Collection Hardway.

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"This year the nation embarks on the Third Five-Year Plan. We have, of course, achieved much in the last 12 years, but we have yet to go a long way before we can claim that we have given economic content to our freedom.

"We, in India, are faced with many internal and external stresses and strains. We should take them as a challenge to our national will for survival and every year on this auspicious day, we should rededicate ourselves to the cause of the common man and to India's age-old mission of furthering the cause of peace, goodwill and friendship among nations."

The reference to the fissiparous tendencies and to the anti-national activities is clear. It is a pity that those who are at the helm of affairs, in command of the Administration, have not had the guts to state in clearer and unambiguous language what they thought of such anti-national activities and empowered the executive to resort to salutary measures against all such crimes and criminals, regardless of party or provincial considerations. Mere pious exhortations are useless against such miscreants as they have no ideals of human achievement.

The Republic Day honours hardly deserve any mention in these columns, but this year the two Bharat Ratnas are undoubtedly men of unusually great stature. Regarding the other awards the usual motley crowd is presented, a few undoubtedly deserving of honourable mention in any assembly of notables, as for example, Principal Amal Kumar Shah, whose record of service to humanity, surpasses that of almost all of those who are in a higher category.

The International Situation

At the turn of the year, there was deep concern, amongst the "uncommitted nations", over the critical situations in the Congo, Laos and Algeria. It was feared that they might lead to a major international conflagration.

Civil War, brought about by inter-tribal jealousies, seemed to be imminent in the Congo, at the end of the old year. The leaders of Congo, who were trying to reconcile conflicting tribal loyalties into a coherent national movement when the Congolese gained independence, in because minn of the dom that has on the Vietnam)

in a struggle for supremacy, which has assumed threatening proportions now. The situation has been complicated beyond measure by the involvement of Africa in the Cold War. Patrice Lumumba, who became the first Premier of the Congolese, after independence, was opposed the Western Group and invited the Soviet Group to assist him in the making of Congo into a economically and politically organized state. There were others in the political field, notably President Kasavubu and army Chief Colonel Mobutu, who were opposed to Lumumba's plans. They have imprisoned Lumumba and expelled the Communist advisers, but as large tracts of the country are not under their control, the position full of dangerous possibilities.

The U.N. is in a condition of stalemate, Mr. Hammarskjoeld being unable to obtain a mandate, because of both sides being opposed to his proposals for restoring order. The West and a majority of the African republics of the French Community are backing Kasavubu and Mobutu, despite their authoritarian moves against the U.N. administration, because of their declared antagonism to the Soviet Group, whereas there is a powerful pro-Lumumba group amongst the African nations, who met in Casablanca in the first week of January of this year, who have demanded that Lumumba be restored to Premiership.

Both sides of the Cold War rivals, are using the Congolese as powers and further there are forces of disintegration being fostered for selfish ends, by the Belgians, whose eighty years of colonial exploitation left the Congolese in a helpless condition at the time of independence, bereft of all the means of self-government, without education, training or experience in administration.

At the time of writing, the pro-Lumumba forces seem to have gained some ground. The U.N. command in Congo is still being assailed on all sides and denied of support by the major partisans of the East-West Cold War contestants. The position is, therefore, as yet critical.

A further complication has arisen, through the demand of the group who met at Casablanca, for the release of their troops. This would make the position of the U.N. command in Congo, precarious beyond measure.

In Asia the same critical condition prevails in the South-East Asian kingdom of Laos, a kingdom that has on its borders two Communist countwo neutral countries (Cambodia and Burma) and two pro-Western states (Thailand and South Vietnam).

In Laos the internecine struggle has been going on for many months now. At the close of 1960, it had resolved itself into a struggle between a rightist, U.S.-supported regime and leftist Guerrillas in the jungle to whom Russians are air-lifting arms. The position is very far from clear, because the fighting is going on in an area where communications are in a primitive state as yet.

There are some indications, at the time of writing, that Pandit Nehru's proposal for convening afresh the three nation Control Commission, consisting of Canada, Poland and India, is gaining favour. That Control Commission was established by the "Geneva Powers" who met in 1954 at Geneva to end the fighting between the French and the Indo-Chinese. In December last, the Soviet Union, with Communist China, Poland and North Vietnam called for reconvening "Geneva Powers" meeting, the powers being France, Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States and Communist China, with whom were associated Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. It is reported that the British Prime Minister is in favour of Pandit Nehru's proposal and that he has initiated moves to get the assent of the major powers.

But even if the Control Commission is set up again, it will have a very difficult task ahead unless wholehearted support is given by Russia and the United States. As things stand, there is an uneasy lull, with occasional bursts of skirmishing, in and around the *Plaine des Jarres*, both sides being engaged in building up their strength. The Central Plateau of the *Plaine des Jarres* is reportedly in the occupation of pro-Communist paratrooper Captain Kong Le, who was being supplied by Russian Ilyushin 14s.

In Algeria the first move now rests with President Charles de Gaulle, who received a 75 per cent "Yes" vote in the nation-wide referendum on the question of giving him full powers to negotiate for peace in Algeria. The F. L. N. Premier Ferhat Abbas is privately reported to be in a sober and realistic mood, but that does not mean that there would be any shift away from the demand for independence. It is clear now that a face saving formula is needed to bring in the F. L. N. to discuss the details of the transition period and the terms.

determination would come into being for a

In Cuba the state of emergency seems to have been called off and there are rumours about the reopening of diplomatic relations with the US. This is possibly a result of the Soviets' showing desire for re-establishing a more friendly relations with the U.S., with the new President assuming power.

In this tense situation that the world stand now, the initiative still rests with Mr. Khrushcher If he really desires to lower world tension—which is still acute—there is a distinct possibility the the U.S. may, relax its stern attitude correspondingly. But there is no indication as yet that the friendly atmosphere of the pre-U2 days, is in the offing.

The Congress Session at Sardarnagar

The All-India Congress has become an effet body, as we have remarked before, since the Congress Party came into power. The All-India Congress annual sessions have also become mer shows, an annual political fair so to say, with little lasting effect where the nation or the country is concerned. The Congress President is now reduced to a mere relic of the past glory, with mouthority and little in the way of executive function, as has been clearly stated by two former Presidents. Little significance can be attached a rule, therefore, to either the address delivered by the President of the day, or the proceedings in the open session.

This year's President, however, has a perso nality of a different type, having attained political power on his own and led his party to executive power in his state as its Chief Minister, and having voluntarily relinquished that to head the All-India Congress as its President. His president. dential address reflects this personality in place and, though he has not been as outspoken as he could have been, his remarks on corruption, in discipline and lust for Power, are worthy of coll sideration. We have not been favoured with copy of the full-text of the Presidential address for some time now, since the denigration of the Congress by Commercialised Gandhism and there fore, we quote from the Amrita Bazar Patrika, relevant portions of the text of the address as follows:

to discuss the details of the transition charges of corruption and indiscipline in the Columbia and the terms on which the final self- gress. I am afraid that there has been far too much CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Hardwar

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of loose talk on this subject. Certainly corruption of 10050 has to be rooted out of our body politic, if we are to develop on healthy lines. At the same time there should be a certain amount of balance and sense of responsibility in our talk about this. We adopted a resolution some time ago on this and we have also requested highly respected men, known for their integrity and independence to look impartially into these charges of corruption wherever they are raised. Though this highpowered tribunal has now been in existence for some time and we have promised to investigate thoroughly all charges still nothing serious has come out. Corruption whether in the Congress or elsewhere has to be ruthlessly weeded out, but loose talk about it and vague charges demoralise the country and lower generally the tone of our public life and will also injure the interests of national progress."

"Allied to it is the question of indiscipline in the Congress. This problem is far more serious and has to be tackled with firmness and courage. Resolutions are passed with overwhelming majority, but the people who vote for them do not have sincere faith in them. It is far better that men and women should honestly express their real convictions and vote according to the dictates of their conscience rather than vote loosely for a resolution in which they do not have real belief. It would be an act of real courage on their part to openly profess their opposition or disbelief in the resolution that came before them rather than vote for them while at the same time not believe in them. I would earnestly appeal to such persons to canvass frankly their views and contribute to the shaping of the final decisions in a dynamic manner so that the resolutions may truly reflect the will of the persons that pass them and, in the process acquire a little more reality and sanctity."

"The Congress because of historical reasons has come to be a great instrument of service to the people and it naturally attracts to itself people who hunger for power. The fact remains that Congressmen are generally more active in the seats of power in the Secretariats and honest Cod's work in the field and in the villages is becoming more and more rare. There is no use condemning these people since this is natural to any human being."

After the above remarks, Shri Reddy expounded on the gifts of Gandhiji to the Congress

"Great men have said it previously, but there was a difference, in that Gandhiji applied his teaching to mass political action. Something which the individual life was adopted for mass action. Almost as if by magic the influence of Gandhiji spread and we found this frightened people standing up and behaving with dignified courage as heroes. Such leaders occur but rarely in the history of human relationship. We have to deal with the people and the leaders of ordinary times since only extra-ordinary circumstances can produce leaders of extra-ordinary calibre. In the normal course, therefore, it is understandable that people should seek power. All political action ultimately means action through Governmental power. There is therefore nothing wrong in seeking power. What is wrong are machinations and cheap intrigue to grab power for selfish ends.

"There is no point in merely blaming these Congressmen alone for this trait. Some blame also rests on those that are already in the seats power. There are many amongst us who having once got into power, stick on to it. We have in Pandit Nehru an international leader of immense status, whose wisdom and experience are always and should always be available to us. It is the good fortune of our country that through these of crises we have the benefit of his stewardship but the same cannot be said of all others in power."

Having thus brought in the question of powerhunger and put Pandit Nehru in an unique place, he suggested a new departure, that should be acclaimed by all right-thinking persons in the

following words: "I would, therefore, suggest for consideration that people who have been in power, say for a period of ten years, should voluntarily relinquish their offices and take up organisational work. Their wisdom, backed by a decade of administrative experience, should be available for the Congress organisation so that they can lead the organisation into better channels. There would then be an equitable distribution of talents the Government and in the organisation. In order to create this, and in order to provide for a healthy mixture of experienced and talented persons in both the Governmental and the organisational wings of the Congress, it is necessary that some such arrangement should be thought of."

and the gifts of Gandhiji to the Congress "Allied to this is the question."

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e Con much effectively propagated wrong ideas and wrong on the innocent but foolhardy witness. approaches will take its place exposing the coundiverted by our petty internal differences."

much talk about corruption, he says that claimers by Congress leaders. "it (the Congress) naturally attracts to itself people who hunger for power." He also says, "Congressmen are generally more active in the seats of power" and that "honest Gods work in the field and in the villages is becoming more and more rare." He has also said later that seeking power is natural and that there is nothing wrong (!) in seeking power. But he clearly states in this context: "What is wrong are machinations and cheap intrigue to grab power for selfish ends."

whether people desire power, take resort "having once got into power, stick on to it" Indian Border. without any ulterior motives, either on their part or on the part of those who actively subject of Panchayeti Raj and asked the indulge in "chean intrigue and making the subject of Panchayeti Raj and asked the indulge in "cheap intrigue and machina- State Governments "to take courage in partions"—which we would realistically tions"—which we would realistically tran- hands and vest full powers in the slate as "nefarious moves, bribery and cor- chayets." We have neither the space nor for that "high-powered tribunals" have been persuading the long suffering and helpless set up for some time, now but a like the long suffering and helpless set up for some time, now but a like the long suffering and helpless set up for some time, now but a like the long suffering and helpless the long suffering the long sufferin set up for some time now but nothing common citizen to accept this indiscreet and serious has come out. We would serious has come out.

In our country the situation is probably not yet emphatically say that though highly res. In our country the situation is product, ripe for combining the offices of the head of the pected persons have been put up to "look ripe for combining the offices of the head of the pected persons have been put up to "look organisation and the head of Government. The impartially into these charges" the whole Congress has not only to discharge the govern- procedure has been made into a farce mental functions but has also other responsibit through the lack of proper procedure for lities. There is plenty of constructive and nation- judicial enquiry and the total absence of building work which Congressmen have to attend any safeguards for people who would have to apart from the dissemination of Congress to testify against people in power, who have ideology. The Congress ideology has been built myriads of totally unscrupulous and danup through the eventful decades of our recent gerous henchmen, who not only threaten history and contains the best answer to all the serious reactions against such testimony but challenges of democracy. If this ideology is not in many cases have sprung dire consequences

We regret that Shri Sanjeeva Reddy try as also our infant democracy to new dangers. has lightly dismissed the charges of corrup-Among the steps we should take to restore an tion, because it is that virulent disease effective masure of discipline in the Congress is which is hastening the downfall of the Conthe inculcation in Congressmen of a fresh sense gress and the degradation of our people. All of mission so that the practical tasks that await the same we are glad that he has given a them are tackled with vigour. The coming elec- home thrust to those who are now sticking tions also enforce the need to close up our ranks as leeches, on to the body politic of India, so that the people are able to concentrate on what in places of power and we hasten to felicitate we stand for, on our objectives and are not him. It will not have much effect we are afraid, for such people are the mainstays of It will be seen that although Shri corruption, and corruption is rife in this Sanjeeva Reddy says that there is far too land, as never before, despite all the dis-

The Congress Resolutions

The entire Congress session was dominated by the shadow of the impending elections. Practically every resolution and almost all the utterences of those who spoke or took part in the discussions, was coloured by the same all-pervading thought, although the speakers tried their best to bring in the themes of public weal and national uplift and advancement.

The open session on the 7th of January discussed and adopted five resolutions, Now what we would like to know is namely, (1) Panchayet Raj, (2) Election Manifesto, (3) National Integration, (4) to machinations and cheap intrigue and, International Affairs, and lastly, (5) Sino having once get into poor of international Affairs, and lastly, (5)

Pandit Nehru waxed eloquent on the We would most ill kingheidsted, Harbone. We are almost sur

that Pa followe to pers the plu in the that ma actuall going 1 to kno ministr that th from t afraid corrup from t the dis help t persua with th and co of Par have s powers Board Furthe lution worke alarme

> fields, M Gover reaction exploi timely nor w not m made ment agains the oc are re outbucounty

Ir langu the S cular nurtu pariso canno curiou this p that Pandit Nehru has been primed by his followers to enthuse on this subject, in order to persuade the State Governments to take the plunge. The reason is indicated clearly in the statement, made by Pandit Nehru, that many people who lived in the cities but actually belonged to the rural areas were going back to the villages since they came to know that Panchayets were getting administrative rights." Pandit Nehru thinks that this would check the flow of people from the villages to the cities, but we are afraid this would accelerate the flow of corruption, goondaism and vicious politics from the urban cesspools of iniquity into the distant rural areas. It will, no doubt, help the corrupt politician in his task of persuading his agents to into the rural areas with the lure of fresh sources of illicit levies and corrupt exactions through the medium of Panchayeti zoolum on a large scale. We have seen reports about such misuse of powers by corrupt Panches and Union Board heads, from sources beyond suspicion. Further, we have spoken about this resolution with some really sincere and selfless workers in the districts and they are all alarmed by this threat of invasion of their fields, by political hooligans.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi's appeal to the Government and the Congress to combat the reactionaries who were sowing discord by exploiting the fears of the minorities, was timely but it was not comprehensive enough, nor was it categorical. National Integrity is not merely an election issue as it has been made to appear. Her plea for the encouragement of Hindi teaching as a palliative against linguism was hardly appropriate for the occasion, as the "Hindi Raj" proponents are responsible for a lot of mischief in the outburst of linguism that is pervading the

India is a country with fifteen major languages, and unless all the people of all the States are assured that their own particular the states are assured that their own particular the states and cular mother-tongue will be cherished and parison with equal emphasis, in comparison with equal emphasis, it cannot with any other language, there cannot be any solidarity or integrity. It is this noise any solidarity or integrity.

minorities should be allowed to educate their children in their own particular mother-tongue—though even 'that right is being openly circumscribed in certain States -it is essential that every student in every State should be made to acquaint himself (or herself) with another major language, besides that of the majority in the State. It should further be made clear that in the near future most of the upper grade posts in the governmental services, would be offered to only such candidates as can pass an examination in a second Indian language, other than classical.

The other resolutions were neither noteworthy nor were they discussed fully and without reservations. The Third Five-Year Plan was also "approved."

THE EDITOR

Pandit Nehru Speaks

At his monthly Press Conference held on January 18, 1961, Pandit Nehru gave expression to certain views and opinions on different subjects which deserve the consideration of the intelligent public of India. The recent Sino-Pakistani talks about demarcating the boundary of that part of Kashmir which Pakistan is occupying illegally have not caused India, said Pandit Nehru, any "serious concern" but only some "irritation". China, apparently, never liked to discuss that portion of the border with India and the Chinese attitude towards the demarcation of the boundary adjoining Sikkim and Bhutan was also similarly not at all keen. We think the Chinese have been hoping to play Pakistan against India by use of this handle and they are also hoping to rouse Sikkimese and Bhutanese "nationalism" against India. The Kashmiris (the Ladhakis) who are now in Pakistan and the Bhutanese and the Sikkimese who may feel like shaking off India's guardianship under instigation of China, should know that the Chinese do not believe in any nationalism other than Chinese Nationalism. Every place coming under Chinese influence becomes an integrated part of China. Tibet has been declared to be China and if the Chinese ever manage to control any part of Kashmir, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim or Burma, those areas will inevitably become China. India, on the this point. It is not enough the thid in grainsting was also then fault wand that is a great boon for

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small communities excepting of course, those areas which may become a part of Hindi rastra. Generally speaking the Chinese Communists are ruthless, shameless and unscrupulous. They have partly destroyed their own philosophy, culture and civilisation in order to impose a minority dictatorship over the masses of China. They will similarly destroy all other social orders, institutions and ideals in order to make the world "Peoples" China.

Mr. Chou En-lai stated somewhere that India kept up the border dispute with China in order to get foreign aid and in order to suppress the Communist Movement in India. Mr. Nehru, expressed his surprise that a man in Mr. Chou En-lai's position should make such statements. Mr. Chou Enlai of course, in the opinion of other people, is as shameless and unscrupulous as the party he represents. Mr. Nehru should give up his illusions about the VIPs of other lands. He will then understand Real Polilik.

Referring to Nepal Mr. Nehru said, the people of India were sad over the set-back Democracy there. He also said that Nepalese independence had become more real after the British Government of India was abolishd. The Indian Government did not interfere with the Government of Nepal in any matter whatsoever. The British used to control their foreign relations and the Nepalese could not form alliances or make treaties with other powers without reference to Britain. Today the Nepalese are quite free and fully sovereign. Mr. Nehru did not say whether this has been an unmixed blessing to Nepal India. In our opinion the Indo-Nepalese relations should have been more realistic and comprehensive from the beginning of the new regime in India. Had these been so defined and fixed, Koirala could not have gone off the rails in the manner he did and the Nepalese "democracy" would not have collapsed. The Indian eracy" should also derive wisdom from the Nepalese show down. A. C.

American Declaration of Independence

On the 4th of July, 1776, was made the famous declaration in America which separated the United States of America from the ruling country and its king and made these States independent. This was done as the peoples of those States found that of Warfare, is an undistinguished destruction Great Britain was progressively reducing of all ages, sexes and conditions." the rights and freedomscoof. Mrubpe Dophein. Gyfukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

the colonies and was imposing an absolute autocracy upon them. The Declaration of Independence provides material for thought to all people for all time when they find that their rights and freedoms are being impinged upon and veiled or open autocracy is being introduced in their governance. Such passages as those quoted below are of the very essence of human justice and truth; and constitute the foundations of modern political thought. It also gives a picture of evil absolutism and misgovernment which has parallels in real life even to-day in certain fake democracies.

"We hold these truths to be selfevident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness-that to secure these Rights Governments are instituted among Men, desiring their just Powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, The History of the present King of Great Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States ... let Facts be submitted

"He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the Public Good.

"He has endeavoured to prevent the Population of the States

"He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, . . . He has made Judges depend ent on his will alone for the Tenure of their offices and the amount and the payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a Multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers eat out their to harass our people, and substance.

"He has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers merciless Indian savages whose known Rule A. C.

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"Democracy" the leadership of a man like Pandit Nehru. The preamble to the Indian Constitution Khrushchev on Peace goes like this, "We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens:

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Justice, social, economic and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity, and to promote among them all;

Fraternity assuring the dignity of the Nation;

In our Constituent Assembly

selves this Constitution."

some of those who made the above Con- immediately modified his general Justice to treat people in their own ances- those "sacred conflicts" by which bhum, Manbhum and other places? Is it Tibetans were classifiable as wars liberty and as "sacred to the peoples of Singir- the Induction" and as "sacred to the peoples of Singir- the Induction" and as "sacred to the peoples of Singir- the Induction" and as "sacred to the peoples of Singir- the Induction" and as "sacred to the peoples of Singir- the Induction" and the people of Singir- the Induction of the people of the peop people in what was who cannot get jobs anyhow or food, hous- liberation was completed.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotring, clothing or the basic requirements of The supporters of Democracy in India life? And, are not the privileged few given The supple worried over the set back to houses snatched away from others, financial are very much worried are those savings assistance and from others, financial are very in Nepal. There are those sayings assistance, out of funds created by taxes democracy in Nepal. There are those sayings assistance, out of funds created by taxes democracy has been democracy to the democracy which exhort people to "oil their own extorted from the poor and every advantage which exhort we feel that there is a greater in account full the poor and every advantage which and we feel that there is a greater, in every field while the people of India though invisible, set-back to democracy in suffer? And, is Fraternity growing India than one may consider possible under slowly going out of existence between communities all over India?

Mr. Khrushchev has now delivered a long lecture on peaceful co-existence. He has discovered that when wars break out it is the poor workers who die in largest numbers. In the circumstances he thinks wars are bad for workers, and, therefore, bad for Communism. For, in a capitalist state, there are many citizens who are not workers, and, therefore, can die without any loss to the world; but in a Communist individual and the unity of the State all able-bodied men and women are workers, all young people are potential this workers, and all superannuated persons are twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, ex-workers. Any deaths in a Communist State are the deaths of workers in some Hereby Adopt, Enact and give to our- shape or form and, are, therefore, a great tragedy which should be avoided at any Now, are we getting more and more or cost. While dilating upon the demerits of even as much as before of Justice, Equality wars as an institution, Mr. Khrushchev, and Fraternity? Is it social justice to push perhaps, suddenly remembered comrade people out of their homes by ruthless Mao skulking somewhere in the immediate violence as has been done in Assam with vicinity in the hope of catching brother the knowledge and, perhaps, connivance of Khrushchev on the wrong foot. He, therefore, stitution? Is it economic and political demnation of wars and began to talk about tral homes as immigrants in point of forces of communism effected "national economic and political rights and privileges liberations." We do not know whether has been done to the peoples of Singh- the massacres of the Hungarians and the liberty of thought and expression or of "national liberation" and as "sacred conbelief, to be dosed with propaganda made flicts," but we do know that those liberated by the Ministry and with propaganda made flicts," but we do know that those liberated by the Ministry of Information? Is it, also, nations retained very little of their original kind of the something quite any kind of liberty of thought to be forced nationhood and became something quite to give up one's own language and to be different after liberation. The Tibetans, for forced to make the company of the compan forced to read, write and speak another instance, became Chinese after they had language and speak another instance, became Chinese after they had language, as has been done to the Bhoj- been "liberated" by "sacred conflicts." The puris, the Maithils and to many other Hungarians who were liberated did not there any equality of status or opportunity as were on the wrong side in that "sacred anywhere in the status or opportunity as were dead by the time their any equality of status or opportunity as were on the wrong status who cannot represent the conflict were dead by the time their who cannot represent the conflict was completed.

A.C.

Blankets to D. P.s

In India, even the beggars on the street pay taxes by buying something or other for consumption which yield revenue to the State. In fact, anybody who smokes, chews pan, puts on any clothing or drinks tea, helps to swell the revenues in an indirect manner. Such beggars as beg from foreigners, which many of them do in Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay or Madras, help to improve the foreign exchange position of the Government to the extent that they receive money from foreigners who obtain Indian currency in exchange of their dollars, pounds, etc. Beggars or the D.P.s are, therefore, taxpayers and they are not anti-social in the same sense that of pickpockets or dacoits are; though they are a social problem. The Government, however, treat them with extreme contempt and indifference and allow them to die of cold on the payements; also of disease and starvation. The recent propaganda carried on by the Calcutta Daily the Statesman drawing public attention to the D.P.s on the pavements who lived on charity and were dying of cold; certainly did no good to the prestige of our sanctimonious rulers, who were too busy with atomic reactors and similar big things to have any time for the beggars and other suffering members of Indian humanity. The Statesman did a very good turn to those who suffer and die, without help from the Government, by giving them blankets subscribed for by the Statesman staff and others; as well as, by stimulating the Red Cross and other organisations to distribute blankets. The Indian Government are spending thousands of crores every year on their pet plans and are obtaining funds for the same on the principle of beg, borrow or extort; but the problems of unemployment, poverty, illiteracy and disease are not only remaining very alive but are becoming more acute than ever before.

A.C.

Education By Post

In the Third Five-Year Plan of the Government of India, we are told there are provisions for night colleges and correspondence colleges which will cost the country

the opinion of the Government of India higher priority should be given to the ed granted cation of partly educated people who, or deliberate can make use of night colleges and post cross the tuition; than one should grant to prime at every education which moulds and stimulates the into the juvenile mind. One hundred and seven left han lacs of rupees can easily put into operatio Among about 500 schools for boys and girls and the upon pu schools can educate a quarter of a million sessions boys and girls. Such schools give emplor on the la ment to rural people, and 500 schools coul people's employ about 6,000 teachers. Correspond narrow ence colleges and night colleges will bloudly a run by city people and the persons takin loiter of advantage of such arrangements will be homake the and large of the urban class. Most of the out of "aid" will no doubt go to the favoure in a sen persons of the Ministers and the politic loiter in leaders and such protege's of the V.I.P. being what they are, will misuse the fund put at their disposal to a great exten This provision of 170 lacs is, therefore, like and oth to be in aid of the favourites in cour rather than of any use to people who deserve to be educated. For all we know the night colleges and the correspondence college may disseminate knowledge of Rashtravash to the people of India, in which case it will be another example of expenditure incurre out of public funds, which should be sper out of party funds. In a true democracy considered to be public funds are not party funds. India But, is democracy?

A. C.

Encroachments

Recently some encroachments on the city's pavements were forcibly terminate by order of the Court, and such of our sym pathetic public, who never willingly git one naya paisa to charity and appease the yearnings for helping distressed humanit by expressing sympathy for the poor white break the law and deprive other people their lawful rights and possessions, imprediately by diately burst into tears over this heartles action of the authorities. It was no doubtaken for taken for granted that the poor have a fit of divine right to build hutments on the public highways in order to engage in trade 170 lacs of rupees. It would appear that winker the country public highways in order to engage in a cc-0. In Public Domain Curikkul kangribalectean the country public highways in order to engage in a cc-0. In Public Domain Curikkul kangribalectean the country public highways in order to engage in a cc-0. In Public Domain Curikkul kangribalectean the country public highways in order to engage in a cc-0. In Public Domain Curikkul kangribalectean the country public highways in order to engage in a cc-0. In Public Domain Curikkul kangribalectean the country public highways in order to engage in a cc-0. In Public Domain Curikkul kangribalectean the country public highways in order to engage in a cc-0. In Public Domain Curikkul kangribalectean the country public highways in order to engage in a cc-0. In Public Domain Curikkul kangribalectean the country public highways in order to engage in a cc-0. In Public Domain Curikkul kangribalectean the country public below the country public belo

hand or per lane ner, and cities of and of India in and the of the anti-soc self-cre fully be for the and the can de conniva

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conside was H book, nd the upon public rights and other people's posmilli sessions one may mention those who sleep ols coul people's houses, park buses and taxis in the respond narrow lanes of big cities, scream, yell and will loudly abuse one another in public parks, s takin loiter or stand in groups at street corners, ll be h make the night hideous by singing loudly t of the out of tune or by playing on instruments favoure in a semi-skilled manner, hire fly taxis and politic loiter in the streets with empty rickshaws, e VIF hand or cycle carts, weave in an out of prone fund per lanes of traffic in an over smart manexter ner, and all those hawkers, pedlars, beggars e, likel and others, who have the freedom of the cour cities of India. Encroachments, temporary deservand of longer duration are found all over he nigh India in all fields and in every walk of life college and the public are constantly at the mercy travash of the roughs, the toughs, the ill-bred, the e it wil anti-social and the barbarous grabbers of incurre self-created privileges which do not rightpe sper fully belong to them. The Law in India is mocrace for the chastisement of the weak, the meek to be and the timid; and there are many who true can defy the Law with or without the connivance of the keepers of the Law.

A. C.

Rashtra and Rashtrabhasha

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The necessity for having a single language for purposes of State all over India is universally felt and admitted. But, when Hindi was chosen as the State language of India, those whose mother tongue was Hindi as well as those who thought they could adopt Hindi as their mother language, pounced upon this opportunity to push their selfish ends. The Government of India, in which certain Hindi speaking public men were in very important positions, immediately confused the issue of a language by mixing with it the issue of

the edigranted that pedestrians have a right to Government of India at the cost of the pubthe ed granted that postruct motor traffic and lic, there is a distinct effort at proving how deliberately Chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the Chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the cost of the public proving how the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the cost of the public proving how the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the cost of the public proving how the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the cost of the public proving how the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the cost of the public proving how the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the cost of the public proving how the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large and the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group with the chowrence of the chowringhee or Bentinck Street large and the chowringhee deliberatery deliberatery deliberatery the Chowringhee or Bentinck Street large a group were the Hindi speaking bloc. post cross the critical those roads by wading There is also a clear indication that the prima at every yard of the first fingers of their Covernment of the indication of the covernment of the prima at every yard with the first fingers of their Government of India were not attached too lates thinto the traffic with the first fingers of their shoulders strongly to seven left hands raised above their shoulders. strongly to any scruples to prove their case peratio Among other temporary encroachments which was that the natural Hindi speaker of any other language. This was quite unemplo on the landings or raised thresholds of other necessary. For, if India could choose to not many natural born English speakers in India, why could she not have Hindi as a national language without creating a Hindi bloc on the demographic basis? The present anti-Hindi feeling among all other linguistic groups in India is due to this none too cleverly veiled attempt by the Government of India to prove that natural Hindi speakers are about 40% of India's population. In fact those whose mother tongue is Hindi in India would constitute about 10% of our population. The rest of the alleged Hindi speakers are fake.

Shortage of Capital and Foreign Exchange

Mr. Morris J. Solomon, a specialist sent to the Indian Statistical Institute . under Technical Co-operation Mission by the addressing the United States of America, Indian Institute of Production Engineers, said, that Shortage of Capital and Foreign Exchange were important limiting factors the field of Industrial Expansion. Shortage of capital for industry, of course, is due to the general poverty of the people of India and to the more profitable opportunities for using whatever surplus money the rural and the bazar folk have in money lending, small trade, financing cultivation and the movement of commodities etc., etc. The ordinary people of India do not keep money in banks, nor invest in securities or shares. In the 500,000 villages of India, there must be 5,000,000 persons who are capable of investing 5,000,000,000 rupees annually in industry; but they would not do so. In the cities and towns which number nearly 4000, there must again be considering persons whose mother language about 4,000,000 persons who can invest was Hindi was Hindi as a separate group. In the enormous sums of money in industry, but India: a separate group. In the enormous sums of money in industry, but book, India in 1960, published blicky maithanudokanot colectish Haritwar reasons are that they

able or safe. Land, houses, ornaments and lieve. Rabindranath Tagore was also univer many. And the Government's economic should not be improved upon by the offi. ing pe policy is slowly reducing their savings by cials and others appointed by the Govern prime heavy taxes and by not controlling the ment of India. They have given money to had a s price level. Foreign Exchange does not these institutions, no doubt; but that does flow towards India easily because of the not entitle them to make it yet another Government's economic policy and because foreigners can not invest in India with any degree of freedom, nor private people in Bharat Krishak Samaj India procure foreign capital freely. In other words, the Government of India are themselves largely responsible for the shortage of Capital and Foreign Exchange which it aims at the improvement of agriculture they require so badly.

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Visva-Bharati

Rabindranath Tagore set up the Visva-Bharati University on the principles which the spirit of his Santiniketan. Universal Brotherhood, Peace among Nations, appreciation of each others thoughts and culture and the development of those fundamentals in social organisation and the economy, of the peoples of the Earth which had been the main spring of human civilisation; were the clear cut facets of Visva-Bharati. Since the death of Rabindranath Tagore Visva-Bharati has undergone many changes and people who have seen it grow from infancy to maturity often feel a great loss when they revisit this great centre of universal culture. This they feel on account of the change in the atmosphere of Santiniketan due to the control exercised over its affairs by the Central Government. We have no clear knowledge of what has happened in Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati, but we have heard about this change off and on from many persons who should know what they had been discussing. It may be accepted as a fact, that things are being managed in Visva-Bharati in a manner which the Poet would not have approved of had he been alive. This being the centenary year of Rabindranath Tagore, we should be pleased if the spirit of Tagore could be fully revived in Visva-Bharati

do not think such investments are profit- dead in India, for reasons of State we be stocks of goods are what they consider sally admired and respected. His name is gilt edged. In the cities there are those a great asset to India and Visva-Bharah some t who invest in industry; but they are not and Santiniketan are institutions which Governmental AKADEMY.

The great exhibition in Taratola Road Behala, in the suburbs of Calcutta is supposed to be the first of its kind in India, and in India. Those who had been to see it call it a glamorous maze of machinery, charts and statistics, and all cultivators who have graduated in science, mathematics or engineering should gain immensely by a visit to this exhibition. Unfortunately, our cultivators cannot gain very much from the exhibits at this show; for the reason that the vast majority of them will never see it. And, even if they did see it, they would lack the ability to make anything out of it to their advantage. For our cultivators, like our Government, lack knowledge and imagination. Had our Government had any knowledge of facts and the imagination to see in their mind what effect this exhibition would have upon the cultivators; they would have put the whole exhibition in a railway train and carried it from centre to centre all over India, so that the real cultivators could see the exhibits. As it is, it is very good advertisement for the Government, but hardly of any good to the cultivators and agriculturists of India. It also shows up the lack of common sense and a sense of reality in those who think of such expensive methods not doing what they want to do. We must, however, thank out Government for not organising the exhibition in T Shortage of tion in London or New York. foreign exchange we suppose?

Phizo and Nagaland

The Government of India, though wed and Santiniketan. The spirit of Gandhi cirukdedango chlection darior and norder and nord

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attraction for sadistic have an univer exhibitions staged by believers in violence and crime. For instance, the Assamese Bharat some time ago committed murders, rape and arson on a mass scale on the Bengali speakne offi ing people of the State of Assam and our Govern. Prime Minister owned up publicly that he oney to had a sneaking admiration for the Assamese Youth (who had committed those crimes). We suppose those whose "marital" duties demand that they should be non-violent and law-abiding; incline inevitably towards violence and law breaking, as a relaxation from the rigorous discipline of "married" life. The fascination that the Congress Government feel for the rowdies who are trying to break up India is, therefore, understandable from psycho-analytical We cannot approve of it; but they cannot help it. In the case of the Naga country, the violence and law breaking is 'directed towards the Government of India who try to govern the Nagas by the Assamese or some such types who are unattractive to the Nagas. The Government of India have this habit of imposing Bhojpuris upon the Oraons or the Bengalis, or, the Banias upon the Kshatriyas, and they have only themselves to blame if a Phizo crops up and starts a rebellion with or without foreign assistance. If the Nagas elect Phizo as their Chief Minister, it will be very awkward for the Government of India. Pandit will have to muster up his sneaking admiration for all who wage war against Government established by Law.

Our Republic

On Republic day we engaged in a little careful thinking about the nature and origin of our Republic. A Republic is a concern of the Public and by the public one understands the sum total of all individuals in any group, community, tace, place or nation. When we talk about our sovereign democratic Republic of India, we naturally Valley assume that it is a Government or State which is the concern of the public of India. That is the concern of the public of India. is the people of India manage this State or Governhent of India. Looking into its origin, we find that a political party, viz., a group of persons who worked together for a political purpose, took over

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the British who had been governing India before that in behalf of the British people. This political party which called itself the Indian National Congress was an exclusive body and its membership was open to only such persons, as agreed with the leaders of the party in matters of ideology which were not limited by political consideraions only. As a result of this exclusiveness, the party never had a large enough membership to consider itself co-extensive with the public of India. This party, moreover, agreed to divide India into two parts and to form two States out of one India: the two States being India Pakistan as from the day of their independent existence, the 15th of August, 1947. India, therefore, was not created nor organised as an independent state by the people or public of India of their own free will and choice. It so happened that the British wanted to hand over the Government of India to certain parties of their choice and they selected the Indian National Congress for India and the Muslim League for Pakistan. The reasons which impelled the British to leave India, were mainly of post-war origin. British had lost so heavily in their war against Hitler, Tojo and Mussolini that they could no longer face the possibility of an armed rebellion in India. Subhas Chandra Bose had proved to the British that their great faith in the loyalty of the war-like tribes and clans of India was based upon thin air and a mutiny in the Indian Army could be easily engineered by the leaders of the Nation. The Indian National Congress was sworn to nonviolence; but who knew how long they or their ideology would last? So the British handed over power and left their gaddi while the going was good.

India was declared a Republic in 1950, but nature of the Government remained the That is, the Indian National Congress organised the sovereign Democratic Republic of India in proper style and with all legal formalities fully provided and carried out. We have now a Constitution prepared for us and legally instituted by the same political party; who now hold elections and come into power in proper democratic style. But, the Indian National Congress, which is a political party and not representative of the people or public of India, arrogates to itthe Government of India in Account, P. 1947 of faior Gursen Kaligue Confetting Hacople", who are elected by the self the right to decide how India will be or should

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people to rule India according to the directions issued to them by the above-mentioned political party. We do not know whether the glory of a Sovereign Democratic Republic is reduced to any extent, if the representatives of the people are made to legislate and the executives forced govern the Country in accordanc with the open as well as secret directives issued by a handful of men who call themselves by a high-sounding name. And judging by results, the Indian National Congress and its leaders do not usually and strictly work within the bounds of high political or socio-ethical principles; but come down quite often to a level where their actions constitute, jobbery, nepotism and diversion of gainful contracts, permits, licences, etc., into specially favoured channels. So that, the Indian National Congress have developed traits which make it resemble a Managing Agency more than a political party. We do not know whether the Indian National Congress or the other political parties of India come under the jurisdiction of the Registral Joint Stock Companies; but, in our opinion, their activities should be subjected to scrutiny by some authority empowered by the people of India, as against the Government of India which is subservient to the political party or parties. Whether a republic can cease to be a public concern (res publicus) and become a concern of the political party which manages to win the elections is a question which political science wallahs answer. We, as the wearers of the shoe that pinches, know that the political parties of India and their leaders are quite capable of and they are in the habit of, usurping public rights and creating privileges and advantages for themselves and for their overlords and masters, one political party habitually carries on negotiations with foreign governments in order to bring India, some day, within their hegemony. In such cumstances, the political parties of India, as constituted now, are the greatest forces of disruption in our Sovereign Democratic Republic.

On Shooting A Tiger

The Daily Mirror, has taken strong tion to the shooting of a tiger by Prince Philip and so has Mr. Kingsley Martin writing in the Daily Herald. They have both thought that the killing of animals for sport would hurt public feelings in India and in Great Britain. Some Indians and a few Europeans, consider all killing as immoral and bad; but the majority of Indians as well Europeans do not think so. All who eat meat, fish, eggs, etc., cannot take offence at killand even vegetarians and the ing of animals; advocates of Ahimsa will agree to the killing of dangerous animals like tiger, panthers, crocodiles and snakes. Apparently, the hosts of the Queen of Britain and her consort, viz., the Government of India, who are wedded to the idea of non-violence have not thought it immoral, degrading or harmful to organise a shoot for the Royal visitors. That some members of the British Press feel strongly against it is surprising though we appreciate the spirit in which the criticism has been offered. We may say to Mr. Kingsley Martin that Shikar is not the exclusive sport of Maharajahs and Sahibs. It has been engaged in by all classes and the best shikaris of India have not always been Maharajahs or British sahibs of the official class. And shikaris have been anti-social lacking in humanitarian considerations. In fact many Shikaris, Maharajahs and Sahibs have been pretty good men whom humanity should remember with gratitude. We can assure Mr. Kingsley Martin and the Daily Mirror too that the Indian public do not and cannot think ill of any one who shoots a tiger and we would go so far as to assert that the shooting of feathered game too cannot lower anyone in public esteem. If the Queen had to please all opinion everywhere, she will have to be a teetoteller, a non-smoker, a vegetarian and she will have to do and not do a host of things which various groups of persons support or condemn in Great Britain and in India.

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THE QUEEN'S ROLE IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS Digitized by Atya Samai Foundation Chennal and eGangotri By Sir IVOR JENNINGS,

Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge University, England

When a constitutional lawyer tries to explain the position of Queen Elizabeth II in the Commonwealth he gets into difficulties forthwith. To begin with, whose Queen is she? She is often described as the Queen of England and though there has not in fact been a Queen of England since 1707, there is something in the term because she has somewhat different constitutional responsibilities in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. It is, however, simpler to say that she is the Queen of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa (which has declared its intention to become a republic in May, 1961), Ceylon and Nigeria. India, Pakistan and Ghana are republics with Presidents as Heads of State and the Federation of Malaya has a Malay ruler—the Yang Di Pertuan Agong—as Head of State. All these countries recognise the Queen as the symbol of their free association and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

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Nor is this all. In Canada and Australia the Governments of the provinces and states are the Queen's Governments functioning in her name. There are, besides, all the territories which are not yet fully self-governing.

Reigns But Does Not Rule

The position is really less complicated than it sounds. If the Queen had actually to govern all these territories, the job would require super-woman. Actually she governs none of them: she reigns but does not rule. The device which Britain was in the process of developing at the time of the American revolution was that responsible government, whereby the functions of the Monarch were in fact exercised by ministers who were members of and responsible to the Legislature. The Declaration of Independence blamed George II because the responsibility Was his; but nobody blamed George V and George VI personally for any acts of the United Kingdom Government.

This development not to become a democracy; it chooses to become a whole collection of democracies government is not fully developed or in a place like the Ascension Island where it could not be not be accepted.

These functions are the accepted. developed, the Queen does not rule. presentative (usually styled cthen Conceptor) General Recognization of the description of

ercises his powers in accordance with the instructions of a responsible minister in one of the the United independent countries (such as Kingdom, Australia or New Zealand).

The device of responsible government does not deprive the Queen of political functions. On the contrary it adds to their importance, for responsible ministers are party politicians and, therefore, partisans. Besides, the Monarch is permanent while the ministers are "transient and embarrassed phantoms". The ministers have to seek re-election within five years at the most and may be turned out by lack of parliamentary or party support before then; in fact; in the United Kingdom no government ever lasts for more than 10 years. The Queen reigns by operation of the law, does not need election or re-election, and can, therefore, take a long view.

Politically Impartial

The process must be explained in relation. the United Kingdom where the to usually functions personally because in the other countries of the Commonwealth, of which she is the Queen, she usually functions by deputy (in the independent countries the Governor-General). The Queen exercises two functions of major political importance. The first is the appointment of a Prime Minister. Since he must have majority in the House of Commons, this usually involves merely a formal appointment of Leader of the majority party. It may happen, however, that the majority has no leader when the Queen appointed Mr. Macmillan in 1956, or that no party has a majority as in 1929, or that there has been a split which requires a new alignment as in 1931. Then the Monarch's function becomes of great political importance.

Her second function relates to the dissolution of Parliament. Dissolution is a formidable weapon because it enables the government to appeal to the people against the legislature: it enables a responsible government to be a strong government. It can, however, be abused in the monarchy to become a democracy; it enabled it recognised that this is the one case in which the spread over five continents. Even where self-ment and, accordingly, she is usually not given the circumstances in which it might the advice in the circumstances in which it might

These functions can be left with the Queen

because she has no political past and no political future. In other matters she always accepts the "advice". Even so, many decisions have than six members of the Royal family spen formally to be taken by her and even where the decisions are taken by ministers she is aware that they are being proposed, for she receives all the Cabinet papers and as many other papers as she wishes to see. At any stage she can demand an explanation.

It is in fact the practice to vest the most important decisions in the Queen in order that she may be consulted. If a power is vested in ministers it might be exercised for party purposes.

Calming Influence

The influence which Monarchs have so frequently exercised over the past 100 years has usually been of a different character. Politics is an exciting profession, even more exciting under a responsible government than under any other of democratic government, because politicians face each other across the floor of a narrow assembly, attack each other fiercely, exaggerate their own merits and the defects of their opponents, and generally excite themselves by the exuberance of their own verbosity.

The Queen reads it all in cold print next day and no doubt realises that the question at issue is probably a choice between bad alternatives. It is not difficult for her to lower the temperature politics, but because responsible government to suggest an acceptable compromise—perhaps a very convenient system and it works better to suggest a third solution which is no worse with an irremovable Monarch than with than the bad alternatives and more widely elected president as most of the democracies acceptable. The Monarch can give good advice Europe have shown. The Monarchy itself because she has no axe to grind, no votes to always under gentle criticism, and, catch, no jobs to look forward to. The Queen will still be there when the Opposition takes over.

The Queen's principal activities are, however, social, philanthropic and even moral—or ment to serve the Queen rather than the government of the maintenance of the state and between the state and government to serve the Queen rather than the government of the state and government to serve the Queen rather than the government of the state and government to serve the Queen rather than the government of the state and government to serve the Queen rather than the government of the state and government to serve the Queen rather than the government of the state and government to serve the Queen rather than the government of the state and government to serve the Queen rather than the government of the state and government of the state and government to serve the Queen rather than the government of the state and government to serve the Queen rather than the government of the state and government of the sta at least the maintenance of accepted moral ment. It is convenient too to have an institution standards. Politicians like to believe that a which can serve seven or country is ruled by them. In fact it is not, for countries and so provide a focus for a common little of our daily life is regulated it. little of our daily life is regulated by politics. citizenship without limiting independence Religion, learning art literature significant states of the second states of the second sec learning commerce and industry, recreation and so forth still something in the divinity that hedges a are not run by politicians at least are not run by politicians at least on our side In all countries people serve the community of the Iron Curtain. In these roots at 100 In all countries people serve the community of the Iron Curtain. In these matters the Queen great inconvenience to themselves. and indeed the whole Royal family take an active easier when the request is in the Queen's part, mostly by stimulation part, mostly by stimulation.

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impartial judge and she is politically impartial is the day on which the Court Circular does the performance of announce the performance of two or three social functions of public importance. No les most of their time at it. Moreover, it is done little cost to the country. The total annual cost of the whole Royal family to public funds; £641,000 or less than three pence per residen citizen per annum.

> are carried on by the Similar functions Queen's representatives (usually the Governor-General) in those countries of which she is Head of State. She receives a full account from the Governor-General every quarter; she sees selection of press cuttings; 'whenever a ministra of one of those countries is in London, he has an audience with the Queen; and some matter of peculiar importance are attended to by the Queen personally on the advice of her oversex ministers.

> There is no need to exaggerate the importance of the Queen's activities. There would m doubt have been a republic in Britain for three centuries if the experiments of the Long Parlia ment had not ended with the recall of the Monarchy. It would, however, be difficult find a republican now-not merely because the sentiment which attaches to an institution s ancient, nor because as is so commonly alleged of a particularly conservative streak in British therefore, adapts itself to changing ideas.

Nor must the political value of the sent ment be ignored. It is convenient to be able to draw a distinction between the state and govern more independent art, literature, music, infringing the several citizenships. There is the recreation and so facility in the several citizenships. because of the tradition that a request from

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PARTY, PARETAMENTARY GROUP AND POWER

Contradictions-Inherent But · Not Irreconcilable

By PRAFULLA CHAKRAVERTI

THE statement issued by Dr. Sampurnanand, apart from the question of fulfilling the obligation to maintain moral standards in public life, which was more or less a matter of personal aspect, there was a public aspect of the matter to which he preferred to draw attention by his offer to resign. He referred to certain "inherent contradictions in the present political set up" and proposed to take up this question at fuller length at a later date.

further said that, normally, in a democratic constitution, as it was fairly well-known to all, there was a legislature party and that was all. But in India the Congress had parallel bodies, namely Provincial Congress Committees at the party working in world perspective. State level and the Parliamentary Board at the latures were elected by a large body of electors tive suggestions for bringing comprising people holding various shades of political opinion, and the Government, which might be compared to an Executive Committee its organisational counterpart. of the legislature, was completely responsible to it for the administration of the country. The members of the Provincial Congress Committees and the All-India Congress Committee, on other hand, were chosen by a small electorate composed of members of only one particular party and the Executive Committee had no administrative responsibilities. In such a case, it would be surprising if there were not sharp cleavages of opinion.

Continuing his remarks Dr. Sampurnanand said, it would be a fitting close to his uninterrupted service to the Congress for a period of forty years if his voluntary removal from public life could bring about better understanding amongst Congressmen and make the Congress a position of the Congress in the country. of the people. At the same time, he hoped that in

Otherwise, democracy would have no future. The observations

the present working of the Congress Party are announcing his decision to resign the Chief fundamental in character. These cannot be lightly Ministership of U.P., specifically mentioned that byepassed nor can such vital questions be left to take care of themselves. There must be a scientific study of the present political set up in India, the techniques of its operation and the policy that has evolved through adopted by the party in its different stages growth before any proper appraisal can be made.

More so, the international trends of party growth and its working, though varying in varied regions of the world, gives enough materials to In reply to a query by a correspondent he indicate as to how the basic character of party growth is moulded by the local factors that predominate in the particular stage. Proper understanding of our party system could as well be ensured by a clear grasp of the mechanism

There had been earlier occasions when All-India stage. Members of the State Legis- prominent Congressmen put forth their construcabout workable arrangements that could obviate all dangers of mutual rivalry between the legislature party and

It was in November, 1947, in the AICC meeting held in Delhi in the presence Gandhiji, that Acharya J. B. Kripalani, announcing his decision to resign from the Presidentship of the Congress, similarly raised a momentous issue and appealed to the AICC to give clear and positive directive which would in future serve as the guidance to all. He pointed out that ever since his election as the President of the organisation, the question as to what should be the relation of the Congress Executive to the Government at the Centre had perturbed his mind. This was a matter which was bound to affect for good or ill not only the character of the Central Government in the new set up but also better and a stronger instrument for the service indefiniteness of this relation had already caused of the Deople the dispensation that was being envisaged, the the general public who did not know and could legislature would be allowed to retain the power not understand where the responsibility for any independ on the independent of it, laid. and independence which the Constitution gave it. particular decision, or the want of it, laid.

He enquired how the Congress was to give specially observations of Dr. Sampurnanand to the Government its active and companies of at least referring to inherent contradictions in operation unless its highest executive or at least of the Government its active and companies of the Government its active active and companies o

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confidence on important matters that affected the the Working Committee, he would create If there was no free and full cooperation between the Governments and the Congress organisation, the result would be misunderstanding and confusion.

It was the party which was in constant touch with the people, in villages and in towns, and reflected changes in their will and temper. It was the party from which the Government of the day derived its power. Any action which weakened the organisation of the party or lowered its prestige in the eyes of the people must sooner or later undermine the position of the Government. If, therefore, the present confusion was not checked in time, he felt afraid that the Congress as an organisation would speedily disintegrate and its place in the national life would be captured by some other organisation, might be militant communalism or by the Communist Party.

Acharya Kripalani further said that the need for this co-operation was recognised in theory but it was found missing in practice. It might be due to the fact that all Congressmen were not united on basic policy or it might be that this co-operation was lacking because he, as the President of the organisation, did not enjoy the confidence of his colleagues in the Central Cabinet. If this was so, then he should be the last person to stand in the way of what was necessary in the interest of the nation. If by eliminating himself he could make room for co-operation between the Government and the Congress President, none would be happier than himself. He knew that by resigning at that critical juncture he was taking a great decision. But he was ready to take the risk if he was to be true to himself and to the charge that was placed in his hands. He further informed the members that he sought Gandhiji's advice and that Gandhiji agreed with him that under the circumstances he was justified in resigning.

Another crisis arose in September, 1951, when the AICC met in Delhi. Shri P. D. Tandon, the Congress President, also tendered his resignation and made a statement to the effect that he did not agree with the demand of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru that the whole Working Committee should be dissolved and a new Work- that the Central Leader should be elected by Committee constituted. Shri

its popularly chosen head was taken into full to the Congress and bringing about a change psychological effect in favour of the Congress Shri Tandon could not accept this view and believed that the work done by the Working Committee during the last ten months had helped in raising the moral standard of the Congress,

Continuing his remarks Shri Tandon said that the situation that had been created by the resignation of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was definitely detrimental to the interest of the Congress He could not accept the resignation of Shr Nehru who was the symbol of the nation. A the same time, from the point of view of the Constitution and of propriety, he could not fulfil his desire. Out of this dilemma, he saw m other way out but to place his resignation before the AICC and to request the AICC to relieve him of the responsibility of Presidentship.

Recently, while the question of introducing amendments of the Congress Constitution was taken up, some prominent members put fort their suggestions for bringing about an integration between the two sections of the Congress Shri K. Hanumanthaiya pointed out that the Congress Constitution was framed, long before the attainment of freedom, making provision for dual leadership in the States as well as in the Centre. Positions of authority and influence had been created in two spheres and in two sections poised against each other for conflict. high time that the Constitution should be suitable amended to reflect the changes in the character the Congress on its assumption of office, from the of a movement to that of a political party and it was essential that the Congress had to become an integrated whole, working smoothly and har moniously, with one leadership. This integration had to be effected at all stages. The election of the President of the PCC by the members of the PCC and that of the Leader of the Congress Legisla ture Party exclusively by the members of Congress Party, left room for a feeling that the leader was an outsider so far as the PCC concerned and the President of the PCC was Congress Party Was outsider so far as the concernd. This feeling might be removed by

election in which both sections participated therefore, proposition Shri Hanumanthaiya, Jawaharlal joint meeting of the members of the AICC Nehru seemed to believe that by giving a shock the members of the Alloward CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Harlowal Congress Party in Parliament

Similarly a joint members State co leaders complete The lead the conf bers an to them.

The a Chair its delil the Con the Cor the Wo Congres each ye might e PCC m the Le who wo

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Similarly, the State Leader should be elected at The leader jointly elected would feel that he had the confidence of all sections of Congress mem-

its deliberations. The office of the President of dations. the Congress would disappear. Each Session of each year. The Pradesh Congress Committee identical and tinged with the noble feelings might elect its President who would preside over unfailing who would be the Chairman of the Executive question that urgent steps should be taken Committee.

managed by a State Congress Committee constitute views considerably varied. tuted as follows:

Party, ex-officio President.

2. An Executive Chairman nominated by the

3. A General Secretary nominated by President.

4. Eleven members elected by the Congress members of the Central and State Legislature Party from amongst themselves.

5. Eleven members elected by the PCCs members from amongst themselves.

should be constituted as follows:

1. Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, ex-officio President.

2. Executive Chairman nominated by the President.

3. General Secretary nominated by the Chair-

man with the approval of the President. 4. Leaders of the Congress Legislature Parties in each State.

their members.

Similarly, the congress Legislature Party of the of Covernment of the Congress Legislature Party of the of Covernment of the Congress Legislature Party of the of Covernment of the Congress Legislature Party of the of Covernment of the Congress Legislature Party of the of Covernment of the Congress Legislature Party of the of Covernment of the Congress Legislature Party of the of Covernment of the Congress Legislature Party of the of Covernment of the Congress Legislature Party a joint meeting of the Congress Legislature Party of the of Government, it was inevitable that Parliament State concerned. This mode of election of the should become the supreme organ of the Nation State contesting contesting of the States would and as such the Parliamentary Party was bound completely remove the feeling of separateness. to gain importance vis-a-vis the organisational

Though very serious thoughts had been given bers and was bound to accord equal treatment to this question by the Congress Leaders from time to time, as yet no definite stand has been The All-India Congress Council would elect taken to introduce radical changes in the Constia Chairman annually, who would preside over tution to bring it in line with their recommen-

It is interesting to note that there is a strange the Congress would have a new President and coincidence in the sentiments expressed by the Working Committee might select a senior Acharya Kripalani, Shri P. D. Tandon and Dr. Congressman to be the President of the Session Sampurnanand, the wordings being more or less Congress cause to the devotion PCC meetings and work under the guidance of through complete self-effacement. All these three the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party national leaders laid special emphasis on the bring about greater harmony and concord among Prof. Humayun Kabir also made some Congressmen working in different spheres. suggestions in this connection. He proposed that each of them had his own interpretation of the the affairs of the State Congress should be political forces that were at play and, as a result,

Dr. Sampurnanand was of the opinion that 1. Leader of the State Congress Legislature the members of the State Legislature by virtue of their election from a large body of electors comprising people of all shades of political opinion were responsible to a large sector of the the people and stood at an advantage vis-a-vis members of the Provincial Congress Committees who were elected only by a small electorate composed of members of only one particular party. Acharya Kripalani spoke a different language. He strongly advocated that since the party was in constant touch with the people at large and Similarly, the All-India Congress Committee reflected changes in the people's will and temper, it was the party from which the Government derived its power. Obviously, Acharya Kripalani wanted to establish the fact that the party had a superior status and could reasonably claim due recognition by the Government who should make it a regular practice to seek guidance from it.

Shri P. D. Tandon, however, did not clinch the issue and preferred to make matters easy for the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. 5. Seventeen other members to be elected by Undoubtedly, he also was strong in asserting State. State Congress Committees from amongst that from the point of view of the Constitution CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukuf Kangii Collection, Haridwar not fulfil

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the Working Committee that was constitutionally formed and found a way out of the impasse by submitting his own resignation.

The recommendations of Shri K. Hanumanthaiya and Prof. Kabir, though differing in details, are also based on the assumption that the Parliamentary leader should have the first say in the administration as well as in the formation and working out of the policy and programme that rests with the organisation.

These questions have got very wide implications and the Congress Party in India is not the only organisation that had to face these complications and work out a suitable formula by way of solution. The party system that has evolved in the different countries of the world in the various epochs offers several examples which may be studied with considerable benefit by the keen students of Indian politics.

Practically, everywhere the leadership political parties had to grow out of unending collision of opposing forces that struggled for the seizure of power. Democracy remains the dominant doctrine of the contemporary age. Democratic principles demand that leadership at levels be elective and that it be frequently newed, collective in character. But there practical difficulties which come to the fore when these principles are tried out in practice. It has often been observed that a democratic state at war with a dictatorial state must progressively adopt the method of its rival, if it is to defeat it. The same phenomenon occurs at the party level in political warfare; in order to safeguard their existence, the parties of democratic structure must follow the pattern of the others. The technique of camouflage is employed by parties adopting authoritarian and oligarchic methods while maintaining the appearance of democracy. How far it extends depends upon many factors: the social composition of the party, the strength of the democratic sentiment amongst the members, the party doctrine and also the age of the party.

Officially, in such parties, the party leaders are almost always elected by the members and given a fairly short period of office in accordance with the democratic rules. In practice, the democratic system of election is replaced autocratic methods of recruitment, co-option, appointment by the Central body, nomination and

sire of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru by reconstituting the 'real leaders' of the party are often disting from the apparent leaders. In the open autocrac the leader is a true superman, while in disguise autocracy the leader is simply the man whom destiny has placed in such a position that alone can assume the supreme leadership of the party.

The first point to notice is the widesprea use of indirect representation. Except at the local level, the leaders of the party are not elected h the members directly but by delegates who themselves elected. Indirect representation is a admirable means of banishing democracy while pretending to apply it. The mentality is never the same as that of those who delegate them with the result that every additional stage of delegation increases the gap a little more, between the wi at the base and the decision at the apex.

The election of local leaders is sometime subjected to nomination by the Central body which obviously increases centralisation. The passive attitude adopted by the base is serious since the elections are of the indirect kind, the whole organisation in fact depends on this initial appointment of delegates. The absence of real democracy, which is a feature of it, has reper cussions at every point of the party structure. In election of the branch committees the problem is no longer one of manipulation of the system of representation, since voting is direct, but of keep ing out members who do not support the semiofficial candidates and would have the right to vote or else seeking support from pseudo-men bers who in fact should have no votes. methods employed by some parties at one time or another include the following: calling of meet ings without adequate notice, so as to preven the hostile members from being notified in time fixing meetings at awkward times so as to kee them away; using teams of strong armed men come and spread in the hall and to take part Finally, the manipulation of election the vote. can affect the ballot itself.

Many parties have only indirect acquair tance with duality of power, real and appared. What happens is simply that small circles some times form around certain men thus increasing their authority their authority and giving them preponderant of power. The leadership of parties trends naturally to assume ally to assume an oligarchic form. A veritable rule so on. The situation is aggravated by the fact that CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul kaggreene an oligarchic form. A verification of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation is aggravated by the fact that the companion of the situation of the companion of the situation of the situation of the companion of the situation of the companion of the companion of the situation of the companion of the

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as no candidate has a chance of being elected, disting as no states, without the approbation of the committees of the utocrac party, its leaders play an essential part in the lisguise selection of future parliamentary representatives; that h they are nominated by the inner circle. On the of the other hand, if the personality of the candidate plays an important part in the election with the result that the party committees depend more upon the candidate than the committees, then the of parliamentary representatives recruitment occurs outside the inner circle. Since, under such circumstances, the parliamentary representatives play a very important part in the leadership of the party, the inner circle opens.

The structure of the party favours the development of the cliques. In American Parties way the 'machines' are organised around bosses shows this essential characteristic. the pressure groups operate in a clearly defined and limited field. They prefer to exert an influence upon all parties in order to guide them in the direction preferable to the group's interest.

Two essential factors seem to have dominated the evolution of political parties since the beginning of the century; the increase in the authority of the leaders and the tendency towards personal forms of authority. On the whole, the advent of authoritarian parties coincides with the advent of mass parties. Certainly this coincidence is not absolute. It might be said that intensity of power is necessarily proportional to the number of those who are subject to it. When a party is composed of a few hundred members, the problem of power does not arise. When there are a million of members this problem becomes vital. For the masses the classic contrast between freedom and pline which appeals to the middle-class have no meaning. They want freedom by discipline not only technically because of their size, but sociologically because of the mental attitude of their members. The parties of the masses had a natural tendency to be disciplined parties.

This tendency was further strengthened the leaders who systematically acted so as oblain from the members obedience as complete as possible. They had two motives for this. First of all, the test of power. He who possesses power always tries to increase it. A second motive drives the leaders into the path of authoritarianism,

which it is difficult to penetrate. In so far according to the direction of the party leaders, dispersion which was the rule so long.

In socialist parties, nevertheless, a desire to act democratically has to a certain extent offset this increase in the authority of leaders. In certain socialist parties, the proportional representation of wings within the executive committees ensures a constant watch on the group in power by minority elements. In others the right of members to participate directly the Government of the party is recognised in an internal referendum. The system functioned Italy before 1914. It made it possible to consult members on points not decided by the Congress. In the Swedish Social Democratic Party, the present Constitution recognises the right of the referendum to modify or suppress a decision of the Congress. Recourse to the referendum is decided by the party executive, but the latter is obliged to have recourse to it if 5 per cent of the members ask for it. In the Swiss Socialist Party, the decisions of the Congress must be subject to the general vote of members, if two-fifths of the delegates or a guarter of the branches demand it. In 1919, affiliation to the Third International was rejected in this way.

disciplinary repression has been gressively established in parties. There is a system of purges and cleansings which seems very efficient in remedying the natural loss of energy. That is to be observed in all social groups in the maintenance of the cohesion and rigidity of the The development of obedience implies moreover the homogeneity of the party, absence of factions and wings. The development of factions is not a sign of liberty of members but of weakening in the authority of the leaders. Likewise does it point to difference of opinion between the members of the ruling class. Splitting does not take place at the level of the masses, but at the level of the leaders. Generally, it is the result of an attempt of the subordinate leaders to oust leaders of higher ranks. By their very nature, these factions are not opposition groups coming from the base, but opposition coming from the apex. In all parties the call to discipline and unity has multiplied.

This priority given to obedience that of efficiency. At the parliamentary level the is achieved and the authority of the leaders thus homogeneity. homogeneity of groups, which wotedblas and locksuk dinalignits was Hariable foundation and

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ls natur able rul er circle becomes automatic. By a series of perfect the reversed their previous policy. The growth of the actions and reactions, closely intermingled, the reversed their previous policy. The growth of the Centre knows in details the positions and influences at the base and at the same time modifies tactics accordingly. One cannot really say base or the Centre follows the whether the base follows the Centre. Party leadership listens to the masses and speaks to them at the same time, its speech being modelled perpetually on what it hears. Without being aware of it, the mass is slowly oriented, directed and transformed. It is made possible by the admirable articulation of the party and the nature of its doctrine, which is remarkably well-adapted with the times and to its massive structure.

The form of authority becomes modified within the party. A double evaluation can be seen. The first phase is one of slow change from personal government to institutional government. In the second phase a certain reversal of the process can be seen. The socialist parties made a great effort to establish an organised, tionalised leadership in which the office more important than the persons who held it. Two principles seemed to have guided them. On the one hand they gave the authority a pyramidal character so as to avoid concentration of powers in a few hands. It was against the tendency towards the personalisation of power that the socialist party strived to struggle. In their structure they sought to remedy it as far as possible. Here the collective character of all the executive bodies reinforced the division of responsibilities. In principle, there were no leaders or President but only committees, officers and secretaries entrusted with responsibilities. of putting their into practice. Proceedings of the Russian Communist Party did actually remain collective; discussion in committees was real, decisions were taken in common.

The tendency was reversed by Fascist Parties, who were the first to develop the cult of the leader, considered as a person and not as the holder of an office. For them all authority comes from the leader; not from election but the authority of the leader comes from his individual qualities, from his own infallibility, from his being a man of destiny. 'Mussollini is always right'-the Fascists used to say. The Germans went further and invented a completely new juridical theory, that of the Fuhrung, to justify the sovereignty of Adolf Hitler. In the endecthen Fubin Domaist Playkyl Kangri Adlerion, Haridyarabout

By a series of perpetual followed this example and for various cult of Stalin in Russia is a partial explanation of the development of this tendency towards the personalisation of power, in France, in Germany in Italy and in all the Communist Parties in the

Party Leaders and Parliamentary Representative

The members of the Parliament represent the electorate while the leaders are the heads of the party community. The problem of their reciprocal relation is of great importance. Democrace requires that parliamentary representatives should take precedence over the party leaders and the members of the electorate over the members the party. In practice the opposite often take place. In many parties there can be seen a ten dency of party leaders to give orders to parliamentary representatives in the name of the militant members. The domination of the party ore its elected representatives constitutes a form oligarchy that might be termed eternal by comparison with the oligarchic nature of the leader within the community of party members.

This tendency is neither general nor absolute Moreover, there is frequent interpenetration be tween party leaders and parliamentary representatives. In practice, the principal leaders hold both elective mandates from the country and leading position in the party. The separation the two functions has only taken place slowly Three phases in the evolution of the parties may be distinguished: (a) the domination of parlis mentary representatives over the party, (b) state of relative equilibrium between parliament tary representatives and party leaders, (c) Final the domination of the party over parliamentary representatives.

a certain type They each correspond to party.

(a) The French Radical Socialist Party provides a good example of the methods employed to ensure the preponderance of the parliamental representatives in the party. Within the executive committee, they sit as ex-officio members, all senators described as ex-officio members described as ex-officio members, all senators described as ex-officio members described as ex-officio senators, deputies departmental and town collins of cillors of more than 50,000 inhabitants. In relation to these tion to them, the elected delegates from the felt ration together ration, together with their presidents and generates are to the second s one-third of the

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prestige which surrounds them, and further by weight of numbers. This domination of the parliamentary representatives over the party gives it a very decentralised structure. Each deputy, independent of his colleagues, controls the local caucus as he pleases. The central leadership is rather like a feudal king without either power over his vassals or prestige in their eyes. It is only through his personality that the party leader can command some authority. The parliamentary group has no will of its own, no common action, no discipline in its voting.

Parliamentary domination is characteristic of a certain phase of party evolution and a certain social structure. Participation in election and in the working of Parliament constitutes the veritable aim of its existence, its sole justification, its only form of activity. It is, therefore, natural that the deputies should occupy positions of power in the party. Besides, there is nobody to challenge them. No party hierarchy can be established outside the electorate and the parliamentary domain. The power of money alone can counterbalance the power of parliamentary representa-

In the executive committee itself—a permanent body entrusted with the management of the party—the preponderance of deputies and senators is even more marked. In the M.R.P. party of france, compared with 18 delegates from the lederation, there are 12 members from Parliament, plus the ministers in power or five former ministers plus the chairman and the general secretary of the party (who are in fact often members of the Parliament) plus five co-opted members (who may be members of the Parliament) two members of the group of the Assembly of the French Union.

This constitutional arrangement may be compared with the absolutely opposite one by the Belgian Christian Socialist Party adopted the position of a minister is incompatible where the membership of the National Committee. Analogous arrangements exist in the Italian Christian Democratic Party. This parliamentary and ministerial lerial predominance causes a great loss of force in the M.R.P.

American political parties provide examples of a different kind of exception; viz., a decentra-

The members of the Parliament retain a cuses, in which parliamentary representatives do dominant lich surrounds them, and further by man (Santa Bading role. When the Congressthe local party 'machine' and acts as the boss, he is in effect the leader of the party and it is right to call it congressional domination. On the other hand, if the machine is in the hands of a boss who is not a Congressman, the Senator and Representatives are very dependent on him: party then dominates the Congressmen.

> The two party system strengthens this domination: the nomination of candidate by the party becomes more important than the election. The party makes and unmakes deputies. The system of primaries was established precisely to this power of the caucuses over the candidates and the representatives and to restore a certain amount of independence to the latter. It does not seem to have achieved this everywhere, specially in the large towns and in the South. Several examples might be given of out-going Congressmen being rejected in the primaries through the influence of the leaders of the party machine, in spite of the electors' trust in them.

The evolution of British parties in the secondhalf of the nineteenth century makes it possible to complete these few remarks on parliamentary domination. Here, contrary to the general rule, it coincides with quite definite centralisation. The members of the Parliament led the party, but the members themselves were led by their leaders and their whips. The discipline of members constituted the centralisation of the party: Nevertheless, about 1880, the authority of members of the Parliament over the party was attacked in the case of Whigs as well as of the Tories, by the increasing development, of the organisation at the base and of the internal hierarchies. Throughout the country, there arose a lively controversy over the problem of the relations between the members of the Parliament and caucuses. Finally, there was a compromise which was quite favourable for the party. Mr. W. F. Forster, a former minister, who had represented Bradford in the Parliament for 18 years, had a dispute with a local party caucus who wanted an assurance from him that he would submit to its decision. Forster refused. If he had not died during the following term of the legislature he would not have been renominated by the party caucus.

party with a weak structure based on cau- a similar crisis after the reforms brought about CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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by Randolf Churchill. The history of British Parties at the end of the 19th century shows that the development of party structure naturally gave rise to rivalry between the internal leaders and the parliamentary representatives. The larger the organisation the stronger the rivalry, and the more did the authority of parliamentary representatives decrease to the advantage of the authority of internal leaders. In the end we have Communist or Fascist Parties in which parliamentary representatives had become nothing but executives, without any power over the management of the party.

(b) Socialist Parties form the intermediate type. Officially parliamentary representatives are subordinate to the leaders. In practice they retain quite considerable prerogatives. There exists a state of tension between the internal leaders and the parliamentary representatives. Rather there is a separation of powers between the internal leadership and the parliamentary leadership and a permanent rivalry between them.

The reasons for this rivalry are clear enough. The nature of the party's organisation plays a preponderant role here. From now on we have mass parties, constituted on the basis of branches, with a strong structure and a far-reaching ministration. These different characteristics create the condition for an internal hierarchy, a powerful bureaucracy and a fixed Constitution, which disputes with the parliamentary representatives for the effective leadership of the party. Party members today fear lest the members of the Parliament should be bribed by the financial powers which they imagine to be concealed and formidable. Hence their desire for supervision and control. The militants are afraid both of the political corruption of ministers and their financial corruption, the first fear being more readily admitted than the other and being deeper at the time when socialist parties were revolutionary.

What means did the party employ in its attempt to keep its deputies dependent and to replace parliamentary domination by party domination? First of all, they restricted the number of deputies in the controlling bodies. When the organisation became more developed and an internal hierarchy had arisen, the members of the Parliament took every precaution to retain a majority over the militants delegates. The socialist parties tried to reverse the proportion and to give the majority to the delegates. In the Italian Unit-

ary Socialist Party, the role of the member of the Parliament is incompatible with that of the member of the party management. It seems that the constitutional precaution taken against member of the Parliament are more precise and strict in proportion as the danger of having them play a leading part is greater. In other parties, the Constitution simply forbids the ministers in power to lead the party. In the Belgian Socialist Party, the member of the Bureau, who becomes a minister loses his right to vote. Similar arrangements exist in the Australian Socialist Party for the member of the National Council, the administrative committee and the control committee.

Moreover, the socialist parties tried to subordinate the parliamentary representatives to the controlling bodies of the party either individually or collectively. The principle is that each deput is subject to the authority of the federation. But in practice this subjection often becomes illusory.

Here the electoral regime plays a very important part. In single-member constituencies, i which elections have an individual character and constituencies look rather like devoted to the man rather than to the party level the local position of the elected representative very strong and the party caucuses much against him. They must continue to provide the support of the party lest they lose the seats. When there is proportional representation with fixed lists and the presentation of candi dates is in a strict order, the power of the cau cuses reaches its zenith. The clearest sign of the subordination of the deputies lies in the voting discipline. A member of the Parliament who does not conform to it risks expulsion. Each deputy mus vote according to the decision taken by the group after discussion. But the group itself is not all ways free to make its own decision. It must comform to the general policy of the party as defined by its congresses and controlling body. Thus parliamentary group as a body is subordinate the party.

Nevertheless, this subordination of the group is essentially dependent on the preciseness of the directives adopted by the national congresses committees. The tactics of the parliamentary presentative groups consist in bringing pressure bear on the national congresses and committee so as to obtain the passing of general motions which leave the group with the greatest possible margin of autonomy.

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The militants react by compelling the parliamentary representatives to confer with internal when there are grave decisions to be leaders when there are grave decisions to be leaders when there are grave decisions to be leaders of confidence, attitude to be adopted towards any important reform. Theoretically all these procedures ought to ensure a very definite preponderance of internal leaders over the parliamentary representatives. In practice, parliamentary representatives employ various devices by which they make certain of a great deal of actual power, so that the result is the two-headed leadership.

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Everything depends on the degree of authority of the central body and on the degree of domination by the parliamentary representatives over the local organisation. But the distinction between the parliamentary representatives and the party leaders is not so definite and the confusion benefits the former. In the first place, parties suffer very often from dearth of internal leaders. Those who have the required qualities become parliamentary representatives. Many leaders who potential parliamentary representatives hope for it, being naturally inclined to respect the body to which they dream of belonging. It is a necessary consequence of this dearth that parliamentary representatives are entrusted with the responsibilities of the leadership of the party. Hence the development of a considerable scale of a dual status. The deputies often get themselves a nominated as representatives of the national committees, members of the Executive and so on, not in their capacity as deputies but in their personal capacities.

'Now, in parties of this type when one man combines in himself dual functions, experience proves that, of the two roles, the parliamentary takes precedence over the party leader. As a result of the system of checks and balances there is created permanent rivalry between the deputies and the party leaders representing the militants. Respective position of the two groups does vary with the party and the period. In general, it may be said that the parties allied with trade unions offer more successful resistance than others to the influence of the parliamentarians because the organisation of the trade unions makes it possible to bring into being a powerful internal hierarchy capable of rivaling the deputies. The Australian Labour Party has given us the first example of a party in which parliamentary representatives are subject to the authority of the internal leaders. In the British Labour Party, the subordination of the members of the Parliament to the party and the trade unions is fairly marked, in spite of the relaxation of the formal regulation on party discipline in 1945.

(c) With the Communist and Fascist Parties, we reach the last stage of development. The parliamentary representatives here do not control the party, the party controls the representatives. Two kinds of factors seem to explain such domination. The first relates to the structure of the party and the second kind are external to the party;—voting by list and P.R. favour the domination of the party and fit in with the collective organisation of the Communist and the Fascist Party

(To be Continued)



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By DR. P. C. BANSIL

about the necessity for a rapid develop- in these constituents.2 ment of agriculture. The need for water appropriate qualities of manures/ fertilizers is being very well appreciated even by the most innocent cultivator in the country. These two elements are, no doubt, same one of the serious ills of soil determined the serious ills of serious ills of soil determined the serious ills of ser most important in the agricultural develop- ration the world over. Although vague ment programme but they having already aware of it, it has been dismissed by mo received attention (although not implemen- as a natural event, unfortunate no doubt tation to the extent desired), we propose to but a geological process. Plato in h discuss in this paper the other three rather early works, however, gives an amazing neglected aspects. They relate to soil con- accurate technical account of deforestation servation and water-logging, improved seed and erosion in the mountains of Attic and pest control measures. Not that noth- which destroyed the farms of plains an ing has been done in this respect but what is drove the Greeks to become seafarers at important is that much needs to be done traders.3 Primitive people well understoo still. This would explain the reason for a that our relation to the earth is an ethic

Soil Conservation

Strictly speaking, the term "Soil Conservation" means the status quo ante, that is the prevention of deterioration or protection from destruction rather than a positive change for the better.1

It is, in fact, an integrated applied science having to do with the use and care of the land. By controlling and preventing erosion and improvement of the soil by making economical use of available water it is possible to use these resources to the advantage. Almost invariably such work results in increased production of all crops. Soil Conservation is thus not merely terracing, contouring, strip cropping, filling gullies, or planting excessively steep or erodible land with grass and trees: it is that and whatever else needs to be done to keep the soil permanently productive or make it more productive. It means drainage if the land is too wet and irrigation if it is too dry; and it means addition of fertili-

There are no two opinions in the country zer and organic matter if the soil is deficiently in these constituents?

Soil Erosion

Soil erosion is all the Early Ideas: detailed discussion of all these problems here, one. They have a deep religious reveren for the earth and its fruits and a profound if not "scientific" insight into the need i harmony between man and nature.4

Visible Results: Various soil erosion are already well-known in il country.5 The process has been going 6 for centuries. Classic examples are thos of the now buried mighty civilization Babylonia and Syria. If a testimony is It quired in India itself one need see only the ruins of Taxila and Harappa (now Pakistan). There was a time when Bijapu was the capital of a flourishing kingdom Now it presents a picture of devastation and famines are its recurring feature.6

Evidence shows that as early as the time of Alexander the Great, there Well

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^{*}This represents the personal views of the Soil Erosion, Oxford Pamphlet No. 23, p. or.

I. S. Thirumalai Post-way Agricultural in 6. A Soil Conservation and Land Kaith author.

I. S. Thirumalai Post-war Agricultural tion Programme for India, Problems and Policies in India, p. 61.

Conservation Chief H. Service, US Department of Agriculture, forework Bannett, to 'A' Soil Conservation and Utilisation gramme for India, by D. C. Kaith and other Washington 2016 Washington, 1948.

^{3.} Ward Shepard—Food or Famine Challenge of Erosion, New York, 1946, p. 8.

^{4.} Ibid, p. 32. For details refer to Sir Harold Glorer

D.-C. Kaith 46 others, p. 3. . CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

desert as a result of misuse and abuse of land. Malarial Terai area in U.P. has been mentioned as the most fertile region in ancient India. Surat was, just in our living memory, a large commercial city. Its population during the last 50 years has come down from 8 lakhs to 8 thousand. This is because the Tapti river has been rendered unnavigable as a result of sandimentation caused by erosion in the uplands.

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Rajasthan desert which already covers an area of about 80,000 square miles is advancing towards the Gangetic Plain at a rate of about half a mile a year over a front of about 100 miles. The beautiful Nilgiris are bare; the hill sides of Himalayas in Kumaon and Shiwaliks from the Punjab to of afforestation.

Today, according to available estimates, no less than 123 million acres of land India are in the process of either soil erosion or exhaustion caused by primitive methods of farming.7 A random soil survey -also reveals that 71 per cent of the area in the scarcity tract has been severely eroded of which 26 per cent of the land has been rendered useless for agricultural purposes.8

If nothing is done to arrest this recurring loss, reclamation of new areas will have no significance, because much more will be lost by erosion. Land is like an important document which lends testimony to man's achievements. A nation actually writes its record on the land. The edict 'civilization is rooted in the soil' is true for all times to

Causes: Man's Negligence: after all the cause of this scourge which has been described as a 'creeping death'? It lies in the actions of man himself. When vegetation is destroyed by man or his vegetation is destroyed worst animals, top soil is left bare. For Worst effects of erosion of this type, a re-

7. Mayadas, Between Us and Hunger, p.

Agricultural Sector, Planning Commission, open Laurukagring to and the Sector, Planning Commission, open Laurukagring to and the Sector, Planning Commission, open Laurukagring to and the Sector, Planning Commission, open Laurukagring to an account of the Sector of the

thick forests and well-populated cities in ference may be made to the conditions in thick forests where conditions in the north of Kutch and the south of the Pun-Palestine, where centuries of uncontrolled the north of the now form a part of the Rajasthan grazing have destroyed the forests, arable jab which has happened due to wind cultivation in the hills has reduced the bereft of vegetation is unable to withstand the impact of storm-water or strong winds. The responsibility for all this thus lies in our reckless destruction of forests,10 shifting cultivation, deterioration of village pastures, and faulty method of cultivation.

What happens is that in most parts of the country after the harvest is over, fields are used as common pastures till the next crop is sown. This practice coincides with hot and dry summer preceding the monsoon rains. By the end of June most of the vegetative cover is eaten up and the ground trampled and pulverised by large number of cattle roaming in search of food. With the advent of the torrential monsoons, the Assam are also being fast eroded for want loose powdery soil is washed off the sloping ground in large quantities. This explains how bad agricultural practices lead to the loss of top fertile soil.

The carrying capacity of running water or its eroding capacity increases considerably with velocity which depends upon the slope characteristics of the land. Doubling the velocity increases the carrying capacity of the run-off for an average size of particles by 64 times, and if the velocity is trebled its capacity goes up to an alarming figure of 729 times. Water moving at a velocity of 2 feet per second can carry average-sized pebbles in its course.

The power of vegetation to control runoff and erosion is not mere abstract theory. It is supported by overwhelming experimental proof.....In New York, during a period of precipitation totalling 947 inches extending over 19 days in March, 88 per cent of rainfall was lost by surface run-off from a sloping potato field and over 1,000

9. Land and Poverty in the Middle-East, Doveen Warier-Royal Institute of Internation Affairs, 1938, p. 52.

Mr. K. M. 10. According to (Broadcast talk on the A.I.R., New Delhi, Indian Express, Dec. 9, 1954) India at present requires 8. Proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan, 2,000 crores of more trees to rehabilitate our icultural Second Five-Year Plan, 2,000 crores of more trees to rehabilitate our

pounds of top soil per acre were washed servation Specialists who were returning away. In a neighbouring forest, on a much steeper slope, there was no soil wash whatever and 99½ per cent of the rain water was absorbed by the forest litter and soil.11

Early Work

Responsibility: These Government causes as well as their remedies are already well-known. It is commonly believed that much of the work is required to be done by the cultivator himself. But the Royal Commission on Agriculture had emphasised that "the question is not one in regard to which it should be left to the cultivator to seek advice."12 Active Government help recommended.

Examples of Punjab and Bombay: But for some little work in the Punjab and Bombay nothing tangible could however, be achieved. Although 'Chos' Act of 1900 in the Punjab was passed more than half a century back, yet the area affected by these seasonal torrents in the Hoshiarpur District of the Punjab increased from 75 square miles in 1852 to 147 in 1896 and 700 sq. miles 1939.13 This shows the extent of the work that is required to be done. Public attention was again drawn towards this matter by Glover in 1944. Sir James Penny, the then Financial Commissioner, Punjab, pointed out the importance of common grazing grounds which had been destroyed "because what is everybody's business is nobody's business." Many a good man's land has, according to him, been eroded because his neighbour is too lazy to keep his fields in order.14

The American Mission: Then came the War. And possibly nothing could be done in the matter. In the closing days of War, Government of India took the opportunity of inviting an American Team of Soil Con-

11. Op. cit., p. 147. 12. Royal Commission on Agriculture India, 1928, p. 80. Russell Report (p. 59) also

13. Op. cit., p. 4.

14. Sir Harold Glover, Erosion in Punjab—Its causes and Cure, Lahore, 1944, p. (ii). 31-35. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar the

from China. The American Mission led Dr. Donald Vincent Shuhart toured practi cally the whole of India and made a first hand study of the problem of each area They described at length how the agricultural engineers, foresters, agronomists, range managers, biologists, soilmen, farm managers and above all the farmers themselves had worked collectively in the U.S.A. to fight against this national enemy. There was need for co-operative effort on those lines in India. It was further recommended by the Mission that, besides having a soil survey map of the country as a whole, India should provide in its very Constitution a soil and water conservation law and create a service similar to Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture! No piecemeal solution of the problem was possible according to the Mission. A concerted as well as an heroic effort was called for. While the Basic Unit of Planning in the U.S.A. was a single farm which on an average approximates 140 acres, purpose could be served in India by having a farm village as a basic unit of Planning for purposes of demonstration. In the matter of training, the Mission was satisfied with the line of work already done in Dr. Sausmans school as Bijapur.

Indian Study Group to America

Need for demonstration: The Government although fully alive to the problem could perhaps do nothing in the matter. A group of Indian experts was sent to America in May, 1947, to study soil conservation practices adopted there. The report submitted by the experts deserves careful study. I was recommended by them that a mere paper propaganda is of no use. They quoted the Chinese proverb which says, "it is better to see once than to hear a hundred times." The significance of demonstration brought out by them. It was pointed out that the farmers will certainly adopt soil reminded the State of its responsibility in this and water conservation practices if they are respect. that these shown in a practical way

Refer to the Report of the Mission, pp

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16. Program dations Researc

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urnin measures not only prevent soil deterioration but also pay substantial devidends.16 It is a well-known fact; the habit of farmers the world over is to 'look over the hedge' to see what their more successful neighbour is doing and how he does it, and then to copy

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circumstances unable to appreciate his own particular way, half the work is done. potentialities. Proper education of not only the village, but also the town-dweller is the first requisite for making remedial measures money are being spent in America to pro- now. vide such facilities.

The intention was not to treat soil con- conservation plan, the pioneer national plan, servation as a separate subject, but to integrate the simple principle of sound land use in other scientific subjects, so as to make the future generation conservation-minded. It was further recommended that this should

16. A soil Conservation and Land Utilisation Programme, op. cit., p. 12. For full recommendations with op. cit., p. 12. Research and Information and Education.

apply both to rural and urban schools. Whereas village boys and girls live close to nature and gain from association a certain amount of experience and insight into soils and plants, city students can get this information only when it is presented to them with a definite objective in view.

The experience of Soil Conservation Serment model farms, research stations and vice in the U.S.A. shows that where service technicians failed to persuade farmers to as sufficient media because they do not adopt conservation measures on their lands, represent the conditions of the village in children of the farmers succeeded. These general. It was recommended by those inquisitive youngsters develop conservation experts that the entire village should be predisposition from their teachers in grade

Cultivator's Co-operation: With regard practices such as drainage or terracing, to the co-operation of the villager, imperawhich cannot be effectively applied to small tive as it is, it can be won over only if he is individual parcels of land, can be used on a convinced that the new method will bring ownership him more¹⁷ income. The technician before approaching the farmer must understand Education: This was not considered that farming is a noble profession. An sufficient. Proper research on various soil entirely new orientation in our approach erosion problems along with information and would thus be called for. Relegating him education of the farmer was all the more to a position of inferiority will not elicit important. Our farmer, who is poor, is any response from him and the programme prone to attribute the dwindling yields of his is bound to fail. Once the farmer intellicrops and consequently his low standard of gently grasps the significance of why he living to his inevitable fate. He is under the should do a certain thing on his land in a

First and Second Five-Year Plans

Magnitude of the problem was fully really effective. Start for the purpose is to appreciated by the First Five-Year Plan. be given by introducing conservation cours- Central Soil Conservation Board was set up es in schools and colleges so that boys are by December, 1953. Land Utilisation and prepared to become intelligent and progres- Soil Conservation Board have also been sive for sive farmers of the future. Large sums of constituted practically in all the States by

Generally speaking, schemes under soil

17. Mahesh Chand, (Economic Problems in Indian Agriculture, p. 246), quotes the example of villages in Budaun and Muradabad (UP) who were not prepared to pay for the watchman to be employed for keeping off the cattle from the gullies and to meet the cost of fencing for the dations with regard to Demonstrations Projects taken at Government expense and the villagers and Land Tolerand and Land Commen-Refer to the Report of the Mission, pp. For initial difficulties in the USA, refer to Essential of Rural Welfare, FAO, p. 9. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurutinkangfi Buttalon Welfare, FAO, p. 9.

are schemes aiming at immobilizing deserts. for 1980-81 should be considered as feasible Secondly, there are measures for bunding and terracing on agricultural lands. The third task to be tackled is to afforest ravines and badly gullied lands. Importance of sound but at the same time simple soil conservation measures such as contour ploughing-ploughing the fields across it instead of up and down the slopes, strip cropping, sowing of some cover crops like gram, cowpea or groundnut in strips to prevent the soil being washed, raising of shelter belts by growing trees to check encroachment of the desert, mulch farming, bunding, terracing, gully-ploughing, and check-damming are being well appreciated.

Notable progress has since been made in the initiation, organization and coconservation research ordination of soil training and action programmes on a national level. The Central Board has given technical and financial assistance to the several State Governments in order to develop a sound programme in the States. It has set up a working concept of soil conservation which includes all soil and water management practices that are needed to attain sustained production of cultivated crops, grasses and trees at the highest practical level.

Tangible results of the First Plan were, however, restricted to research, demonstration training and extension. Progress during the Second Plan has also suffered in many States' because,

- 1. there is no suitable organisation for carrying out soil conservation work,
- 2. no soil conservation Acts have been passed and
- 3. there have been delays for administrative sanctions for schemes.

Such obstacles can be visualised in any new programme. Draft Third Five-Year Plan has fixed definite targets for agricultural lands, desert areas, hilly regions, and river valley projects, etc. It can be expected that initial hurdles having been crossed, twenty years from the beginning of the Third Plan will be devoted to solid work and a good deal of the affected area will be saved from deterioration. CC-0. If Public Dealest Gunukuli Kangri Collection, Hardwar, W. P. Kelley.

fall under three heads. In the first category say 100 million acres of agricultural land and in any case the minimum to he attempted.

One of the best indicators of India's soil conservation progress is the emergence of an aggressive approach to complete soil which is based on conservation planning soil treatment, fertility building rotations modern cultural practices, the use of high. quality seed, control of erosion by agrone. mic measures, supported by mechanical measures such as contour farming and bund. ing, providing adequate drainage, and most important of all, the recognition that the cultivator is the key-man in the soil conservation programme.18

Water-Logging and Salinity

Water-logging, by which is meant the undue rise in the level of sub-soil water thus rendering the land unfit for cultivation, is the other serious menace affecting soil conditions. When sub-soil water-table is beyond 5 ft. depth, and is not accompanied by salt, it does not damage the crop. But when within five feet, pore space of the soil within the root zone of crops gets completely filled up with water, leaving no room for the movement of air, which is growth. The essential for healthy crop crops, therefore, die of suffocation. As for salt accumulation, except where saline irrigation water is used, the accumulation of salts is caused almost solely by capillary rise from a high water-table. Salts are derived chiefly from the ground water They rise in solution by capillarity and remain in the soil as evaporation takes place. Where capillary action and evaporation continue for a period of time, and excessive amount of salt is almost sure to accumulate. Obviously, the more concert and the greater the rate of evaporation and transpiration trated the ground water the more rapidly will salt accumulate.

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B. F. Muirheid, Soil and Water Conserving Project B. vation in Project Report, US Technical operation Mission, 1959, p. 21.

Royal Commission that if the sub-soil lining the whole of canal length or even the water can be kept at a certain depth below the ground level, 15, 18 or 20 feet, that water-table is a gold mine.20 It, however, becomes a curse, when it rises to, say 3 or 4 feet, from the ground surface. This explains in a nut-shell the whole problem. What happens is: the canal water, about one-third of which goes down to the water table, represents a net addition to the subsoil water. This makes the level of water rise, thus pushing up the salts present in the soil and rendering the land unfit for cultivation. The epidemic of 1841, in Delhi territory and miserable diseases in the Karnal District in 1856 are some of the few examples where public health dangered because of water-logging.21

It was estimated that about 8 per cent of the area receiving State irrigation in the Punjab is threatened by water-logging.22 About 3 million acres—just equal to the irrigation potential of Bhakra Nangal in the Punjab are now said to be having sub-soil water within 5 feet from the ground level. The consequences of water-logging are terrible both from the standpoint of the fertility of soil and general health of the public.

Remedies

Commission

the Crisis, Vol. I, 1939, pp. 108-120.

21. Results of enquiries conducted

Surgeon Major Adam Taylor and Mr. Shearar,

Quoted by Brij Narain, India Before and Since

22. Keatinge in his Agricultural Progress in

According to the available figures, the Punjab, West Bengal and U.P., are worst affected, followed by Bombay and Jammu & Kashmir. Table I gives the total waterlogged and salt affected area of all cate-

on

An expert witness stated before the gories as at present. Suggested remedies are opened Nangal Canal in the Punjab has been lined to only avoid the consequences of water-logging. But it should be understood that this is only a partial remedy as it will not prevent the rise of the water table due to percolation from the fields and cultivators' channels.23

The other remedy is the pumping out of water by wells or even tube-wells. This has been successfully done in the Amritsar District where not only the water table has gone down but sanitary conditions have also improved. It would, perhaps, be useful if the use of water from major irrigation systems is restricted in all the affected areas and all the water is carried to those regions where there is an acute scarcity and minor irrigation is rather impossible.

See Table I, on p. 116.

There is yet another measure adopted in Egypt. Porous Pipes are laid under the fields to carry away the water percolation

through them.

Generally in India, inadequate attention has so far been given to drainage in connection with all types of irrigation. In many places the lower layers of the soils are not permeable enough to allow the extra water supplied by irrigation to pass through. As a result, temporarily high water tables develop and excess salts accumulate. Much soil that would have been highly productive with adequate drainage has been lost to agriculture. This soil-destroying process is now going on in both large and small areas in many parts of India. With proper drainage some of these soils can still be reclaimed, but others are so badly damaged that reclamation, although possible, will be laborious and costly. Certainly new projects need to be carefully studied and designed to prevent further losses.24

The Third Five-Year Plan has for the first time given attention to the drainage programme. Experiments have already been

crisis, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 113.

23. Brij Narain, India Before and Since the

Western India, p. 83, says that, on the Nira Left Bank seating Bank section of perennial irrigation, out of lotal area of perennial irrigation, out of total area of 81,000 acres commended by irrigation, 0,000 18,000 tion, 9,000 acres commended by acres have been ruined and 18,000 which actes damaged. On the Godavari canals which Were opened only then, 6,300 acres have been totally opened only then, 6,300 acres have been totally opened only then, 6,300 acres have logging or partially ruined uptodate by water-

logging and the salt efflorescence that results from it (Keatinge, op. cit., p. 82) tion and Soil Survey in India. 24. Cf., Charles E. Kellogg, Soil Conserva-

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Statement showing water-logged and salt-affected areas.

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conducted in the Punjab to drain off Wale from the water-logged lands. Since a large part of the work was done with hand labou there was no difficulty till water is encoun tered. This was usually the case in the lower three feet or so of the ditch. In orde two things overcome this obstacle, were tried. First was introduced an adap tation of the buck-scrapper as a long line bucket to be drawn by a team of bullock as a means of removing the earth that is under water. The second method is to dy. namite a pilot ditch in the main channel and reduce the water in the channel to the extent, that the earth can be removed by hand labour. The Engineers in the South seem to favour the drag-bucket while thos in the North the dynamite.

by man-made obstructions, such as highways, railroads and irrigation canals. Very few of these structures provide adequate drainage facilities. The culverts are mostly of an inadequate size where any exist at all. On the Grand Trunk Road, running north of Delhi, one can examine many of them completely stopped up and the remainder partly clogged.

There are two things badly needed to relieve the agricultural water-logging conditions. Number one is for the highways railroads and irrigation canals to have adequate provision for drainage water to pass and number two is for a programme of maintenance to be established to be sure the openings are in proper condition at the beginning of the monsoon rains.

In former days before the construction of these modern improvements the surplus water spread over vast areas but ran off even though the slope of the land is very slight in lots of areas. But with blocking of the areas by construction work it be comes necessary to channelize the surplus water in order to get it off satisfactorily.

Erosion in the hill lands has also contributed greatly to clogging the channels and culverts. This is a problem that will require many years of concentrated effort to solve A good start is being made in a number places but a great deal more effort needs be applied both technically and administration.

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tratively. Technically, the programme needs trained particularly in the use improvement structures as a supplement to the vegetative practices and not as a substitute for them. Administratively, an organization is needed that can convincingly demonstrate that good conservation pays in better crops to the cultivator and to the benefit of all the people.25

The matter calls for further research and investigation.26 the remedial All measures are rather costly. The cost of drainage measures in areas where water table is within 5 feet is estimated at Rs. 100 per acre. Anti-water-logging and land improvement measures in areas affected by salt may cost about Rs. 350 per acre.

We cannot at the moment expect the already hard-pressed cultivator to make such heavy investments. Where a major part has to be played by the peasant himself

25. Cf., Edward M. Devis, Soil and Water Conservation, Mimiographed, issued by the T.C.M.

in the case of preventing soil erosion, action has to be taken by the Government in the case of areas already affected. At most we can expect a co-operative response from him, but the initiative will have to be taken by the Government.

The Punjab, West Bengal, U.P., and Bombay have already taken up a number of drainage schemes. Future plans will have to pay more attention to these problems so as to eradicate this evil for good and leave our soils unimpaired to the posterity.

(To be continued)

There is all the same a school of thought 26. which speaks of the bogey of water-logging. There is no danger of water-logging according to them even if there is an appreciable increase in the existing water supply. (Refer to the paper read by Mr. Kanwar Sain, the then Director of Central Designs, Haveli Project, quoted in the Punjab Administration Report for 1932, p. 83 and Brij Narain, India Before and Since the Crisis, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

LIFE INSURANCE IN INDIA

By Prof. M. D. SHARMA

WITH the click of the clock, the World is marching ahead, and in a dynamic world as it is, it is essential for every nation to be able to keep pace with other Nations, lest the international economic balance should lose equilibrium. To avoid stagnation in the interest of the Nation, its people and their relative standard of living, continuous conomic growth is essential, which cannot be altained in the absence of continuous capital formation. It is not only for under-developed or undeveloped countries, but the vital part of capilal formation in the national economic growth, has been recognised by even the most economically control of the cally and industrially advanced countries of the West Indian economy is under-developed as yet and is developing rapidly under the successive Five-Year Plans, whose successful implementation depends, to a great extent, on the exploitation of national economic resources, which can

tion of promoting capital formation continuously at the highest possible rate. It is in this context that the Life Insurance Corporation of India can play a significant role by linking the scattered individuals with the national economy, by providing them with a plan of regular saving in secured channels. Maximum utilisation of resources is a must for optimum output that is why the equitable distribution of wealth has so often been recommended. The Corporation by stimulating personal savings can help to curb spending on non-essential items to the maximum of its minimum. Under insurance, personal savings are sustained at an adequate level, over a longer period of time, than under any other method. It not only discourages withdrawal of savings at will, but also provides the family with a backlog of permanent savings.

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ber of eds to minis step towards Nationalisation of Life Insurance by the promulgation of the Life Insurance (Emergency Provision) Ordinance, 1956. 1st September, 1956, was the APPOINTED DAY, when the Life Insurance Corporation came into existence. Before this date there were 243 different units transacting life business in India. These companies differed widely in pattern of organisation, size, mode of work, age and in fact in every detail. Their total assets amounted to Rs. 411 crores. The total number of policies in force was over 50 lakhs assuring Rs. 1,250 crores. The total number of salaried employees working in the units was nearly 27,000. And today the Life Insurance Corporation of India occupies a very important place in the financial and credit mechanism of the country. The paid up capital reserve fund of all the banking institutions in the country, comes to about Rs. 75.5 crores 31st December, 1959, and the total deposits banks in the country came to about Rs. 1,815.5 crores on the same date. As compared with the deposits of the banks in India the total amount of business in December, 1959, was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 1,964 crores. This shows that the Insurance Corporation of India is commanding as large an amount of funds as the banks in the country are having in the form of deposits.

L.I.C.I., and the Plan

One of the objectives of economic planning in India, is the attainment of a complete socialistic pattern of society. Investment used to come for business, trade and industry from the Princes and Zamindars, who have disappeared or are now disappearing. As a result of the adoption of Economic Planning since 1951, there has been a shift in purchasing power from the classes to the masses. For financing the Plan, an approach has to be made therefore to the masses, and the activities of the L.I.C., are to be judged successful, if it succeeds in carrying the message of saving of money to the masses. As a matter of fact, this industry in our country was nationalised with two-fold objectives. It was felt that the paucity of adequate funds had been a deterrent factor in the growth of the Indian Economy. We aim at a rapid industrial development, more employment opportunities for all, an over all economic development and ultimately, higher standards of living

of national wealth. Insurance companies in of end rush. economically advanced countries are forming front line for supplementing the existing resource of the National Plans for development. Life In hould try rance is a technique of diverting personal more resources of the masses for implementation Development Plans, through secured channels investment. It is in the light of this definite that the first object of Nationalisation was to me the need of controlling the investment of funds with the aim of directing them toward National Development and secondly, to provide greater impetus for savings, in the country as whole. It has to create and then underwrite Is business on a more even-spread of areas, cover ing not only the areas already congested wi banks and Insurance Company offices but spear ing the interior of the Nation-which include the remote village areas lacking practically the benefits of a modern world. Then again, v cannot afford to plan on foreign help for low crores ma and ultimately the country has to rely more I more on her internal or indigenous resource break of And again, it is in this reference that the LICI was a fa has to do a lot, by eliminating the unbalance a couple growth of offices through regional developme had been and door to door approach. Premiums on Lif years up Insurance lead to a rapid accumulation of fund crores. and these funds are the reservoir which can fee country many national activities. The net amount of Li Fund should be invested in a manner that gire some high an encouraging yield but it should be governe by the principles of safety, yield, and liquidity.

Business Trends

1. New Business in India

The new business of the Corporation for year 1959-60 had been of the order of Rs. 410 crores on 10,53,579 policies. It has procured business of Rs. 429 crores in 1959. business trends reveal that the 1958 figure Rs. 345 crores showed an increase of 22 per of over the new business of 1957, while the business in 1050. in 1959 showed an increase of 25 per cent of the new business of 1958'. The target for the jet 1960 is of D. 757 1960 is of Rs. 525 crores and upto 30th 1960 the trial 1960, the total new business completed is over Rs 100 over Rs. 102 crores. This has again hampered be even distribution even distribution of business over the entire For this purpose, monthly, quarterly and with a more even or rather equitable distribution of this purpose, monthly, quarterly and cc-0. In Public Domain. Guidelle Collection, Hashawald be planned to avoid the planned the pl

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ming tadministrative side. resource to study peep into the past progress of new certainty in ife Ins. in Life Insurance. Reliable figures are vrite in 1929 to Rs. 27.44, 26.69 and 27.70 year as is clear from the following table: s, core trores during the years 1930-31 and 32 respect-

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1956 was the year of transitional conditions and changed circumstances. The Corporation had to face several difficulties in the Corporation had *This year the several difficulties in the life parairofurak Francy Care Rean Africa own.

in of pud rush. This will also reduce pressure on the its existence. It was confronted with the task of integrating into and side. Ininistrative study the success of the Corporation we varying sizes and finances. The element of unife Instance in Life Insurance. Reliable figures are gradation paralysed the enthusiasm and progress in Life Insurance business in Life Insurance business in Life Insurance. Reliable for the years before 1929, but since of field workers. al more business in the years before 1929, but since of field workers. Accordingly, there was a fall ation and progress has been made by this busi- in the new business. ation not available for has been made by this busi- in the new business in that year. The business annels when much progress has been made by this busi- in the new business in that year. The business definition ness trends have a positive correlation of the Corporation in the last four months of the last four months of the corporation in the corporati definition ness in our course themselves. Here, it is clear that the wards the Course of the course themselves. Here, it is clear that the wards the Course of the course themselves. of 1020-32 had been marked with the progress. The corporation has been making a rapid of plan amongs the depression. As such the new-by the Corporation has been making a rapid towar first period of 1929-32 had been marked with the progress. The total new business under-written towar lust period to the continuously from Rs 28.61 improved the continuously from Rs Indian-business fell continuously from Rs. 28.61 improvement over the results of each preceeding

Table I

NEW BUSINESS IN INDIA Amount Year (in crores of Rs.) 200 1956 283 1957 345 1958 429* 1959 102 1960

(up to 30th June).

To attain this business, the Corporation of fund crores. But again in 1947, the partition of the had to increase the number of its offices from 216 in September, 1956 to 374 in 1960. Apart t of Li new business mainly due to the entire loss of from it, the Government guarantee of cash payment for every policy issued by the L.I.C. had also been responsible to a great extent for augmenting the business of the Corporation. It has inspired the insuring public with a blind confidence in the security of their funds. Therefore, the entire credit of this increasing business cannot be attributed to the L.I.C., only, but the National Economic conditions, rural development, expansion of Education, increase in National income and rising number of new employments, etc., are the factors which have an impact on its achievements.

2. Total Business

The total business of the Corporation has also increased enormously after Nationalisation. It took several decades for all the Indian Insurance Companies to build up their business in force of Rs. 1,220 crores at the end of 1955. The Corporation business in force at the end of

^{*} This year the Corporation launched upon

1959 was of Rs. 1,964 crores, recording an increase of over 60 per cent.

3. Foreign Business

The Corporation has been doing well this year also as it has done in the previous years. As a matter of fact, the amount of foreign business secured by it had not been encouraging mostly, because at the time of the nationalisation of Life Insurance business, specially from 19th January, 1956 to 1st September, 1956, considerable uncertainty regarding there was the Corporation's doing business in foreign This resulted into a shift in the services of many good agents, who left the Corporation to join its competitors. Secondly, the operational area excluded Ceylon, Burma and Pakistan. The foreign business of the Corporation was only Rs. 5.40 crores in 1957. In 1958 it was 5.62 crores and the consequences of various measures to increase the business, adopted by the Corporation, were that in 1959, the business secured was of Rs. 9.47 crores. Foreign business secured during the first-half of this year has gone up by about 5 million rupees than in the corresponding period of 1959. The percentage increase over the corresponding period of the last year is 23 per cent more than both in introduction and completion of new business.

4. The Stability of New Business

The trends of new business have been discussed in the above paragraphs, but the critical study of the actual progress of the Corporation's activities would be simply incomplete unless it is supplemented with the study of 'Lapse ratio.'

The practice of compiling figures of lapses was followed by the insurance companies even before nationalisation of Life Insurance and the L.I.C.I., in conformity with the old practice, has compiled figures of lapses in the form in which they used to be published in the Indian Insurance Year Books. The Corporation's figures of lapses include both the 'paid up' and the 'off the books' due to non-payment of premiums.

affecting economic and social factors are respon- Income are in a positive correlation to some sible from time to time for the florest correlation to some are in a positive correlation. sible from time to time for the 'lapse ratio.' In extent. the year 1956 the amount of net lapses, i.e., and the L.I.C. business are also correlated, lapses less revivals, was Rs. 110.6 crores and much so, that any success of the Plan must bring the net lapse ratio it ratio of the land much so, that any success of the Plan must bring in the lapse ratio of the land much so, that any success of the Plan must bring in the lapse ratio of the land much so, that any success of the Plan must bring in the lapse ratio of the land much so, that any success of the Plan must bring the lapse ratio of the lapse ratio of the lapse ratio of the lapse ratio of the lapse ratio. the net lapse ratio, i.e., ratio of the lapses to in more National and increased per-capita mean business in force for the same and per-capita in the same and per-capita in the same p

net lapse and figures of lapse ratio had been R 83.1 crores and 6.4 per cent and Rs. 76.1 crores and 5.2 per cent respectively. What is significant to note is that after the year 1956 onwardt the amount of lapses have shown a tendency to decrease, notwithstanding the sharp increase in new business. It reflects on the quality of business and efficient management based on 'realism and practical considerations.'

5. The Expense Ratio

With an improvement in the total and new business of the Corporation the expense ratio has also proportionately been coming down. The Renewal expense ratio of the companies in India was 17.10 per cent in 1955 which came down to 15.89 per cent in 1956-57, 15.46 per cent in 1958 and with the introduction of a system of budgetary control with effect from 1959, the expense ratio for the year 1959 has been only 12.92 per cent.

6. Life Funds

There has been a rapid and substantial increase in the life funds of the Corporation from Rs. 380 crores on the day of Nationalisation to Rs. 493 crores at the end of 1959. With these increasing business figures the future annual income of the Corporation should go up still further which has already crossed the hundred-crore mark in 1959 amounting to Rs. 105 crores in that year.

Thus under the present business trends where new business figures are improving every year, total business is increasing rapidly, expense ratio is coming down and new lapses percentage favourable, it can well be inferred that all these factors must bring in an additional impetus to National projects assist the country's various and the industrial developments.

In the Third Five-Year Plan, National In come is proposed to be raised at the rate of over 5 per cent per year. In the Second Plan the National Income increased by 4 per cent per The business of the L.I.C., also increased during the Second Plan period. Hence these Quality of business written and the other two things, i.e., L.I.C., business and the National Then again, achievement of Plan targets 9.1 per cent. In 1957 and 1958 the arrest was come, further growth of Industry and Agriculture of the same year was come, further growth of Industry and Agriculture of Industry and Information of Industry and Industry 9.1 per cent. In 1957 and 1958 the CC-0 in Public BONNIA! Cofully rendification Heriday literacy standards for the

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and general improvement in health standards and peen Ra longevity of life, with their direct and positive l crores bearing on the Life Insurance business in signifi. On the other hand, onwards success of the plan depends at least to some extent, on the ency to contribution from L.I.C. also. With ever ease in reasing funds, it can well help to a great extent lity of the Industrial expansion and development in the on 'recountry, both under public and private sector.

Recent Developments

Certain steps have been taken by the Corporation to mobilize the financial resources for the successive Five-Year Plans of the country. Efforts in various forms have been made to expand the business to the maximum possible extent. The business is also increased from 11 per cent of the National income in 1955 to 15 per cent in 1959. Efforts have also been made to overcome certain basic difficulties such as poverty of the people, un-equal distribution national wealth, and a much less saving potentiality in the country. Some of the recent developments in the working of the L.I.C., can be noted in the following paragraphs.

The L.I.C., Plan

The Corporation has started with a Five-Year Plan of its own from 1959. The target of new business to be achieved in 1963 has been fixed at Rs. 1,000 crores. Though the business potential is much more in this country yet the larget fixed by Corporaton is modest. In the Words of the Chairman, Mr. P. A. Gopalkrishnan, at the 52nd meeting of the L.I.C.I., held in Bombay on 25th July, 1960, ". . . . this target has been fixed on realistic grounds after taking into account the Corporation's capacity to expand organisation consistent with the maintenance of efficiency." It means that the Corporation to be over cautious in expanding organisation so as to cover the entire field Potential business and tap it to add its contribution in the national development.

Decentralisation and Expansion of Offices

The Corporation has made definite efforts in the field of decentralisation of its offices. This is necessary for carrying a message of saving

masses, more employment opportunities for them unbalanced growth of the offices of the banks, For instance, about 145 Insurance Companies, before nationalisation, had their Head Offices in the cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras. The total number of centres in entire country, where these 145 companies had their offices was only 97 before Nationalisation.

Similarly, the banks had most of their offices in big cities. There are places which are overbanked while there are also a large number of places even today lacking banknig facilities. The L.I.C. has made efforts in this direction by decentralising the organisation, by increasing the number of new branches, offices or sub-offices. The number of sub-offices and branches has been increased from 216 on 1st September, 1956 to 345 at the end of 1959. The number of its branch and sub-offices is now 374 and only during the fourth year of its existence, it has opened one Divisional office at Meerut, two branch offices, 37 sub-offices and 31 development centres throughout the country. A further increase in the number of offices has been sanctioned. This is necessary and is still recommended for execution that the new offices or sub-offices should go to the rural areas where they can collect funds and create a habit of saving money amongst those persons to whom the purchasing power has come recently, but who are not accustomed to saving money either by tradition or by environment. It is to this class of people that the L.I.C. has to make an approach. can be optimistic in this respect and hope that the Corporation in the next few years with its growing network of offices should be in a position to serve every nook and corner of India. It is in this context that the Corporation has started a number of development centres which will co-ordinate organisation in the rural and semiurban areas.

Training in Life Insurance

The expansion of its organisation led to the appointment of more than 550 new field officers and more than 30,000 new agents to consolidate and procure new business in different areas. 'Naturally, to cope with the expanding new business which in turn means high increase existing business, the Corporation had had of money to the masses. In the past but and survey to the masses. In the past but and survey to the masses.

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penetration into rural areas, provision of jeeps, work of the investment committee. mobile publicity vans and intensive publicity to aid development.' Out of all these, recruitment of new staff has been given priority. The old staff (inherited from the old Companies) had no uniformity in the working methods and needed training to fit them into the Corporation's way of working. The new staff also stand in need of training. 'In order to meet this need, and to strengthen and equip the organisation with knowledge to handle the increasing volume business, one training college for Junior officers and training courses for clerical staff have been started at almost all the Divisional Headquarters. Il training schools were started a year ago for development personnel. Progress through these training institutions should enable the Corporation to function efficiently when business will flow-in in accordance with our plans.

Efficiency Indicators

There has been a marked improvement in the efficiency of the staff. The average output of a field officer has increased from Rs. 4.7 lakhs of new business in 1957 to Rs. 7.5 lakhs in 1959. The average output of agents has increased from 31,067 of new business in 1957 to Rs. 44,435 in 1959. The efforts can well be judged from these results. To improve the efficiency, the step taken by the Chairman of the Corporation is to issue advisory, articles in series, which must result in being favourable and useful not only for the Corporation's employees, but also for the dealing public.

The Corporation has also brought certain other new developments. It has a comprehensive L.I.C. holds a considerably higher share. range of plans of Life Insurance to enable persons work in the rural sector has been of recent origin. to select the type of policy that suits their and whenever, there arises a question of increasparticular need. Another factor worth mention- ing the life insurance, all eyes are naturally ing is that the Corporation has extended the turned to the rural areas where there is scope for insurance benefits to persons who have certain extensive work. impairments and to whom the benefits of Insurance Companies The interest by the the additional rupee resources estimated at around Insurance Companies. The introduction of group Rs. 1,650 crores over the five-year period, is to be insurance and companies. insruance and super-annuation schemes have tackled. It is expected that most of the additional Policy Scheme, though not a ball the Janata revenue will have to come from the agricultural Policy Scheme, though not a brilliant success, sector which, though far from prosperous, is also an important effort.

of an investment research section in the invest- on the other. Today, in India, the rural sector is ment department at the

offices, construction of office accommodation, Corporation. This section will be helpful in the

Work of L.I.C. in Rural Areas

During 1957-58, the volume of savings declined to Rs. 753 crores or 7.0 per cent of the National Income from Rs. 950 crores or 8.6 per cent of the National income in 1956-57. The average saving ratio during the period 1950-51 to 1957-58 was 6.8 per cent.

". . . . since both the agricultural income and rural savings are likely to fluctuate more than the marketed surplus under conditions of fluctuating prices it appears that there may be a stable relationship between rural agricultural income." From this it follows that with the rise in agricultural income there should be a corresponding rise in the capacity for rural savings, and it is here that the L.I.C. steps in as one of the agencies whose capacity for drawing on the increased saving potential will need to be geared to the increase in rural savings/agricultural income relationship.

In relation to the percentage of total savings in 1957-58 amounting to Rs. 753 crores, Life Insurance provides 11.9 per cent in 1958 and 14.07 per cent in 1959 as against 9.6 per cent in 1957 against the total savings of Rs. 950 crores in 1956-57. Here, if the contribution of this industry is not much, then it does not look to be insignificant also and there is nevertheless scope for increasing this contribution. this background, the measures adopted by the Corporation to tap this potential, especially in the rural areas, have to be viewed. The higher savings capacity of the urban areas has been constantly tapped in various forms, wherein the

In the Third Plan, the problem of procuring benefitted signally from development schemes on Another important innovation is the set up the one hand and the rise in agricultural income central public Somaint curtikur kunginsputicujon Handyas for more savings.

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for rural sector. It has opened large number of which they can get their servicing done. offices in rural areas and is strengthening its Corporation's publicity. It has also started with a in accelerated rural savings. How much? rests on this form of protection.

There has been a large number of suggestions from various quarters. Firstly, carrying the idea of security would not in itself be enough. Secondly, it would not be sufficient to write large number of policies if servicing of these areas is not, from the very beginning, set up in such a manner that the problem of continuous payment of premiums, its proper accounting and allied questions are efficiently dealt with. Thirdly, the correspondence should be in language of the area and forms, etc., should be issued in that very language. Fourthly, the premium payment methods should be quite suitable to the circumstances of the rural masses. Fifthly, for any progress proper dependable data after careful survey up to village level should be built up. Sixthly, thorough and systematic planning is absolutely necessary for development in rural insurance. Accordingly, a regional master should be drawn up which must provide for all the months of the year and take note of seasonal and climatic variations and any special sublect like harvests, etc. It must regulate the movement of field officers and branch officers for centre-wise territorial development. movement of mobile vans and jeeps should be fully exploited by proper planning and plined use. Eighthly, publicity campaigns should be made more intensively by exhibitions at fairs and festivals and other similar occasions, bition of films, lectures, Padayatras, distribution of leaffets and by addressing the important gatherings, and by addressing the marks should be and finally, the organisational setup should be such that policy-holders in rural areas are saved from harrassment and inconvenience

The Corporation has taken certain measures lack of personal means of communication

On the investment aspect the Corporation offices in and giving a rural bias to the has introduced in January, 1960, two new schemes. The first is the Housing Finance Scheme, scheme of under-writing Life Insurance without which envisages granting of loans for house conmedical examination in compact areas where no struction to Apex co-operative housing finance medical facilities exist within a radius of 10 miles. societies, public limited companies and individual To encourage the field officers and agents work- policy-holders. This is to help towards easing the ing in rural areas special prizes are being offered acute housing shortage in the country. In this by the Corporation. All these things should result scheme it is interesting to note that a discrimination in the rate of interest charged from the paces of the workers, because so many rural co-operative societies and from the public comareas would not have heard of anything about panies has been made by the Corporation. It has been restrictive in operation, so much so that in co-operative sector only Apex societies can avail of any benefit from this scheme, that too on the guarantee of the State Government. In case of individual policy-holders the benefit of the scheme is only for those residing in a city with a population of 10 lakhs or over in India. The Corporation is thus encouraging construction of building at places where problem of congestion is already acute. The Corporation in this respect should keep in view the problem of regional development also. Anyhow, the scheme should be called to be a sound commercial proposition and the Life Insurance Corporation deserves every credit for launching upon a loaning policy that is socially both courageous and imaginative. In granting the loans it should be able to confer benefits on a large number of people and relieve an acute situation in the matter of accommodation. It is expected that with the growing experience in this direction also, the Corporation would enlarge the scope of the scheme so as to be availed of by its policy-holders, living in the entire country.

> Under the second scheme the Corporation has taken a decision of granting loans on mortgages of property. The amount of loan will be in a range of Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 5 lakhs on an interest of 7 per cent per annum reducible to 61 per cent on punctual payment, for a maximum period of 15 years. The scheme will enable the owners of properties in the cities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, to obtain loans on the first mortgage of their existing properties.

To Conclude

from harrassment and inconvenience It can be said that the role of the unnecessary correspondence Danda Exaction description description of the control of t

A few months after we have to step in for a more ambitious plan with its total investment outlay of the order of Rs. 10,200 crores. Out of which Rs. 6,200 crores are for the public sector and the remaining Rs. 4,000 crores are to be met under the private sector. The Corporation is naturally expected to contribute its share for which financial resources should be increased. Both longterm and short-term plans, for securing more and more business should be prepared. To get more business, more facilities should be given to the insuring public. The Corporation should be very efficient in acknowledging the correspondence of the policy-holders. Their difficulties, as far as

possible, should be removed at the earliest. staff of the Corporation should be trained sound principles of salesmanship. The claims the policy-holders must be met as promptly possible. It should try to reduce the formaling to the minimum, so that there may be no undu delay in meeting out the claims. All possible faclities should be given to the insured persons and their dependents.

In the end, it is expected that with its brigh future and able management the Corporation should prosper and drive the prosperity of the masses with itself.

THE NATURE OF TROPICAL GEOGRAPHY

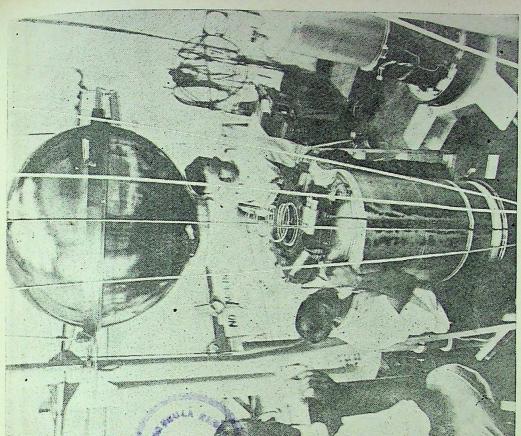
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By PROBHAT KUMAR SEN

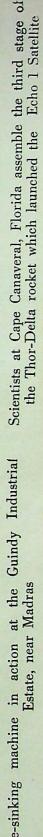
Some countries, by virtue of their positions in between the tropics, share so many characteristics in common in their physical, social and economic aspects that they demand a geographical study in their integrated wholeness. There is also some risk in an attempt for generalisation of this huge part of landmass covering more than one-third of the total land surface of the world and being the habitat of over 700 million people. The nature of generalisations that a layman is very often tempted to make about this part of the world is about the hot and humid climate; the presence of luxuriant tropical and equatorial vegetation, growth of a mosaic of cultural patterns, in a small run of space, which are so different from each other; the prevalence of primitive modes of life, dismal picture of underdeveloped economy, which in some countries is almost at the level of semi-starvation, and the recent emergence, or the attempt to emerge, from the yoke of colonialism consequent on the rise of nationalism in the last few decades. None of these observations by a layman about the tropical countries is far from truth but there is a good deal of difference among these countries, essentially in point of part of Australia is well within the tropic degree. There has been the development of last a last a well within the tropic degree. degree. There has been the development of but the geographical continuity with a European economy in some of the ideal.

the same time there are other islands in the Bay of Bengal, e.g., the Andamans, which present a primitive economy of hunting and collecting, which has, of course, been subjected to an acceleration of her economy the present days. Similarly, there are the semi-developed countries like India on the one hand and the very poorly developed countries in tropical Africa on the other Besides this, the nature of spatial develop ment in the tropics is very much discrete in nature compared to the continuous development in most of the countries of the temperate regions. The staggering disparit in the juxtaposition of the modernism, with the show of the wealth, colour and amenities together with the primitive features of extreme poverty, drabness and insanital conditions are possibly singularly character istic of the tropics. An evaluation of the nature of the Tropical Geography—its essel tial characteristics, their merits and demants merits, is the object of study in this paper

The countries within the tropics can be divided into three parts. They are: (1) Asiatic Tropics, (2) the African Tropics (3) the (3) the American Tropics. The northern a European economy in some of the islands South-East Asian countries makes it not head the he in the Caribbean, e.g. Puerto Rico and Caribbean, tango and the heading the companion of the islands South-East Asian countries makes it the heading the companion of the heading the caribbean in the heading the companion of the heading the caribbean in the carb



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Dye-sinking machine in action at the Estate, near Madras

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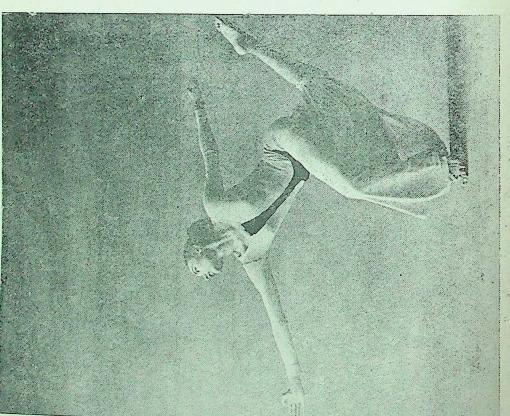
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Valerie Bettis as Lady Macbeth in "The Golden Round" at Jacob's Pillow-Festival of the

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Matt Turney—an exquisite young dancer, seen dancing at Jacob's Pillow-Festival

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of the Asiatic Tropics. The Asiatic Tropics, if considered strictly within the confines of the tropics, embraces in its purview major part of India, East Pakistan, Burma and other south-east Asian countries and as agreed, the northern part of Australia. Similarly, the African Tropics begins in the porth in the Saharan desert and ends in the south in the Union of South Africa but the African tropics has been commonly known as the landmass lying south of Sahara and north of the Union of South Africa. Lastly, the American tropics includes some of the countries of South America, Central America and West Indies. The consideration of the inclusion of all the countries strictly within the tropics makes it impossible to obtain a picture of homogeneity because of the prevalence of wide areas under tropical deserts, and mountainous terrain. Climatically, the high insolation is one of the criteria in the essentials of the tropical geography but, nevertheless, not the only factor in its deter-By the nature of tropical geography, the climatic pattern that is conceived of is a combination of high temperature and high humidity. The conception of high temperature and humidity limits the consideration of the countries of tropical geography to a smaller coverage. eliminates not only the vast tracts that experience high temperature and little precipitation with more evaporation giving rise to desertic and semi-desertic conditions but also considerable areas with low temperature and high precipitation, in Quence of their high elevation. Climatically the Kenyan highlands are more than African as European geographer. observes a renowned

Jacob's Pillow-Festival

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The question crops up immediately whether the jurisdiction of the countries of by virtue of its climatic characteristics. The a picture of some cultural attributes besides to analyse the characteristics that are shared for delimiting them.

The Europeans started the scramble for power over the possession of the

tropical countries, with their appearance in the limelight of the temperate world some five centuries back. The American tropics was first to be victimised for colonisation in the 17th and the 18th centuries and a shift in the gravity took place with the opening of the Asiatic countries. From the late 19th century the African Tropics has been the field of the future prospect and colonisation by the Europeans. The impact of the Europeans on the tropical countries started a tremendous degree of metamorphism in the cultural and material lives of the indigenous peoples. It is needless emphasise the role of the tropics as the world of economic possibilities and the changes that were initiated took place because of the policy of economic exploitation that was aimed at by the colonisers. As regards the economic possibilities in the tropics, the hot and humid climate facilitated the growth of a host of products, e.g., spices and stimulants, such as, coffee, tea and cocoa besides a number of others, such as tropical vegetable fats, a number of tropical fruits, e.g., banana, pineapple, mango, etc., and the introduction of a number of cash crops, such as, jute and rubber. Besides the growth of a number of agricultural products, confined within the tropics only because of their specific climatic requirements, the diversity as well as the magnitude of the minerals excel those of all the other countries. The tin mining of Malaya, the copper of Katanga, iron ore of India and a host of other factors will possibly maintain the tropics as lands of perpetual interest for the other parts of the world.

With due apology for generalisation, the conditions that are prevalent in the tropics are those of relative underdevelopment compared to the countries of the high latitudes, and according to one school of geographers such an appalling condition for much of the tropics, in spite of the great differential developments of discrete nature in its different parts, is explicable in the light of the later impact of the Industrial Revolution and they are strong advocates of the fact that the climatic limitations do not necessarily imply the underdevelopment of these countries. A similar picture is also CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

obtained for the other countries of the world because of their economic underdevelopment. The great differentiation, of an increasing order with the progress of time, between the material culture of the tropics and the countries of the higher latitudes was brought about by the later impact of the innovations of the renaissance that had its birth in the European countries. Hence, the determinism of climate has been thrust aside as the cause of the underdevelopment of the tropics. In spite of all the arguments it can hardly be denied that the climatic characteristics of the humid tropics have no small a role in the shaping of the character of geography of these countries and it will be interesting to see how far they have been retarding factors rather than accelerating ones in the progress of human civilisation and society of the tropics.

Delimiting the Tropics

In the selection of proper values of the different climatic elements (two of them, i.e., temperature and humidity being the most important ones), geographers have not arrived at a tentative unanimity. As said earlier, the high temperature and humidity are considered as the primary climatic characteristics of the humid tropics. Supan enunciates the tropics as the areas having the isotherm of 64°F for the coolest month and no month with an average temperature of less than 64°F. The polar limit of 64°F coincides approximately with the polar limit of the trade wind belt and the tropics. But obviously such a definition of the tropics leads to the inclusion of the desertic and the semi-desertic areas in its domain. The other climatic classification propounded by Koppen considers the isotherm of 18°C of the coolest month as the boundary of the humid tropics. While assessing this definition, Pelzer says: 'His definition includes highlands, although their temperature regime shows slight seasonal variation, one of the main characteristics of the low latitude climate. Not only the tierra caliente, but Its social and economic conditions and its social and economic conditions and its social and economic conditions. also the tierra tamplada is a part of the status. Longman, Green & Co., Second Impression status. tropics. The tierra tamplada produces uka Kangarkollection, Haridwar

number of valuable perennial economic plants which are limited to low latitude because of the high demands regarding ter perature conditions.'1

The tropics, as defined by Pierre Gourge are the hot and wet lands 'which have mean monthly temperature of at least 65° and get enough rain for agriculture to h possible without irrigation. This defini tion is not meant to be rigid and may be departed from in special cases and it in cludes both the equatorial and the tropical climates.'2

However, the mean annual values, either for the temperature or for the rainfall, an not sufficiently valid ones since they ma represent wide variations in their seasons distribution. The adequacy of rainfall on for the cultivation of crops is not the only criterion of the hot and the wet lands since in many parts of western India, e.g., U.P. the rainfall may be sufficient during the monsoons for the growth of crops but the summer is characterised by very high temps rature with an extremely low humidity. The conditions are hot and dry rather than ho and wet. Obviously the areas which are ho and wet only for a part of the year and included in the tropics which may lead t serious objection. However, the jurisdiction of the tropics should be rather the 'feel of a geographer' to start with than ascertain ing the limits by certain elements of the climate.

The Physical Background.

The tropics, extending over the three continents, are composed of the anciel crystalline landmass known as the Good has experienced great wanaland which different changes during periods. In Brazil and Africa the river the Amazon and Congo, flow through the ver

1. Pelzer, Karl, J.—Geography Tropics; Geography in the twentieth philos Edited by Griffith Taylor. New York; philosophical Library phical Library.

2. Gourou, Pierre—The Tropical World

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core of the tropics which unlike the other river valleys of India, Pakistan, Burma, river valleys of India, Pakistan, Burma, Indiand, Indo-China and Indonesia have not proved to be the areas of dense human agglomeration. Excluding the desertic, agglomeration and mountainous areas, the elevation of the tropical countries hardly exceed 6,000 feet.

The Tropical Soils

The common idea about the richness of the tropical soils has very likely come about because of the presence of luxuriant vegetation in the tropics. But the study of the soils has proved that the tropical soils are inferior to those of the temperate regions. The areas covered by virgin forest happen to have a perfect equilibrium because all the organic matters, i.e., the leaves and residues of the trees get back to the soil which supplements the deficiencies of the plant nutrients in the soil. However, a great change is observed where the tropical vegetation has been cleared for the introduction of agriculture giving rise to soil erosion and the depletion of the soil nutrients leading to the exposition of the sandy beds. At such places agriculture is maintained at a heavy cost and with poor yields. The expositions of the sandy beds are observed at Lubilash in Belgian Congo and vast areas in Trinidad.

The high temperature and high rainfall are responsible for quicker chemical action in the soil and leaching of the soluble matters. The tropical soils suffer from a deficiency of assimilable bases, phosphorus and humus. The warmer the soil, the more acidic it is and many of the tropical plants are adapted to the acidic conditions of the soil.

Similarly, the formation of the laterites difficulties of composition of the soil of its fertility. The formation of the laterites is strictly confined to drought or in other words, a distinct hot ents are drained away from the soil leaving the oxides of aluminium and iron and crusts of hard earth in the laterites.

the trees, unhealthy difficulties of commodification obstacles to the deviction of the forest properties are sources of the hot observes: 'Contrary lieved at first sight, forests are therefore tible sources of raw tible sources of raw crusts of hard earth in the laterites.

The defect can be considered as the contraction of the forest properties are distinct observes: 'Contrary lieved at first sight, forests are therefore tible sources of raw tible sources of raw crusts of hard earth in the laterites.

rite areas making the soil unfit for agriculture texturally as well as with regard to the soil fertility. The formation of the laterites in the humid tropics is quite extensive and in India it is widely prevalent in western Bengal and south Bihar.

The annual innundation of the river valleys keeps up the soil fertility in many parts of the humid tropics but a deterioration of the drainage system, as is experienced in the river geography of West Bengal, brings about a decline in the soil fertility with the tremendous consequences on the health and agriculture initiating a decay and outflow of the population.

All the above characteristics and processes dominant in the tropics go a long way to prove the decisively inferior quality of the tropical soils and this has led to serious thinking among the soil scientists that probably the old indigenous methods of 'jhum' cultivation prevalent in the different parts of the tropical world is the best insurance against the decay of the tropical soils.

Natural Vegetation

The natural vegetation in the hot and the humid tropics of our definition ranges from the equatorial rainforests to open savanna in the monsoon belts. The natural vegetation of the monsoon areas have mostly been cleared for sedentary agriculture whereas much of the equatorial forests remain uncleared and the abodes of the different aborigines.

As to the economic out-turn of the forest products, it is far below the expected. The non-occurrence of the trees in pure stands, softness of the wood, slow rate of growth of the trees, unhealthy climate and extreme difficulties of communication are serious obstacles to the development and exploitation of the forest products.

While assessing the nature of the forest resources of the hot and wet lands, Gourou observes: 'Contrary to what might be believed at first sight, tropical and equatorial forests are therefore not easy and inexhaustible sources of raw materials for industry. The defect can be corrected, but only at the

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its futur npression make forest reserves, for this safeguards the the highlands. In Brazil the potential value forests, it does not improve it, at least not of the mineral resources is supposed to in a lapse of time compatible with man's needs. The fact is, useful species are very slow in getting the better of others, and, if but has gone in a decline to a great exten they are exploited, they tend on the contrary to disappear. The only effective solution is to fell the trees and plant a homo-. genous artificial forest which can be exploited and will replace itself.'3

In spite of the limitations of the exploitation of the forest resources, the contribution is not at all negligible. The Hevea Brasiliensis, which secrets the best grades of rubber, happens to be a native species of the natural vegetation of Brazil and this maintained the virtual monopoly of Brazil in the production of rubber in the whole world for a sufficiently long time until the introduction of this species in the East Indies. Rubber is a product exclusively of the tropics and approximately 98% of the total production is contributed by East Indies and 1% by Brazil. A number of other species also command considerable importance. An efficient organisation in the lines of the plantations of the tropical world introduced by the Europeans at the cost of huge initial capital investment and a very efficient administration may possibly make the natural vegetation of the tropics more paying in the future.

The Assessment of he Mineral resources

The variety as well as the magnitude of the minerals in the countries under consideration is really worthy of high acclamation on the one hand but the extreme poverty of coal, currently the most important power to run the wheels of machinery for the industries, on the other hand makes the situation quite trying.

To start with, in Middle America, the variety of mineral products are striking. They are iron and manganese ores in Cuba, petroleum in Venezuela, Columbia and

price of great exertion. It is not enough to eastern Mexico, silver and other metals; abundant and she maintained her position as the chief supplier of diamond former the present position being only 1% of the world's average annual output. The other minerals extracted are silver, manganess iron and low grades of coal.

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Of the Asiatic countries, the position India is quite satisfactory with respect some minerals, e.g., iron ore, manganess mica, coal, petroleum, beside a number other minerals. In the countries of Malay esia, petroleum and tin are the two most in portant minerals and their contribution; the world's annual output are 3% and 49 respectively. The poverty of coal is als

conspicuous in this part.

In the African tropics the growing in terest of the European and the America capitalists owe its origin to the tremendou potentiality of the minerals both for their variety and quantity. Ghana is a good producer of gold, diamond, manganese and bauxite and the Congo, very well conceive as the core of the humid tropics, holds because of he key position in the world rich deposits of diamond, copper, gold, iro and tin. The complete absence of either coal or petroleum definitely snatches awa her otherwise brilliant position for the development of industries. The arises only because of the great potential hydel power of more than 600 million kilt watts of which only 0.3 million have been generated. In India prosperity of the south rests on the alread developed water power and the prospect its further development in the future.

The Cultural Background

In the discussion of the much debatable topic of the inherent limitations of humid tropics, a great emphasis has been laid rooms. laid regarding the poor human and material culture in the tropics. Gourt contribution (the tropical world to the cultural and make development of the world rounded up the Indian scene by observing

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^{3.} Gourou, Pierre—The Tropical World; Its social and economic conditions and its future status. Longman Green & Co., Second Impression, 1954.

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India is endowed with a high civilisation.....capable of answering the social and intellectual needs of dense populations. But much of the civilisation comes from without-perhaps the better parts. The Aryan invasion, Sanscrit, the caste system, Indo-Greek art, Islam, and very many other features emphasise the importance of cultural elements introduced from Mesopotamia and Persia. The system and practice of government established in India by the English and destined never to disappear wholly, is yet another valuable contribution to culture. In fact, like all other tropical countries, India has received a great deal from the rest of the world and has given little in return. Germs of culture from lands outside the tropics have been needed to develop a high civilisation in this hot, wet country.'4

The sweeping remarks of Gourou on India and the tropics as a whole, is obviously one which suffers from the preconceived bias about the tropical lands. The cause of the Indian culture because of the introduction of the cultural elements from Mesopotamia and Persia may be partially true but it seems to be really fantastic in the present context because all the countries which have developed assimilated new ideas, thoughts and people from outside to a greater extent than an isolated evolution within their geographical limits. India, as such, is no exception to it.

Secondly, the social values of tropical world are different from the other the parts. Some of the social have been underestimated to the extent of ridicule simply because they are quite foreign to the observers. The social values of the tropics, as such, can hardly be qualified in some cases for comparison since they are altogether of different kinds and virtually they have evolved according to the needs of the environment of the tropical world. Unfortunately, much of the 'germs of culture from lands outthe have their serious consequences on the indigenous people and have led to some of the present day major problems in

Much of the world has been undergoing tremendous changes and the geography is changing as fast as man himself. Such changes in the tropical wrold is worthy of observation. From the days of hunting and collecting economy, man in the tropical world became sedentary in many parts and the contact with the other countries has ushered in a tremendous inflow of new ideas and thoughts and peoples. The geography has changed in the tropic to the greatest preceptible degree since the impact with the Whites ultimately giving birth to colonisation in almost all the major tropical countries.

The Pattern of the Population

The tropics, as dealt with earlier, depicts a tremendous degree of differential picture and possibly in respect of the population density, it is best observed. The three major areas in the tropics, i.e., the Asiatic, the African and the American ones, present individual characteristics and problems of their own. The Asiatic tropics has been an area of immense human agglomeration leading to a heavy density of population and a rapid growth bringing about a gradual lowering in the standards of living and employment opportunities. On the other hand, the population of the African tropics, though not studied with precision and accuracy so far, is sparse and experiences a gradual lowering in the birth rates among the African natives. Some parts of the African tropics experience a great shortage of labour and, strangely enough, problems also linger in parts of the Asiatic tropics—a real paradox in the overcrowded countries. In the American tropics, the overcrowding is confined to the Indies and the other countries are very sparsely populated. The map of the population distribution of the vast country of Brazil brings the picture of the concentration of the population only on the southern highlands and along the eastern coast. The early attempts of the Spanish and the Portuguese to settle in the interiors of the Amazon valley failed miserably in the long

run for the unnearmy crimes.

The Tropical World etc. nication difficulties. Except the extremely CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Negroes, it is virtually a no-man's land.

heterogeneity in the customs, beliefs, reli- and has given a distinct cultural impress gions, languages and modes of human occu- essentially Indian, in many parts of tropical pation in the tropics.

feature of the countries of South-East Asia and it has been rightly observed by Dobby, ed by a range of types from indegenes to raw immigrants, each with specialised function in the society, so that no unit is homogeneous horizontally: there are great variations of custom, speech and stock from one part to another of the same layer of society, or homogeneous vertically, because there are generally communal differences between wage labourers, peasants, traders, administrators and aristrocrats. Sometimes a religion is the only link-among the people of Indo-China and the East Indies.'5 Such a scene of variety is also in view in India and the strong influence of Hinduism has been attributed as a very strong factor in the unification of India.

The African scene is also dotted with a variety of different cultures so long mostly in the stage of hunting and collecting and confined within the limits of the area under possession of the community. The infiltration has been much less conspicuous in this part compared to the Asiatic tropics though there have been slow assimilation of the ideas imported from the north, mainly from the barbaric states though the mighty Sahara has been an effective barrier for the cultural exchange. Only very lately, say for the last 100 years, the darkness of ignorance about Africa is being dispelled because of the light thrown by the European dis-

sparse population consisting of Indians and coverers and adventurers ultimately lead ing to the development of the colonies. Be. Besides the pattern of density, the sides the Europeans, the construction of the cultural heterogeneity of the tropical roads and railways in the African continent countries is remarkably great. The deve- initiated the immigration of the Indian and lopment of a diversity of cultures is attribut- other Asian labourers. The relation of East ed either to the diversity of the physical Africa, of course, with the Asiatic countries environment or a virtual seclusion from the dates back to very early centuries as the rest of the world. Both these factors Asian traders used to carry on spice trade along with the immigration of the differ- with the East African countries. But in ent peoples are well-nigh important in the late 19th and 20th centuries, the immibringing about such a mosaic of cultural gration of the Indians has been considerable Africa. Rather than the evolution of an A plurality of societies is a distinct unified culture, efforts for bringing about a further diversification in the cultural patterns are discernible by people who through "....the units of South-East Asia are peopl- their self-centred ideas and community interests, sometimes at the cost of national interest, try to isolate their cultures from the others. This is extremely unfortunate in the countries of to-day when the unification is so much talked about as an accepted means for achieving better ends.

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The American tropics also presents a cultural diversity. Besides the Negroes and the Indians, the immigration of the Whites prepared the ground for the planting of the European cultures. Unlike the other parts. the European colonisers in many cases have got nicely mixed up with the indigenous people through marriages and policies of give and take.

Agriculture

The human activities in the tropics are preponderantly agricultural which have evolved from the primitive system of bush fallowing to sedentary agriculture ultimately leading to the immense development of Starting from a plantation agriculture. purely subsistence basis, agriculture in many parts of the tropics has been made to feed the needs of the outside world.

Though the system of bush fallowing is still now in vogue in the tropics among the tribal people of Africa, Asia and South America, sedentary agriculture has gained a strong footing and the impact of European people gave rise to the develor ment of commercial agriculture. Vast track of land were either cleared of forests or in

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^{5.} Dobby, E.H.G.—Southeast Asia, University of London Press, London.

poverished lands mostly in the deltaic areas y lead. were improved for the development of comes. Be. mercial agriculture. Besides the staple food of the crop, i.e., rice, the tropics has earned a great ntinent interest for the countries of the temperate an and latitudes by virtue of the production of a of East number of plantation crops confined within untries the tropics only. The agricultural economy as the of many of the countries of the tropics has e trade been geared to the needs of the outside But in immiworld at the cost of self-sufficiency of foodderable stuffs. To add more to it, most of these mpress. countries do not hold a virtual monopoly in ropical the production of any crop and the nature of an of the demand for these commodities are about a also highly elastic which ultimately exert al pata constant influence in the fluctuations of hrough the price level. At times the dependence on munity the foreign countries is aggravated to the ational point of total breakdown of the economy. s from It can, on the other hand, hardly be denied rtunate that much of the welcome changes and imunificaprovements in the tropics is due to the introduction of the plantation economy.

The agricultural products are many, eg, rice, sugarcane, tea, coffee, cocoa, fruits, vegetable fats, cotton, jute, rubber, etc.

In spite of the welcome changes, the introduction of the plantation agriculture has been considered as a system for immediate gain but the total dependence on the foreign markets and the extreme rapidity of the soil erosion as a result of the plantation agriculture have been the causes for serious concern. Under such circumstances, the ladang or the jhum system of bush fallowing, though capable of supporting only a few people per square mile, has been considered as a rational means of agricultural production. Many of the plantations had to be closed either due to the poor yield which was, of course, further accelerated by the unhealthy climate of the tropics. In spite of all the drawbacks, modern devices must be made available for the upkeep of the plant hutrients of the tropical soils, failing which the prospect of the future is not so bright of a hundred advocated. The invention of a number of substitutes for products like tubber, silk, jute, stimulants, etc., only speaks of a gradual shrinkage of the world market for these tropical commodities extremely effective.

Industry

The industrial enterprises of the tropics are mostly on small scale and had been in most cases the means to provide subsidiary occupation for the agriculturists. The cotton textile industry plays a very important part and the industries based on wood work happens to be quite important in the Southeast Asian countries. Of the modern industries, the cotton textile in India is worthy of high appraisal. The development of the other heavy industries like iron and steel, chemical, engineering, etc., are extremely few in number and the causes for such underdevelopment are due to the absence of considerable home market, the poverty of coal and the shortage of the technical knowhow and last but not the least, the want of capital. In the discussion of the tropical minerals, the magnitude and variety of those resources have been brought to light and this obviously paves the way for the development of a large number of mining industries and the other subsidiary ones. The paucity of coal may be eclipsed to a great extent by the increased use of the potential water power and atomic minerals which the tropical countries also possess to a satisfactory extent.

The Future

The climax of modern welfare has been attained in some places of the tropics which can very well boast of a European or an American standard but the abysmal depth of misery and ignorance and extremely poor material development are overwhelmingly discernible over the wider parts. As has been already pointed out, the tropics or more precisely the humid tropics suffer from some inherent physical limitations. The unhealthiness of the tropical climate is quite well known and it is a long list of diseases that are prevalent in this part. The unhealthiness seems to be a relative term which is adequately explained in the light of the healthy lives of some of the tribal people whose capacity for enduring the humid tropical climate and overcoming many of the physical difficulties are extremely strong. Many of the indigenous medicines in vogue among these people are The deterministic

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school of geographers with Huntington as the pioneer have measured the human efficiency in terms of the values of the climatic elements and the humid tropics has been proved to be an area of poor human energy. It is beyond doubt that the people of the temperate latitudes are much more energetic and possess better health. In the tropics, the existence of indigenous medicines, like many other innovations and devices suited to the tropical world, is possibly a conclusive proof of the fact that the people had the devices and means to fight and adapt themselves to the so-called odds of the tropical The later impact of the environment. foreigners changed the values of life to a tremendous degree and the old orders changed yielding place to new ones, uncongenial and devastating in their effects in the tropics, leading to a gradual breakdown of the existing base suited to the tropical environment.

With the universal aspiration for a better living, the tropics has been keen on shaking off the colonial yoke and undergoing development plans—a typical scene of the present-day Indian economic developments. The problems of overpopulation and its fast growth in some parts of the tropics have been serious obstacles to the betterment of the standard of living of the people. The rate of economic growth lags sufficiently behind the rate of population growth. In other parts like tropical Africa and Brazil, the underpopulation has stood in the way of developing some areas. Hardly any economic growth of appreciable extent can be achieved without capital investment. Under foreign rule, hardly capital of any amount has been concentrated in the hands of the local people. The dependence on the foreign countries, especially the big ones like the U.S.A., U.K., Russia and others, for capital is increasing all the time. In some countries the income is so low as to prohibit any saving for the accumulation of capital by the Government. In spite of the capital investments mostly earned from the foreign countries, the pace of upheaval of the economy remains concealed. Obviously, the answer to such an enigmatic

growth appreciably. The under-populated countries have only the initial problem of capital investment. Though the response of the European and the American capitalists have been quite happy in matters of capital investment in the countries like tropical Africa and Brazil, a growing apathy of the local people and the government is noticed since such enterprises hardly accelerate the economy to a very appreciable extent because a heavy margin of profit is drained away from these countries.

The nature of tropical geography has already been assessed and it goes to prove that besides subsistence agriculture, introduction of the commercial agriculture has led to a greater amount of trade with the temperate world and many of these countries are under ruthless subordination to the fluctuations of the demand. Besides this, the total dependence of some countries for their production exclusively of some plantation crops leads to very unhappy situations very frequently and the condition of the jute growers of East Pakistan may be a good example to put forward. Such a situation demands a fair degree of planning by all the producing countries so that a stable market is ensured for all times.

Rice happens to be the staple food crop of the tropics and, as it can support the maximum number of people per unit area, hardly any substitute can be there in place of rice. In this connection it may be observed that the total dependence of the food stuffs necessary for the Andaman Islands was solved appreciably by the Japanese Government by the introduction of sweet potatoes and tapioca (may be grown in less fertile areas) in the diet of the people besides the introduction of terraced farming on the hill slopes. But the selfsufficiency was lost because of the dissatisfaction of the people in taking the famine foods as their items of diet for all times.

by the Government. In spite of the capital investments mostly earned from the foreign countries, the pace of upheaval of the national economy remains concealed. Obviously, the answer to such an enigmatic problem lies in checking the population CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukhi Kangro College, is a stheir items of diet for an unit and holding in the ladaus or the jhum cultivation is characterised by the possession of territories by the countries of the possession of the particular terms of diet for an unit and holding in the ladaus or the jhum cultivation is characterised by the countries of the possession of territories by the cultivator for the production of crops the rights of possession of the particular terms of diet for an unit and holding in the ladaus or the jhum cultivation is characterised by the countries of the possession of the possession of the particular terms of diet for an unit and holding in the ladaus or the jhum cultivation is characterised by the countries of the possession of territories by the countries of the possession of the possession of the possession of the cultivator for the production of crops by the countries of the possession of the possession of the possession of the cultivator for the possession of the

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quite sensible in the light of the nature of guite statute and which needs different plots of land in different years and besides that the interest of the community counts much. In sedentary agriculture the system of land holding leads to be continued fragmentation of the land giving rise to very low yields of moduction in the countries like India. Possibly the system of the co-operative farming may be a means for the higher

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As against the land being totally devoted to the production of commercial crops, the growth of food crops for tropical countries for self-sufficiency must be welcome. The existing systems go a long way to prove the relative underdevelopment of the tropical agriculture which may be overcome in course of time. But the limitations of the tropical soils are serious questions in the development and planning of agriculture and the search for devices for the continued upkeep of the soil fertility is extremely important.

With the growth of nationalism in the tropical countries, there has been the cry for industrialisation at a very fast rate. But hardly any co-ordination has been maintained, unfortunately, in many parts of the tropical world, between agriculture and industry and again between the small-scale d crop and the large-scale industries. The poverty in coal is a serious limitation which, course, can be overcome by the generation of water power, in which the tropics holds a key position. The mining of large number of minerals in huge quantities will uphold the importance of this part of the world to no small degree.

The nature of relationship between the topics and the temperate countries had been so long, in most cases, one of the ruled and the rulers. This no doubt paved the he to the movement of new ideas from the temperate world. Improvements were many but were confined tremely limited sector within an expopulation and the lion's Improvements was enjoyed by the rulers. of the indigenous The existing orders of equilibrium in all to give rice life were considerably shattered to give rise to an imbalance in the social and

economic growth of the countries. Selfsufficiency gave way to dependence as the economic developments took place to serve the foreign needs (the commercial agriculture being a befitting example). The achievments touched only the fringe of the problem and the heart of it remained uncared

The ideas of all round welfare have been universally accepted but the problems of the tropics seem to be extremely great to start with, both for their variety and magnitude. Extending over 1 of the landmass of the world and being inhabited by over 700 million people, such a situation seems to be quite obvious. Tropics cannot be compared either with America (North) or Australia or Canada where the planning goes ahead of the people—the mastery over the inherent physical advantages, rich resources, and people of quality and desired numbers are the answers to the fast developments and the attainment of the highest standard of living. In the tropics the last but not the least trying situation arises out of the heterogeneity of the human elements —the common objective is obviously few in an area having multitude of cultural patterns except the aspiration for a better living. Unhappily the cultural heterogeneity has made these countries the places for many ideas and many more leaders, in the very infancy of their independence, unification, even within the political units, is seldom seen.

The inherent disadvantages of physical environment may be overcome with the growth of new devices for overcoming them and sometimes with the revival of the old orders. The problem of the human elements is of no small measure and the unity of purpose can very well be attained with a greater pace of education, economic well-being and mobility. These are difficult things to attain but the deterministic idea of perpetual under-development of the tropics can hardly be taken for granted.

Acknowledgment: The author owes his debt of gratitude to Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mitra Chandernagore for some of his valuable suggestions.

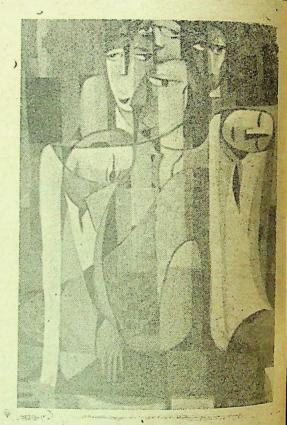
REVIEW OF EXHIBITION OF ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The Twenty-fifth Annual Exhibition of the Producers of Cinema Pictures—to come and Academy of Fine Arts—which Her Excel- "listen" to the significant messages which lency the Governor of W. Bengal opened on our Artists are recording with their brushes Sunday last—at the New Palace on Cathedral and chisels. In the various sections of this Road—by a happy chance, attains a very comprehensive show divided into Oils high standard which excells and outshines Water-Colours, Graphic Arts and Sculpture all its previous Annuals—in their variety, —the organizers of this Exhibition has representative character and unique brilliance. As an All-India Exhibition-reflecting all the latest trends and tendencies, all the recent inclinations and moods, all the currents and cross-currents of the productions of Modern Art-in the different regions and art-centres of Free and Independent India,—this show is a major Art event of great significance and unique interest. In this Annual show—one can easily feel the heart-beats of the nation's Art—in a variety of impulses and in the divergent expressions of Life in Modern India-which are manifesting in her Forms and Formulations of Art. Fifty years hence-nobody will remember who sat in the Nation's Parliament or State-Assemblies,-what Laws of Ordinances were put on her Statute-books, what were the ups and downs of her Foreign Exchange, or the tonnage of her shiploads of Rice and Wheat she imported from abroad to meet her food deficits.

But posterity will judge of the quality and measure of our contemporary life-by the records of the visions of our artists-by the thought-products of our sages and saints, of our dreamers and visionaries,the custodians of our hopes and aspirations -the leaders of our spiritual destiny.

Unfortunately-a class of critics and historians judge of our progress solely by the products of our literature-by the merits of our Poetry, Fiction and Belle-Lettres—on the printed pages of our books journals. They regretfully ignore the brilliant records of the illiterate but eloquent language of our Visual Arts. I will respectfully invite our talented Weilders of the Pen, our Musicians and Dancers, our



"Men" Sanat Kumar Kar

generously provided—tempting feasts Line and Colour—and rich repasts of it tellectual food—which are essential means of sustenance for the growth and development of ment of our national life. What our Visibiliartists help were artists help us to see—in the moods and postures of our daily life, in the sun-shipe and shadows and shadows and shadows are supposed to see—in the moods shadows and shadows are supposed to see—in the moods and shadows are supposed to see—in the moods are supposed to see —in the supposed to see —in t and shadows of Nature, in the dramas of out domestic has domestic happenings—with all their subjections and in the subjections and in the subjection of the sub colours and intricate patterns of our for and sorrows,—can never be gleaned

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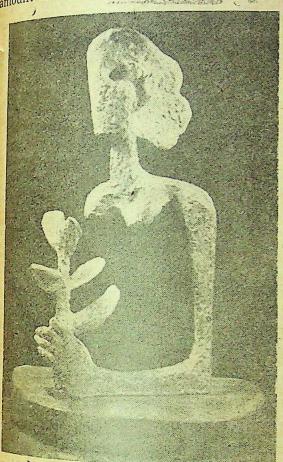
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"A Sculpture" Sankho Choudhury

conveyed to us the finely characterized portrait from the brush of Sri Atul Bose, of the late Kamini Kumar Dutta, which oil Soate Oil Section. It is ably supported by Kisary Roy's delicate delineation of a "Youngster" (340), Ishaq Mahomed's shining "Shova" (20), Isnaq Mahomed's shining Life, and Jagadish Roy's stirring "Still-presented". Landscape is worthily represented by two outstanding pieces— Azmat's "Watering Cattle" (17) and Aroop Dass, "Watering Cattle" (17) and a group of soling of a group of palm trees (100).

the gleates our magicians of poetic diction, which are no mere apish imitations of the by the wizards of our Purple Prose. No "Ism"-Paintings of France. Many of these by the wild by the wild be will be wild be will be wild be wil amazing examples of originality of vision and execution. The shining high-lights of this section are contributed by Rathin Maitra's "Baul" and "Winter Symphony", C. T. Dass' "Summer Time", a sweet symbolical symphony (6), the wonderful patterning of Sanat Kar's "Brown Study" (95) and P. C. Sagara's "Meeting in Ceiling", a daring landscape composed of green trees and red huts. Other outstanding pieces-in this section—are more than mere gymnastics of brave brush-works—but are striking records of new visions and novel presentations. This is happily illustrated by Ishaq Mahomed's "Lust For Life" (219), Anil Bhattacharyya's "Movement", Ram Keot's brilliant landscape emphasized by two "Water-carriers" (201) and Ram Kinkar's



"Nude"

in the section of the Modernists—who clever presentation of the proverbial "Tallove to turn their back against our national Pukur"—with a tiny figure in a tiny pond.

The back against our national Pukur"—with a tiny figure in a tiny pond.

The Bhavasar's striking symphony of straight traditions their back against our national Pukur"—with a tiny night a tiny night and seek inspirations from the Bhavasar's striking symphony of straight help fashions of E. Color of the Public Domain, Guitykul Kanggi Collection Hardwells—called "A Dark and seek inspirations from the Bhavasar's striking symphony of Europe,—they have been and Guilde Banging Collection Hardward "A Dark

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Woman" has emphatically proved that "there are no curves in Nature". T. Kar's study of a Tibetan Lama—is an excellent delineation of well-known types. Tana's study of two cartmen standing against a group of village huts—is a masterly composition of great beauty and simplicity. M. S. Chopra's intricate picture of the meshes of Fishing "Nets"—offers terrors even to treaders on farmland.

The Water-Colour Section shows many outstanding pieces—of which three deserve special mention—Taradas Chatterjee's "Fish", Kalyan Sen's "Happy Lives", a brilliant study of birds and goats (375) and Anil Baran Shah's striking study of "Woods"

(354).

The Graptic Art Section—exhibiting studies in Black and White, Pen-Drawings, Pencil-Sketches, Lithographs and Colour-Prints, is usually the veritable paradise of the poor connoisseurs of pictures—who cannot afford to acquire items ticketed with digit figures. Unfortunately the exorbitant prices demanded by several artists in this section,—this year,—have turned the old Paradise of the Poor-into a veritable Vale of Tears. Of several outstanding high-lights of this section-one can mention Devajani's "Cactus", Kanwal's "Hovering Spirit", Kula Karni's skilful Ink-Sketch and Sunil Ghose's crayon studies of "Horses"

The Indian Section, placed in a separate room, isolated from the Academic and the Modernistic paintings—has not been able to maintain a very high level of achievement. For the last few years—the Indian style of painting—built on the traditional language of Indian Art—appears to have lost its popularity amongst artists—and no new devotees to the Indian manner have come forward to interpret the national language—in a new and refreshing manner of expression.

To cover the obvious weakness of this section several pictures of Nanda Lal Bose have been exhibited, to lend an artificial

strength. Unfortunately, they are not the best manners of this great man Undoubtedly the outstanding pieces of section are those contributed by Go Ghose and Indra Dugar. Of the th pieces contributed by Ghose—two are larscapes,—one, "On The Way To Dehradun a mystic mystery woven out of houses a trees,-which remind one of Corot, French Master. Ghose's amazing study "Flowers" is a Dream in Pink and Blue worthy of the great Chinese masters. In Dugar's two oblong landscapes-one "Kanchan-Jangha", another of Benares; undoubtedly the proud high-lights of section. He however breaks new grounds in his lyrical study of a girl stand against a lotus-pool, of great charm a dignity. Indian Mythology has found able exponent in Dipen Bose who cont butes two pieces—of which his "Jagadhat is of a high level. Tarapada Basu l narrowly missed success in his ambition presentation of "Nadu-Gopal". Bhagw Kapur's "Noon-Time" is a delightful gro of "Goats" of great charm and beau S. Bhowmick's "Cock-Crow"—is a seric piece of study on the path of Chinese masters. Of the two pieces contributed Ganes Halwasiya—a frequent exhibitor at previous years' shows-his delight study of "Wood-seller"—is excellent vision and excellent in execution.

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The Sculpture Section—illustrates the new phases of Forms and Treatment away from the beaten paths of che realism.

The rich variety and range of Exhibits of his attractive Annual Show reflecting, as it does—all the current encies in contemporary Indian Artatract and satisfy all varieties of and all manners of demands on the part our Worshippers of Beauty *

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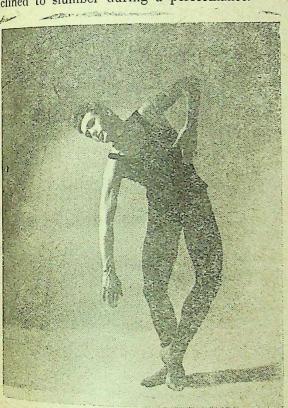
^{*}By the courtesy of The All-India Residuate.

ARTS & MEN

Contrasts Characterize Modern Dance at Jacob's Pillow

By NORMAN SMITH

inclined to slumber during a performance.



The most gifted young dancer, Robert Cohan, at Jacob's Pillow-Festival

In fact, even before occupying their seats in the Ted Shawn Theatre (named for the dance pioneer who is founder-director of the Festival), dance enthusiasts have had to prove their devotion to this art form. Anyone willing to drive interminable distances through the shadowy Berkshire M. shire Mountains in the black of night, anxiously peering at every signpost lest he misses the right road or Ladder, if you will—leading up to the Pillow is there because of genuine interest.

Basically, as Mr. Shawn makes clear, the 19-Vear old theatre is an educational adjunct to the

AMERICA's unique dance university and theatre- Pillow, enabling students to see the finished works located some 200 kilometers north-east of New whose technique and theory they study in studio York-may be whimsically named Jacob's Pillow, and classroom. Admission of the public to the but the audiences that it attracts are certainly not programs is incidental, made possible only because a full-sized stage and auditorium are necessary to show the works at their best.

The byword at the Festival is variety, for Mr. Shawn believes that "the Dance includes every way that men of all races in every period of the world's history have moved rhythmically to express themselves." Consequently, almost every program (repeated nightly for a week) is a three-way balance among ballet, modern and ethnic dance, a practice that undoubtedly has broadened the Festival's popular appeal.



The exciting dancer, Grover Dale, seen dancing at Jacob's Pillow-Festival

University of the Dance conductinal adjunct to the Occasionally, though an educational adjunct to the Occasionally, though a program devoted solely to Occasionally, though an exception does occur,

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modern dance. In the course of its three performing units, each quite different in style, demonstrated how wide the range of modern dance really is. Lyric, dramatic, jazz and folk elements were all present. Only humor was missing, and that was taken care of hilariously during the follow-

ing week.

Undoubtedly the most dynamic figure on the program was Valerie Bettis, one of America's great choreographer-dancers, who appeared with her reconstructed Dance Theatre in two new works. In excerpts from "Early Voyagers", a projected dance-drama suggested by Truman Capote's novel "Other Voices, Other Rooms," she used a familiar Bettis technique of fusing acting (complete with spoken word) and dance movement to tell the story of a young girl's attempt to lead a timid youth out of a decadent household.

This time, it seemed to us, there was too great an emphasis on dialogue at the expense of dancing, although Miss Bettis as the girl, Gover Dale (a versatile young performer from Broadway) as the boy and ballerina Maria Karnilova as a pitiful, half-mad member of his family were eloquent in their roles.

The second Bettis offering, "The Golden Round," was an interesting expansion into trio form of an earlier solo work about Lady Macbeth. Especially memorable were a duet in which Lady Macbeth incites her husband to murder, and an ironic, elegant court dance for the two plotters and their intended victim.

Miss Bettis' solo passages, of course, had the women and the stylized formality of the men's electrifying effect that one has come to expect of fight scene. The long (30-minute) work fully this artist.

Electricity, figuratively speaking, was generated also by the Talley Beatty company in this choreographer's jazzily classic interpretation of life along the railroad tracks. "The Road of the Phoebe Snow"-which refers to a railroad for an imaginary named

projected the moods and activities of a group of young people through a series of related dances

Flirtation, jealousy and a violent fistfight were all expressed with the loose-limbed grace found in so many Negro dancers. But there was a certain elegance, too, in the cat-like leaps of the



Myra Kinch and Alonso Castro in a scene called "Tomb for Two" at Jacob's Pillow-Festival

deserved the ovation it received.

Lyricism held the stage when duo artists Robert Cohan and Matt Turney presented two works choreographed by Mr. Cohan. The plotles "Seaborne"—almost as aimless as the sea itself contained some exquisite passages, fluidly exmaiden masterfull Burukulkadga addlection, Haridwatterlying surge of power.

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In "The Pass"-set in ancient Thebes-the choreographer offered an engrossing study of evil Jurking behind allure as the Sphinx and her assistant alternately attempted to seduce each other while awaiting the arrival of her first victim. As the assistant slowly drew the curtains together, a strangled scream rang through the theatre. The innately elegant artists—and what a handsome pair they are!—danced the hair-raising work with technical bravura and unsuspected dramatic

Humor, as we indicated earlier, was virtually non existent on this program but came into its own the following week when Myra Kinch, who specializes in satire, appeared with her group in three dance comedies. The only new work was a somewhat long-drawn-out retelling of the Adam and Eve story with an amusing ending not sufficiently strong to support the measures leading up to it.

Two older works, however, were as riotously funny as ever: Miss Kinch's now-famous "Giselle's Revenge," inspired—as ballet fans. can guess—by the classic "Giselle," and a revival of "Tomb for Two," a devastating satire on the opera "Aida." The latter was especially effective with its incongruous blend of ballet and Egyptian temple art. And a pas de deux between Aida and Rhadames was the peak of ludicrousness as the two punctuated each ballet phrase with a stiff gesture reminiscent of tomb paintings.

Miss Kinch's comic talents surprised no one, but her new leading man, Alonso Castro (a native of Peru who has been active also in the United States) literally stole the show with his riotously funny interpretations. Together they brought a welcome note of lightness to the program and at the same time rounded out the many-faceted picture of modern dance in the United States today.

SHREE A. M. N. GHOSH

BY AJIT KUMAR TARAN

Late Shree Austin Manindra Nath Ghosh Coal Mines Stowing Board, from 1950 to joined the Geological Survey of India in 1952, in addition to his own duties as the

While in service in the Geological Survey of India, Shree Ghosh took part in the competitive examination for an appointment in the Executive Branch of the Bengal Civil Service and on the basis of results of that examination he was offered a post by the Bengal Government. He, however, decided to remain in the Geological Survey of India to work on a subject for which he had a particular liking and had keen aptitude.

On being awarded study leave, he proceeded to the U.K. in the year 1929 and obtained A.R.C.S. diploma and B.Sc. (Hons.) degree in Geology from the University of

During the Second World War when the Utilisation Branch was started in the Geological Survey of India, he was appointed as the Agent of the Government Mica Mines, Mahesri, in which capacity he rendervaluable services to the Geological Survey of Indiana Services to the Geological Services to vey of India in particular and the country as a whole. He also acted as the Chairman, Shree A. M. N. Ghosh CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



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Survey of India. He was one of the members of the Indian Delegation to the Fifth Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress, held in Australia in April-May, 1953.

His services were placed at the disposal of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission with effect from 30-12-1955 and he organised the Department from its very inception, contributing greatly to the discovery of several new oil fields in India.

Superintending Geologist in the Geological highly-qualified geologist and in his death the country as a whole has lost a great scientific worker who rendered valuable services to the Nation.

Shree Ghosh died of Coronary Throm. bosis on the 2nd January at 2-45 P.M. in the Seth Sukhlal Karnani Hospital. He was fifty-eight years of age at the time of his death. He left behind his wife and three sons.

A condolence meeting, to mourn the He was also the President of the Geology death of Shree Ghosh, presided over by Dr. Section of the Indian Science Congress in A. G. Jhingran, Deputy Director, G.S.I. Agra in 1954. He was an experienced and was held on 3-1-1961, in the G. S. I. office. -:O:-

THE CULT OF THE DEAD

By AMAL SARKAR M.A. LLB.

Our primitives used to think that by 'earthly death' man simply passes from this world to another; by crossing this 'bar' he enters into a new life under new envibeen ronments. Death has honoured from the remotest time by almost all the races of mankind. The common belief of the primitives was that 'this life death' is fairly similar to life of this world. The idea that 'the soul cannot die' was prevalent in all ages among all the peoples of the earth. This belief, however, led our primitives to honour their dead ancestors by building up mounds and pyramids over their remains. They believed that 'the well-being, prosperity and the very existence of the social group depend upon the good-will of its members, and that these in their turn cannot dispense with the worship and the offerings of their descendants.' They had a firm conviction that the dead began to live with the members of their group who were born into the world and most probably from this idea cropped up the cult of the dead.

The cult of the dead was so much comamong the different races of the world that one is led to think that all men of the past thought in the same way about the life hereafter, although one group was separated from the other by time and space.

In Egypt there was the 'ba' or the animating soul which could be seen at the time of death when it left the 'ka' or the mental aspects of personality in the form bird (the of a human-headed spirit, the highest intelligence). became the centre of the cult of the dead; to a man's 'ka' all offerings were made, and persons ordained to carry on offerings to the dead were called 'servants of the ka'. To the Egyptians 'it is not death by which a man dies'. The body center of the individual soul was preserved with the greatest care. 'It is embalmed and mummified and laid in a coffin and in the tomb were utensils that a living person could possibly need, together with vessels for food and articles.' No! water, weapons and toilet only this—the eyes, mouth, ears and nose of the deceased were to be kept open as he used to do when he was alive. Beside the main body a number of little figures (Ushebtis) were to be buried whose duly was to answer for their client during the judges the presence of Osiris, sitting upon throne In f throne. In fact, 'immortality was fraught

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questioning doubt neither nor for the Egyptian; it was a certainty, which needed no demonstration.' It was interesting aspect of these conceptions that the dead were often to 'become' stars or to be 'merged' into the Sun-god himself, by a kind of multiple incarnation in him. In eastern Australia when important

men died their bodies were mummified. Sometime the corpse was placed on a treestage until the bones were free of all flesh. The aborigines of Australia have also the belief that the soul existing before its incarnation in human form, does not cease to exist after the interment of its temporary embodiment. But in Australia, as in Siberia, we find the strange practice of killing individuals before they arrive at the age of decrepitude in this way those who live get rid of the old for fear that they may become burdensome to the tribe. The Ba Venda of South Africa believes in re-incarnation of souls, especially of ancient chiefs, in lions, leopards and snakes.

The Hopi Indians of Arizona, concentrating particularly on the inhabitants of Third Mesa, also believe in the continuity of life after death. Life in the nether world is pictured by them as a shadow replica of life on earth. The death of an individual is looked upon as a loss to the society. The dead, according to the Hopi, undergoes a change of form only, a form of cloud or 'katcina'. The Navaho Indians, who form the largest remaining group of native Americans, believe that every man has a Dr. Jekyl and a Mr. Hyde in him and after death Mr. Hyde representing the evil in man should be controlled lest he might do something wrong. A son of the Western Amazon would kill his ailing parent, cremate the corpse, mix the ashes with 'chicha' (a kind of native beer) and teverently drink the mixture. thus gets in him the spirit and power of

Shamanism is a religion peculiar to Siberian peoples. The Shamans possess topographical knowledge of the nether world based on the 'cosmological' theory and they thake ecstatic voyages to follow the souls in the bodies the dead and reinstate them in the bodies

which they have just left. The aged and the crippled are killed with the belief that since life in the future world is a continuance of the same kind of existence as in this world, it would be non-judicious to allow the deceased to perpetuate such an impaired condition of life. The Siberians, like Vedic Indians, believe that in times of cremation if the flames go straight upward, the soul of the demised person will reach heaven. The Little Russians believe that the dead are often transformed into pigs and cows and the same belief was shared by the Assyrians, the Babylonians and the Aztecs.

The Eskimos do not fear death for themselves but fear the death of another person. In the Berhing Sea area mourners their nostrils or tie herbs under their noses so that they might prevent contamination from the deceased. Their belief is that if proper purification is not made in funeral observances there is every possibility that the spirit of the dead will be offended and it may send danger as storm and epidemic.

In Greece, the land of the Pythagorean doctrine, the belief is that life with the body is but a penance which little by little purifies the soul. 'A single life-span, even a great many life-spans, are not adequate for this purification'. According to Plato 'three periods of a thousand years each may be required for the process'. The Orphic believed that 'the Wheel of Birth' returns ever upon itself in hopeless repetition. A release of the soul is possible only through divine act of grace. The general belief of the Greeks was that the soul could not enter the Elysium fields until buried. The Minoan-Mycaenian people, like the Egyptians, built magnificent tombs for their chieftains. The altar discovered over the fourth shaft grave of Mycenae, the shrine-temple of Knossus, and the painting on the sacrophagus of Haghia Triada seem to indicate the existence of the cult of the dead in the mainland of Greece. Crete is known as the "classic land of the cave cult". It is difficult to ascertain how this cave-cult originated but possibly its origin lies in the veneration of the dead buried in the caves. 'The vast caves with their splendid roofs could have been

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considered as appropriate about that the which each man's deeds have been record spirit'. The Teutons believed that the which each man's deeds have been record. spirits of the dead if they had been good in life and were faithfully reverenced after death, could bring good fortune to their descendants. The Slavs seemed to think, the soul of a dying person fled out of the window or door in the form of some small creature, such as a bird, or a mouse, or even an insect. Sooner or later the soul of the departed one would begin a long and difficult journey to a bourne or paradise (raji) at the edge of the world, for which it would need food and equipment supplied by or taken from the living.

Among the Cannanites near Cyprus the dead form an important class of luminous beings. In the Ras Shamara texts burial is decribed as "placing remains in the holes of the elim" which indicates clearly that the departed were considered to belong to a special category, much revered by the members of the society. The Hittites regarded the Sun-goddess of the earth as a chthonic deity who is invoked in the ritual of the dead. The Fijians believe that the soul of a famous chief might, after death, enter some young man and stimulate him to perform deeds of valour. Confucius in China identified the immediate disposal of the dead with great virtue and love for superiors. In Iran, under Zoroaster, the belief was that the individual judgment follows shortly after death, and the state of the soul remains fixed thereafter until the general resurrection at the end of the world. Each soul, good or bad, must face judgment at the Bridge of the Separator (the Chinvat Bridge), which spans the abyss of Hell and at its farther end opens on Paradise. The crossing of the Bridge is most dramatically conceived. The righteous, guided by Zoroaster, will have no difficulty; but the evil, already condemned by judges, will find themselves in no case able to go beyond its centre. According to Muhammedan belief, on the day of judgment there will be signs of its imminence; portents, ominous rumblings, strange occur- (As a man, casting off worn-out garments in nature; then the last trumpet at the l rences in nature; then the last trumpet, at taketh new ones, so the dweller entered whose sound the dead will rise, and all souls to the dweller entered whose sound the dead will rise, and all souls body, casting off worn-out bodies, entered will assemble before Alla's judgment three and all souls body. will assemble before Alla's judgment throne into otheris, that ware new.)

considered as 'appropriate abodes of divine During the judgment itself, the books in ed will be read, and eternal judgment will be passed accordingly. The evil souls 'shall make their bed in hell under coverings of fire' while the pious 'shall be in a secure place, amid gardens and fountains."

> In India, although we do not find any indication of belief in the transmigration of souls during the Vedic period, this became an established belief in the 6th century B.C. with the advent of Buddhism. During this period burial and cremation were practised. The doctrine of transmigration was to the Hindus, what the doctrine of Resurrection was to the Christians. According to Sri Dutt "there was nothing more sublime in the literature of the ancient Hindus than the passages in which they record their hope and faith that the disembodied soul, purified of all stains and all sins will at last be received in the Universal Soul, even as light mingles light". The Indian belief is that the dead shall go to Yama, to the fathers and the seers that guard the Sun The Nagas of the North-Eastern India believe in the 'dual existence' of one and the same individual: the fear of the among all Nagas is considerable any relation of them is at the same time here a man, and there a tiger, the animal which is much respected by all the tribes.

> Thus in every part of the world the common belief is that the dead do not die; their souls simply leave one mortal frame and pass into another, till their desire to return is satisfied by periodic incarnations. This universal idea of a life after death has been well expressed in the immortal line addressed by Lord Krishna in the Bhaga vad Gita to Arjuna, the third Pandava, be fore the start of the Great Bharata battle:

Vasamsi jirnani yatha vihaya navani grhnati naroparani Tatha sarirami vihaya jirnanyani samyati navani dehi

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esire to nations. eath has al lines Bhaga. ava, bebattle: yani rani

jani ,22) rments in the entereth Nainam chhindanti sastrani nainam dahati pavakah

chainam kledayantyapo Na shosayati marutah (ii, 23)

(Weapons cleave him not, nor fire burneth him, nor waters wet him, nor wind drieth him away.)

Achhedyoayam adahyoayamkledyo ashosyo eva cha

sthanuracha-Nityah sarvagatah (ii, 24) loayam sanatanah

(He is uncleavable, he is incombustible, and indeed he can neither be wetted nor dried away; he is perpetual, all-pervasive, stable, immovable, ancient.) -:0:-

A MISMANAGED SECTOR IN INDIAN ECONOMY

By SANTOSH CHOUDHURY

In consonance with our declared objective of achieving a rapid Economic development by basic services; over the basic industries; avoiding concentration of Economic power in planners had to ponder over the means by which such rapid advance can be secured. And, it is here that the achievements and capabilities of the public and private enterprises were focussed to the forefront. The success with which both have enworld were considered and the pan of balance, public enterprise. In this connection, the valuable experience gained by Japan, Turkey, France, Mexico, the U.K., the U.S.A., etc., may be menthe simple reason that the public enterprise is the only enterprise that dominates and free enterprise has no choice or place.

Moreover, the provision for social services; the establishment of basic and heavy industries; the mobilisation of savings; the maintenance of Import-Export balance; introducing "innovations"—all these demand the State's initiative. There is, therefore, no controversy that public sector must have supremacy and private sector cannot supplant it during the initial stages of

economic development but can supplement it. Our public enterprises, therefore, must serve us with sincerity. What we must demand from them is the is, therefore, efficiency. And efficiency can grow

The State has acquired monopoly over the the basic institutions of finance; and over certain fewer hands, and on egalatarian grounds, the aspects of trade and commerce. In the services State controls the Railway transport, Shipping and Air. Goods in bulk do not move by air today, but this form of transport is entirely in the hands of the State. The Railways and the Air are the absolute monopoly of the State enterprises. The sured development in the other countries of the Railways constitute the largest organisation of transport and this form of transport has of necesultimately weighed heavier on the side of the sity grown up to this magnitude, as we see today, due to the persistent demand of free enterprise. This form of transport is widely availed of by the free enterprise and specially by those who have tioned. The Communist countries are excluded for to move raw materials and finished goods in bulk. In the matter of allotment of wagons, it is reported that undue preference was shown to the S. T. C., the N.C.D.C. and to such other agencies sponsored by the State. There are instances when wagons were denied to private exporters of ironore while they were supplied to the S.T.C. for moving the goods. Again, wagons were denied to private colliery owners leading to huge stock of coal on the pitheads resulting in less coal supply to privately-owned factories. Another vital form of transport is shipping. Here both the private and the public sectors run India's shipping today. The marked tendency, however, is to spread the State tentacles more and more to cover larger and larger number of routes where private sector has if inefficiencies are weeded out. In the following been plying so long, e.g., in tanker trade a private lines, theref. lines, therefore, some of the inefficiencies and concern sinking a vast amount of capital started concern sinking a vast amount of capital started defects of our public enterprises are given with a to run a tanker on the coast. Despite these pioview to edducating public opinion to demand neering efforts of the private enterprise, efficiency and continuous and opinion to demand neering efforts of about 9 million tons at efficiency and popular control of the property and popular control

sent has recently been reserved for the public sector. One premier private shipping corporation started overseas passenger service at the request of the Union Government and it enhanced the pride and prestige of India. It had to incur losses all along which Government assured to make good. But they did not. And the company had to close the line. The interests of the Indian shipping is also not well looked after. Recently a contract has been concluded with Japan for sale of a million tons of iron-ore and the carriage of this iron-ore was not entrusted to Indian shipping except meagre 15% of the total. And it is presumed that the S. T. C. could have done much more for the Indian shipping rather than direct its powers to drive away the Indian shipowners from legitimate business. This led the Estimates Committee of the Indian Parliament to make the following recommendations:

"Immediate steps may be taken by the Government to ensure necessary co-ordination between the S.T.C. and the Indian shipping lines so that the question of freight is resolved satisfactorily and Indian shipping is enabled to establish itself in the Indian iron-ore trade to the maximum extent possible."

The S. T. C. came into existence on the 18th May, 1956. Its main objectives were :-

1. to expand India's foreign trade particularly with the Communist countries;

2. to maintain a steady price level between supply and demand;

3. to arrange for imports on bulk basis to bridge the gaps between supply and demand.

The object of developing trade with the Communist countries on a Government to Government basis has been changed. The S.T.C. has been allowed to trade in more than thirty commodities. The S. T. C. was given monopoly of the export of iron-ore trade from July, 1957 and individuals and firms were slowly eliminated from the trade which they built at considerable sacrifice. The S. T. C. was entrusted with the internal distribution of cement under the Cement Control Order, 1956. But S.T.C. in utter disregard of the consumers' interests availed of its monopoly and earned "unearned income." Now, Government frowns upon unearned income in other spheres of Economic activity. The subsidy element of Rs. 7/- per ton was included in the selling price which enabled the S. T. C. to

Rs. 4.70 crores as estimated by the Estimates Committee. Besides, S. T. C. earned a further sum of Rs. 4.27 crores from other items included in consumers had to selling price. The double sales tax, once included in the fixed by S. T. C. and the other charged by the selling agents to consumers. The Estimates Committee, therefore, observed as follows:

"The Committee considers it most inappropriate that in addition to the considerable revenue raised by the levy of high excise duty Government should have taken the advantage of its monopoly in raising substantial revenues by fixing high prices for cement. The Committee is of the opinion that if such additional revenue had to be raised it should have been done through specific taxation measure with approval of Parliament and not under executive action by charging high prices for commodities like cement. It recommended that the entire fixation of price of cement be immediately reviewed and the price fixed on the basis of actuals."

The Managnese-ore export fiasco is familiar. The S. T. C. negotiated with an U.S. party for the export and the latter was to pick up the ore from Vizag. But by the time the steamer could call at Vizag, a cable was sent asking the steamer to come to Bombay as the port of call instead of Vizag. This was to gain time to collect the manganeseore which S. T. C. failed to collect, by that time Even when the ship reached Bombay and could obtain accommodation the cargo was not ready. As a result there was a set-back in the Manganese Export from India. The S. T. C's plea for the declining export was steel-strike in America. Estimates Committee, therefore, observed that the total decline in world's trade is of a certain magnitude and the decline in India's export be pro rata. But as against world trade decline of about 24 per cent India's export declined by al most 50 per cent. There were other reasons to behind this decline in export of Manganese-ore

To give an example mentioned in the Audit Report of 1958—depreciated machinery original nally costing Rs. 60 lakhs was hired by Hindus than Steel for a period of less than 3 years for a of Rs. 75 lakhs, Rs. 50 lakhs as rental Rs. 10 lakhs for spares and Rs. 15 lakhs for lahour labour and supervision on repairs. A non-official director profested when the agreement already

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firmation—but it was a voice in the wilderness ive capacity to remain unused. a firm of contractors whose organisation, com- Housing Factory; gelence and technical knowledge to undertake a and the State Collieries. Fork of that magnitude were admittedly inade-Weedless to say, assistance on a massive scale pointing and at considerable cost had perforce to be given though these heroic measures failed to completion within the time stipulated.

equal to their task. It is also well-known that the was without a Chief Engineer for two Konar dam, an important component of D.V.C., largely because the competent authorities constructed at a cost of Rs. 11 crores, and dedi- reluctant to offer an adequate salary and perhaps not so well-known that the production of costs, and waste of public funds."2 steel in the public sector has been delayed by cost and effort."1-

Certain other enterprises have been less successful. Started in an atmosphere of great official optimism and enthusiasm they have run into serious difficulties usually as a result of defective unsolved inefficient methods of administration and bol. Visakhapatnam Shipyard, for instance, which was praised so highly in the Ministry of Productons, Report for 1953, (where exceedingly doubtproduction figures were given) has been able maintain a very low level of production only at the cost of heavy subsidisation by Government. Reporting on it in 1955 the Estimates Committee of Indian Parliament said that its time schedules had been "completely unrealistic", that it had failed to produce any intelligible account of its to produce any intelligible account that it had allowed much of its product-

firmation Audit Report mentioned also a case of 1954-55.) Other State enterprises that have had to (14th Report— The same reason of all capital works costing National I. ment by reason of all capital works costing National Instruments Factory; Hindusthan Anti-Rs. 10 lakhs requiring Government approval) to biotics; Hindusthan Insecticides; The Hindusthan Hindusthan Machine Tools;

It should be remembered, however, that the quate and even whose integrity was in question. Estimates Committee is more concerned with out failures than with registering successes, and that the very fact to the contractor to get the work executed, even the deficiencies of the State enterprises resecure ceives such vigorous discussion, both inside and outside the Parliament, shows that there is a real It is also known "that the ship-building will to improve their efficiency. On the other industry suffered a set-back because of foreign hand, there have been plenty of easily avoidable associates selected were unsuitable and also un- inefficiencies. The D.V.C. authority, for instance, cated to the people of India by the Prime Minis- not decide whether to appoint an Indian or ler has not generated one killowatt of power or American. The results of this delay are "writ irrigated one acre of land; its utility as flood con- large on the work of the corporation-inexpert trol measure is also seriously in question. It is advice, frequent changes of designs, increase in

The findings of the Chagla Enquiry Comover 18 months as a result of indecision on the mission, on the unwise deal of L.I.C. with size of Rourkella Plant. The obvious decision to Mundhra, let loose another spate of strictures hoshave a capacity of million tons was taken only tile not only to the L.I.C. and the Finance Minisafter detailed plans and estimates had been pre- try, but also to the public enterprises of India in pared for a half-million-ton unit at considerable general. The findings aroused public opinion to such magnitude that the Finance Minister had to resign. Failure to discharge responsibilities the part of a Minister is paid for by the Letter of Resignation; while the colossal waste of money of the Exchequer remains unrealised, which subsequently written off as a matter of procedure. But that is not the end of the story. The Profit and Loss of a State concern is the Profit and Loss A/c of every taxpayer and somehow or other the impact of the loss is imposed on the taxpayer to fill the coffers of the State.

Similarly, corruption, nepotism, etc.,—the great modern virtues have degenerated all codes of ethics and moral conduct and the national spirit, the service with which the people were imbibed during Freedom movement, have been given a fine good-bye. Reputed and responsible businessmen-cum-leaders have failed to respond

^{1.} Public Enterprises Chanda, "Industrial India" Annual 1960 Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar CC-0. In Public Domain.

to the need of the Nation. The I.F.C. episode leading to Kripalani Enquiry Committee is a glaring example on this score. Fabulous amounts of loan was granted to an incompetent party for "Glass Industry" and in return the Corporation had to satisfy itself with a structure only, which, it had to sell to a Japanese Party at a considerable amount of loss.

The supply and production of motive power, i.e., coal, oil and electricity is in the hands of the State. More and more collieries are coming under the net of N.C.D.C., the progress of which reported in the last report (2nd Annual Report) was also not up to the pre-determined targets. In matters of oil further extension is reserved for State and Indian Oil Refineries Ltd., has been incorporated to establish two refineries in eastern region, viz., one at Gauhati and another at Barauni. The production and generation electricity on large-scale are in the hands of the State except the distribution in some towns, etc. Atomic energy, another outstanding discovery of our age is completely controlled by State and when becomes a commercial proposition will be a big source of Income. Power is essential for the working of any industry and private enterprise will have to obtain it from the State meeting any formality and the rate imposed charged by the State.

Similarly, finance—the epicentre of business activities is controlled by the State through its own organs. In the money-market of today the Private Institutions are mere tools to be used in the way designed by the State (barring the unorganised sector). The R.B.I., S.B.I., L.I.C. and Industrial Finance Corporations, the major dealers are all State dealers. The tax-squeeze, dividend restrictions, financial directives, price-equalisation, etc., all have told upon the resources of private enterprise and "ploughing back" is insignificant as well as insufficient to set-off the menace of soaring price-levels, of capital goods for the expansion, and for the exploitation of new ideas on an economic scale of operation. Floatation of fabulous amounts of loans for Economic Development; restrictive credit measures, etc., have further dried up the resources for the private while the vigorous campaign for the mobilisation of small savings with numerous techniques varying from plan certificates to Prize Bonds together with Provident Funds, etc.,

the Private Commercial Banks, but have also h grave repercussions on the financial resources the private sector as a whole. It is not unb that a considerable amount of middle-class, ings used to flow directly to the private indi try, while a much larger amount was mobilis by the Commercial Banks and ultimately fed the private sector. Life Insurance premia which a vital source of Industrial Finance (except Statutory Investment of 55 per cent) has merge with the State Pool since Nationalisation. Imper Bank of India, the biggest commercial bank institution of the country has been drawn with the net of Nationalisation with its vast resource Financial Provisions of the Indian Co panies' Act have been tightened. And, above the Credit Squeeze Policy of the R.B.I. (Reser Bank of India) to counteract inflation has go to the extreme. Under the Deposit Impound Scheme any increase in deposits after May, 19 needs to be deposited with the R.B.I. up to extent of 50 per cent. So Banks cannot look deposits for extending their credit-base as belo

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In matters of credit control the R.B.I. pursuing a policy of selective credit controls in vances to various interests like food and various commodities are restricted by fixing quotas advances to Banks or by prescribing heavy magins for these advances. Advances against share restricted to 50 per cent of script values.

All these have cumulatively affected the delopment in public and private sectors. And the Representation of the Scheduled Banks, R.B.I. has reduced the percentage from 50 pcent to 25 per cent of the Deposit Impound Scheme with effect from November 11, 19. This reduction also partially aims at enabling Banks to meet the demands of the busy and the demands arising in the context of Third Plan.³

In matters of raw materials; mining source of primary raw materials is the monot of the State. Coal, iron-ore, manganese, mica, and a host of minerals are input materials of private sector industries. Similarly, agricultary materials like jute, cotton, sugar-cane, rubbetc., are controlled by the State by means of private in the state of the

have not only cut-off the roots of deposits Gullik Kangricolisc Con the roots of deposits Gullik Kangricolisc Con the Public Domain. Gullik Kangricolisc Kon the Relaxed", p. 7.

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And, lastly, vast amounts of power are concentrated in the hands of the State through the control of capital issues, licensing, fixing location, appointing Directors or Managing Directors and Managing Agents by the Companies' Act and the Industrial Development and Regulations Act,

The picture appears to be utterly dismal at the first instance. But we have not used as yet half the canvas available to us for drawing full picture of the scene.

If the State has assumed monopoly over motive power by reserving the respective industries to it, it has not devloped any power for misuse, as is usual with the handful of magnates of private enterprise. The damage done to the Coal Mining Industry of India by fragmentary holdings, non-mechanised workings, absence of safety arrangements and Labour Welfare is well-known. While the black diamonds filled the coffers of the owners-in-air-conditioned-luxury, the labourers went unfed and dragged a miserable existence. Absence of adequate and proper safety arrangements has on one hand taken the toll of large numbers of lives, while on the other is responsible for the colossal waste of national wealth through big fires. Non-mechanised mines mean non-application of capital. The bulk of profits thus saved were used to spread the tentacles of the owners towards more and more lucrative enterprises. How many of them were conscious

of price-fixation, or additional about the needs of the Nation; about the co-ordinated economic levels about the co-ordinated economic levels about the co-ordinated economic levels. by means etc. Instances are not rare when nated economic base for furtherance of the econobey of subsidiary of raw materials have in- mic lot of the people, when ample means to do so the price-manuscript of the respective indus- was available with them. In the development and ries and have militated against their competi- use of motive power, India remained lowest, tries and hoth in internal and international which it may be mentioned, is an index of economobilis fire strong in the markets. Fixation of coal and sugar-cane prices mic advance. Besides, it is an admitted fact that such projects and projects are less than admitted fact that enterprise, which, however, is never admitted while subjecting the State to severe criticism. Foreign domination is also sometimes pointed out as a factor of hindrance, but if Tisco could come out with creative impetus others could also come out successful.

> Lapses of a like nature on the part of the public enterprises can be multiplied. But let us not forget that we had many a fall before we walked, and, in experiments success is never a cent per cent guarantee. Besides, failures of even greater magnitude have occurred in other countries. And the Government are fully aware that the root of all these lapses is inefficient Management. Government have therefore taken up the scheme of Industrial Management Pool and are sincerely trying to train up the right type of personnel at considerable cost.

Let not the State's sincere attempts, therefore, be misconceived or misconstrued. Criticism is healthy so far it is impartial and unbiased, and ventilates a genuine spirit of national aspiration. Let us, therefore, not be contemptuous on the description of actions, but feel the spirit behind them. The happiest feature, however, is that failures have not been able to breed in us the spirit of pessimism and we are ready to court hardship of even greater magnitude to prove our case that rapid economic advance is possible within the framework of Democracy.



THE CONGO STORY*

Thirteen Days That Shook The Land

By CHANAKYA SEN

midnight on June 30, was hardly a political weak rather than when it was strong, entity. A conglomeration of political parties had emerged to share power, and against a nascent nationalist consciousness was pitted the colossus of tribal sentiments and all sorts of personal and group interests. Economically, the country was on the verge of bankruptcy. Belgian capital had been fleeing the Congo ever since the talk independence was in the air and the national budget was faced with an enormous deficit.

The country was without the rudiments trained administrative personnel. As we have seen, the Belgians had deliberately denied the Congolese higher education. The whole country could claim no more than a dozen graduates and there was not a single Congolese who was holding a senior administrative post. The medical services were almost entirely run by Belgian doctors; education was a monopoly of the Catholic Church; trade and business was in the hands of Belgian capitalists and their European and American collaborators. The Force Publique, the Congopurposes, was completely officered by Belgians. ways, mines and other natural resources; there The majority of political leaders had not learnt should, however, be no to think in terms of national unity or national adequate safeguards and equitable compensation integrity; they naturally placed a higher premium All semi-public organizations should come under on personal power and influence than on evolution of the Congo into a national state.

independence upon a weak, divided and bewil- must not interfere in public affairs. But the interdered nation because, in the first instance, it did ests not know how to continue to rule the Congo once safeguarded and it was

THE Congo which was declared independent at to dominate the Congo indirectly when it was

In April, 1960, an Economic Conference Was held in Brussels attended by representatives of Belgium and the Congo. The economic fourdation of the new Congo state was laid at this Conference. The Congolese delegation did no include the most prominent political personalities and the recommendations of the Conference were later denounced by the leaders who formed the first government of Independent Congo. Nevertheless, these recommendations give a clue to Belgian thinking. The Belgian Government agreed to advance sizable credits to cover the Congo's external budget deficit; it offered financial aid for specific purposes in agreement with the Congolese Government. Resolutions were adopted on economic and social co-operation between Belgium and the Congo and it was stipulated that the economy of independent Congo would be incorporated with that of Belgium. The Belgian Government agreed to consider the voluntary transfer to the Congolese Government of all rights lese army trained by Belgians for imperial acquired during the imperial period over railexpropriation without the the authority of the Congolese Government should, threfore, move their headquarters to the The Belgian Government decided to impose Congo and private undertakings in the Congo of these undertakings were agreed that favourable the foundation of Belgian rule had collapsed, conditions would be created to encourage Belgian and secondly it coloubted that it and secondly, it calculated that it would be easier and other foreign capital to return to Congo for This was the economic profitable investment. Congo the Belgian

Elections for the Chamber of Representatives vincial parliaments. These legislative bodies sub-

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^{*} This is the third instalment of Chanakya Sen's article on the Congo. It traces the Congo's Government had visualized. the country's urgent help for UN military assistance. In the next article, the writer will the Lower House of the future Congolest review the role plant of the writer will the Lower House of the future Congolest Age. review the role played by the big powers, Parliament, took place in the month of Mayespecially, the United States and the Company of Mayespecial of Maye especially, the United States and the Soviet Union, Concurrently elections were held for the six proin the affairs of the Congo.

of voters.

There was no doubt that in the main cities, and especially in Katanga province, the powerful Belgian business houses and the Catholic Church intervened in the elections on the side of those personalities and political parties inclined favourably towards Belgium.

The Belgian Government did not, however, depend entirely on the Governor-General safeguard Belgian interests in the Congo. May 16, it took the unusual step of appointing M. Walter Ganshof van der Meersch as Belgian Minister for General Affairs in Africa to reside in Congo; his responsibility was to supervise Administration of the Congo till the achievement of independence and he was given the rank Cabinet Minister. Thus three Ministers of the Belgian Cabinet were entrusted to look after Belgian interests in the Congo: the other two were M. de Schryver, Minister for the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, and M. Scheyven. On the same day the Belgian Government sent troop reinforcements to the Congo on the plea of maintaining peace and order during the elections. M. Van der Meersch was later accused by the Congolese nationalist leaders of playing a prominent part in the disorders which broke out in the country after the elections and for the difficulties that came in the way of forming the first national Cabinet of the Congo.

When the announced, the Belgian authorities were diselection agreeably surprised. The Congolese National Movement led by Mr. Patrice Lumumba emerged as the single largest party in the Chamber of Representatives with forty-one out of one-hundred and thirty-seven seats. It was also the only features of the Parliamentary election was the the two Vice-Presidencies.

sequently elected the members of the National the failure of the Abako Party of Mr. Kasavubu Before and during the elections there to claim not more than twelve. In the Senate also Senate. Outbreak of disorder and violence in Mr. Lumumba's party emerged as the strongest was an outroof the Congo and a state of emer-single party. Mr. Lumumba's over-all position, gency was frequently declared over various areas. however, was extremely weak. The best that he The nationalist parties blamed the Belgian could hope for was to head a Coalition Govern-Covernor-General, M. Cornelis, for instigating the ment and this task became extremely difficult disorders and for trying to influence the choice because of the existence of too many political groups and the inter-play of too many political ambitions.

At a news conference in Leopoldville on June 2, Mr. Lumumba alleged that Belgian officials were trying to create a coalition of lesser parties to prevent him from becoming Prime Minister. He demanded the immediate withdrawal of all Belgian troops from the Congo and the immediate recall of Van der Meersch. this stage, Mr. Lumumba personally favoured a presidential system of government for the Congo and he suggested that the Head of Government be appointed from the largest single party, the appointment to be confirmed later by national referendum. Obviously, the spectacle of too many political parties manoeuvring for power vinced him that the Congo was not fit for the parliamentary system of government that existed in Belgium or in Britain. His position, however, was not so strong as he could carry the country with him.

Cabinet-making presented unusual complications both at the Centre and in the provincial capitals. In each province politicians who could not claim adequate support in the legislative assemblies refused to co-operate with the leaders of the majority parties. In Katanga the minority party walked out of two parliamentary sessions thus preventing the two-thirds quorum required by the provincial assembly to meet. At the Centre the Belgians at first tried to play Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Kasavubu against each other. Both were invited "to attempt" to form a government; and the Governor-General and M. Van der Meersch made no secret of their sympathies for Mr. Kasavubu. Mr. Kasavubu was encouraged to political party to hold seats in all the six proparty led by Mr. Lumumba. Ultimately, howvincial party to hold seats in all the six proparty led by Mr. Eumannes. On the Eastern D. dominating the parliament in ever, the choice was decided by Parliament. On the Eastern Province and controlling a third of June 21, the Chamber of Representatives elected the total seats in Kasai. Two other remarkable supporters of Mr. Lumumba to its Presidency and the two Vice-Presidencies. Shortly afterwards, failure of the Parliamentary election was the the two Vice-Presidencies. Shortly Mr. Moise Television Television of Katanga, led by M. Van der Meersch relieved Mr. Kasavubu of the Conakat Party of Katanga, led by M. Van der Meersch relieved Mr. Kasavubu of the Lask of the Conakat Party of Katanga, led by M. Van der Meersch relieved Mr. Kasavubu of the Lask of the Conakat Party of Katanga, led by M. Van der Meersch relieved Mr. Kasavubu of the Conakat Party of Katanga, led by M. Van der Meersch relieved Mr. Kasavubu of the Conakat Party of Katanga, led by M. Van der Meersch relieved Mr. Kasavubu of the Conakat Party of Katanga, led by M. Van der Meersch relieved Mr. Kasavubu of the Conakat Party of Katanga, led by M. Van der Meersch relieved Mr. Kasavubu of the Conakat Party of Katanga, led by M. Van der Meersch relieved Mr. Kasavubu of the Conakat Party of Katanga, led by M. Van der Meersch relieved Mr. Kasavubu of the Conakat Party of Katanga, led by M. Van der Meersch relieved Mr. Van Mr. Moise Tshombe, to secure a single maninard ruth Katask confettor minguage chabinet and invited Mr.

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Kasavubu was elected President of the Sanate on the Cabinet System, the Prime Miniser bein 5, after June 22, although two candidates sponsored by responsible to Parliament. The emergency power had de Mr. Lumumba won the Vice-Presidencies.

Cabinet. Initially it had no representatives of the checks and blances were provided for so the apparate Abako Party but later in the day he accepted neither the President nor the Prime Minister higher Mr. Kasavubu's offer of collaboration and Abako could remove each other from office without members were named in the final list. The Cabinet clear mandate from Parliament. Parliament WE won a vote of confidence in the Chamber of thus made the supreme sovereign body. The shout I Representatives early on the following day with Constitution was to be in force until the Congresion 74 votes in favour, one against and five absten- lese people could write a new one. The Treat tions. The other fifty-seven deputies had walked of Friendship and Co-operation between the out before the voting after a motion of no-con- Congo and Belgium was signed in Leopoldvil fidence moved by them had been ruled out of on June 29, by Belgian and Congolese representations order. On the same day the Senate voted con- tatives. It required parliamentary ratification the Government by sixty votes to both countries before it could come into force twelve with eight abstentions.

including the Prime Minister who also held the order throughout the country. The breakawa Defence portfolio. It was naturally a coalition group of Mr. Lumumba's party headed by M of various parties. The Finance portfolio was Kalonji organized a demonstration in Leopole given to the Abako Party and Foreign Affairs ville. Mr. Kalonji demanded three portfolios to went to the Union Mongo. Virtually all the his party and the immediate setting up of a political groups in Parliament, except the breakaway wing of the Congolese National Movement, A more serious threat to were represented in the Cabinet. By a compromise Central Government came from Katanga, what between Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Kasavubu, the Mr. latter was elected Head of State by the two concern" over the composition of the Central Houses on June 24. He obtained one hundred Cabinet. It was widely believed even at the and fifty-nine votes to forty-three for the only stage that Mr. Tshombe had the support other candidate, who was orginally sponsored by Belgian business interests in Katanga. Mr. Lumumba but this support was later with- had already spread that Tshombe was content drawn in view of the Abako's entry into the plating in terms of secession and of appealing Government. Mr. Kasavubu was sworn in as the Government of the Central African Federalic President of the Republic on June 27. The for military help. The Belgian authorities parliamentary ceremony was attended by the Brussels were at this stage opposed to Katanga Belgian Foreign Minister, M. Pierre Wigny, as secession, but local business interests viewed well as by M. de Schryver and M. Van der proposal with sympathy and Tshombe who Meersch.

tution of the new State had been signed by King plans. Baudouin after it had been unanimously approved by the Belgian Chamber of Representatives and to deal with these fissiparous tendencies by the Senate. It was passed in the first passed in the fi by the Senate. It was passed in the form of a mutinies broke out in the night of July 5-6, and Belgian Basic Law replacing the Color of Belgian Basic Law replacing the Colonial Charter the soldiers of the Congolese Force Public of 1908. The Law closely followed the Congolese Force Public Pub of 1908. The Law closely followed the decisions The trouble began at Thysville, south-west of the Brussels Conference in the decisions of the Congolese Force and the conference in the decisions of the Congolese Force and the congolese For of the Brussels Conference including provision Leopoldville, and in a military camp outside for the signature of a treaty of first living and the conference including provision of the signature of a treaty of first living and the conference of th for the signature of a treaty of friendship and Capital. At first there was co-operation with Belgium and of agreements for between tribesmen; soon the trouble spread co-operation with the Relgium Trust To co-operation with the Belgian Trust Territory of there were clashes between Ruanda-Urundi. The system irofungio variante Aureku Kpodiit tallection Hardwar Congolese

Lumumba to undertake it. A supporter of Mr. visaged in the Constitution was what is known. given to the President could be used only in the On June 23, Mr. Lumumba formed his first event of a break-down of the Constitution. Certain these s

The formation of Mr. Lumumba's Cabina The Cabinet included twenty-six members however, did not immediately restore law at autonomous Baluba State in the Kasai province Moise Tshombe expressed his grown up as an agent of Belgian Big Busines Earlier, on June 19, the Provisional Consti- was given sufficient funds to go ahead with

The new Government had hardly the supporters of ri soldiers held

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about Congolese atrocities against European But the Congolese soldiers did attack a large number of Europeans, plundered homes, hospitals and churches and looted considerable European property. At many places the European population was besieged and their life was at stake. Wild rumours flew all over the land and vast streams of European refugees created emotional as well as administrative problems. From the very day the mutiny broke out Mr. Lumumba threw himself into the thick of the revolt and tried his best to pacify the men. Wherever he was able to address the men personally things immediately improved, but the Congo is a vast country and an improvement at one place was offset by a deterioration in another. Almost all the principal towns and Belgian Commander-in-Chief to dismiss the Belgian General. Lundula was appointed Commander of the new Belgian Army had the rank of Colonel.

Congolese Government to bring the situation patch of Belgian reinforcement to the Congo. ander control. On July 6, Belgian forces throughout the Congo were placed in a state of dence of Katanga. He Brussels, where the Belgian meeting and decided to

known assembly near Leopoldville on the night of July companies of troops from Western Germany to the known assembly near an experiment that the Prime Minister Congo at once. On July 9, when Leopoldville 5, after they had to appoint a number of Belgian was reported to cy powe had decided to appoint a number of Belgian was reported to be relatively calm, Mr. Lumumba cy power had decided to be relatively calm, Mr. Lumumba ally in the officers to his staff. The soldiers resented not only said in a statement that the major portion of m. Certa these specific appointments but also the entire the blame for the disturbances lay with General so the apparatus of the Force Publique in which the Janssens, the dismissed Belgian Commander-inso the apparatus of the congolese was that of a congolese Army, and certain other vithout lighest office held by a Congolese was that of a officers who had resisted and ignored the need The General, Mr. Lumumba added, had "set himself up In the next few days the mutiny spread over against the Government" despite the Prime he Treat wide areas and there were many gruesome reports Minister's attempt "to reason with him". He was afraid that the disturbances had been instigated civilian population. Reports of large-scale rape by persons who were determined to discredit were, however, subsequently found to be baseless. the first government of independent Congo and he assured the European population of safety and security in the country. Mr. Lumumba's charge against General Janssens was not entirely without foundation. When several days later the Belgian Chamber was debating the situation in the Congo, General Janssens himself arrived in Brussels from Brazzaville. He dramatically saluted the statue of King Leopold II and shouted, "Sire, they have tricked you out of it (Congo)." He frankly told newspapermen that his only hope was that he would be sent to Katanga as soon as possible because "my task is not finished".

The Belgian Government sent M. Schryver and M. Van der Meersch to the Congo to try to establish direct contact with the Congolese many of the interior Government. When they arrived in Leopoldville areas were affected by the mutinies. Mr. both Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Kasavubu were away Lumumba who was joined by Mr. Kasavubu in on their pacification mission. They conferred his pacifying mission repeatedly blamed the with other members of the Government and also of the Force with Belgian military and civilian Rublique for fomenting trouble and one of the Almost every day fresh Belgian troops were first steps he took to pacify the mutineers was being brought into the Congo. Mr. Lumumba Mr. Victor declared in a broadcast on July 10, that the intervened without Congolese Army with the rank of General and approval of the Congolese Government and as Mr. Joseph Mobutu was made Chief of Staff with such this was a violation of the Congo's sovereignty as well as the treaty with Belgium. He The Belgian authorities did not wait for the protested "most energetically" against the des-

On July 11, Tshombe declared the indepenalert and some Belgian troop movements were Government of being dominated by "communist in I some Belgian troop movements were Government of being dominated by "the bis holiday of the whole military and civil his holiday in France to return immediately to disintegration of the whole military and civil send two which is driving out our Belgian collaborators,"

communist countries. added, would be "total"; but in view of "the higher ranks and asserted that after the break imperative necessity of economic collaboration down of the Force Publique the General has invested and the control of the cont with Belgium" he was asking for Belgian assis- written a letter to Mr. Lumumba "in bruk tance, military as well as economic. Earlier in terms of a sort that no minister in any country the day, he had appointed a Belgian officer in can tolerate on the part of a military officer." command of his armed forces and police.

Tshombe's proclamation created a considerable stir in London, particularly because the Katanga Premier had also hinted that he was asking for troops from Southern Rhodesia. The Katanga province of the Congo is adjacent to It is extremely rich in Southern Rhodesia. minerals, especially copper, and, it contributes more than sixty per cent of the Congo's annual revenues. Even before the Congo independence an officially inspired suggestion had come from Southern Rhodesia that Katanga with the Central African merge Federation. Tshombe's declaration of "indepenthe sympathy of the Prime evoked Minister of the Central African Federation, Sir Roy Welensky, as well as of the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Sir Edger Whitehead. In London, however, the Government took a very cautious view of the situation and made it clear that no troops were being sent from Southern Rhodesia to Katanga. The Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, said in a statement, "a request for military assistance was made yesterday (July 10) by Mr. Tshombe to our Consul at Elizabethville. Mr. Tshombe has been informed that in the circumstances of the case it would Lumumba had appealed to the United Nations for not be possible for troops to be sent in at the despatch of military specialists to assist in request of an authority other than the lawfully re-organization of the Congolese military force constituted Central Government. Sir Roy Welen- The appeal was routed through Dr. Ralph Burds sky has made a statement which follows the same United Nations Under-Secretary who had arrived lines."

Brussels, the Belgian Chamber Representatives met in a special session on July Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjoeld, returned like the development is in a special session of July Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjoeld, returned like the development is in a special session of July Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjoeld, returned like the development is in a special session of July Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjoeld, returned like the development is a special session of July Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjoeld, returned like the development is a special session of July Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjoeld, returned like the development is a special session of July Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjoeld, returned like the development is a special session of the secretary-General sessi II, to debate the developments in the Congo. The to New York at once from Geneva cancelling. Belgian troops had been "compelled" to intervene conferred with the U.N. delegates of nine Africa. Un july Africa in the Congo to "save lives" II. in the Congo to "save lives." His Government states to discuss possible assistance to the fully recognized and respected the intervence conterred with the U.N. delegates of nine fully recognized and respected the intervence conterred with the U.N. delegates of nine fully recognized and respected the intervence conterred with the U.N. delegates of nine fully recognized and respected the intervence conterred with the U.N. delegates of nine fully recognized and respected the intervence conterred with the U.N. delegates of nine fully recognized and respected the intervence conterred with the U.N. delegates of nine fully recognized and respected the intervence conterred with the U.N. delegates of nine fully recognized and respected the intervence conterred with the U.N. delegates of nine fully recognized and respected the intervence contervence conten fully recognized and respected the independence and afterwards announced his decision to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the Congo but had been found by the condition to set of the co of the Congo but had been faced by the duty of a saving the lives of Belgian subjects and had under a United Nations representative. chosen this course. ever, was criticized by the leader of the Socialist consideration would be given to "matters of Party, who particularly condensed it Party, who particularly condemned the conduct urgency," and the arrangements of General Janssens. The leader of the Christian within the Arrangements Would CC-0. In Public Domain. Guilkul Kangn Collection, Hailandar Nations Technical Assistant

with the aim of replacing them by advisers from Social group also accused the General of faller Independence, Tshombe to speed up the promotion of Congolese

The Belgian Government, however, won vote of confidence from the Chamber. In view to Tshombel the international reaction offer recognition manoeuvre it did not Katanga's independence. During a debate in the Senate the Prime Minister declared on July 12 "Legally Belgium cannot recognize the independence of Katanga in the present circumstance but the Congo is independent and can obvious modify the Basic Law which we gave her, may evolve towards a federal or pre-federa constitution. We cannot get ourselves involve in this but here is a Government (Government of Tshombe) which seems to taking decisions in certain fields, has a parlie mentary majority, and is trying to re-establish order. I prefer the presence of such a Govern ment to anarchy as the Communists want."

Thus, although the Belgian Government di not immediately recognize Katanga's indepen dence, it made no secret of its sympathy for the open encouragement move and it gave tendencies towards a federal or pre-federal con stitution in the Congo, that is, the break-up the unitary state.

On July 11, it was first learnt that M Leopoldville to attend the independence celebrate of tions and had stayed on. The United National Assistance Office in Government's policy, how- Hammarskjoeld said that the idea was that the leader of the Social in the leader of the

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Programme—"more especially the programme Government for the immediate for assistance in public administration."

military situation in the Congo continued to deteriorate and there were widespread clashes Schryver and M. Van der Meersch visited Katanga after their talks in Leopoldville and with their lacit approval Belgian commanders set up a military organization of their own to conduct the operations and also to airlift refugees from various centres. On July 12, the aircraft carrying Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Lumumba was refused permission to land at Elizabethville airport. The movement for Katanga's independence continued but the unfavourable international reaction had a brief sobering effect on Tshombe who declared on July 12, that his earlier statement had been "misunderstood" and that the first preoccupation of the Government was to restore order leaving the political future of the province to be decided later by the Government as well as the Provincial Assembly.

During the night of July 12-13, the Congolese President and the Prime Minister sent joint demand to the Belgian military authorities that all Belgian troops be withdrawn to their bases within two hours; they assured that the Congolese forces would guarantee the safety of Belgian nationals. This demand was rejected by the Belgian Command and on July 13, Belgian troops entered Leopoldville without resistance. In the afternoon of the same day the Congolese Minister of Information told a session of the Chamber that a "state of war" now existed between the Congo and Belgium and that the Congo would have to fight either by its own means or by calling-in help from other countries. Mr. Lumumba had even earlier threatened ask the Soviet Union for military assistance and was accused on this ground of harbouring procommunist sympathies. The fact of the matter was that in the confused state of affairs the Congolese Government was merely groping for strength to deal with mounting disorder and

When Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Kasavubu Were away from their capital, the Congolese Covernment had held a meeting in Leopoldville on July 12, in the presence of the two Belgian Ministers and decided to ask the United States

despatch "about three thousand troops" to help restore Mr. Hammarskjoeld made no specific re- order in the Upper Congo. This request was Mr. In the Copper congo. This request was ference to military assistance of any kind. The immediately transmitted to Washington by the rejected by the American Government. President deteriorate Belgian and Congolese troops. M. de Eisenhower's press secretary announced that the United States Government believed that "such military assistance would be better for the Congo if it did not come from the United States or any of the Western nations." He pointed out that an appeal from the Congo Government had already gone to the United Nations and in these circumstances "the United States is certainly not going to act unilaterally."

On the following day the Congolese Cabinet decided to appeal to Ghana for immediate military help following an offer already made by Information The Ghana Government. Minister read a telegram to correspondents which had been received from Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Lumumba stating that the Government had at no time asked for American troops but that wanted military help from the smaller members of the United Nations, and the purpose for which this help was sought was not to restore order in the Congo but to drive out the Belgian forces.

Details of the telegram sent by Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Lumumba asking for U.N. military assistance were given to the Press on July 13. The telegram said, that the Belgians in the Congo had acted in violation of the Treaty of Friendship which had laid down that Belgian troops could intervene only at the express request of the Congolese Government. No such request was made and the Belgian action, therefore, constituted an act of aggression against the Congo. The telegram said, "the real cause of most of the disorder lies in colonial provocations. We accuse the Belgian Government of having minutely prepared the secession of Katanga in order to preserve its our country. The overwhelming power over majority of the Katanga people is opposed to secession. Our request for military aid is aimed at the vital protection of the Congolese national territory against the present foreign aggression which threatens international peace. We strongly emphasize the extreme urgent necessity of sending United Nations troops to the Congo."

By this time the Congo had become a firstrate international problem. There was little doubt that the Belgian Government was in sympathy

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with Katanga's proposed secession and that it returned from the Congo and later declared the had decided to intervene militarily or other- it was unable to accede to the Congolese demand wise in the affairs of the Congo taking the for the withdrawal of Belgian troops. In Katanga opportunity of the chaotic conditions prevailing Tshombe stated that there was no question all over the country and the impotence of the retracing his "declaration of independence." Government to deal with them. The Western powers were at first hesitating about the despatch with its first official statement on the Congo on of a U.N. force to the Congo but were perturbed July 13. The Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko by the possibility of Soviet intervention at the called a press conference and presented a Note request of the Congolese Government. The which accused Belgium and the other Western Belgian military action in the Congo enraged powers of aggression against the Congo. The African nationalist sentiment all over the statement blamed the United States, Britain and continent and the Ghana Government came for- France for encouraging the Belgian Government ward with an offer of immediate military help to stage a military come-back in the Congo and to the Congolese Government to enable it to alleged that the United States had decided to resist Belgian operations. The Ghana statement send troops from Western Germany to the aid which reflected the general consensus of African of Belgian soldiers operating in that country, opinion added, however, that the present difficul- The Soviet statement urged immediate United ties in the Congo should be resolved primarily Nations steps to put an end to the aggression in through the efforts of the independent African the Congo, but said nothing about unilateral states within the framework of the United help being rendered to the Congolese Government Nations machinery. "Intervention by powers from outside the African continent is likely to urgent session of the Security Council to discuss increase rather than lessen tension."

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In Moscow the Soviet Government came out

In New York, Mr. Hammarskjoeld called an the request of the Congo Government for United The Belgian Cabinet which met in an Nations military assistance. The Council met al emergency session in Brussels on July 13, heard 8.30 p.m. on July 13. From now on the Congo reports from the two Ministers who had just became the charge of the United Nations. --:0:----

ON THE KSHATRIYA AUTHORSHIP OF 'BRAHMAVIDYA

By NAREN BHATTACHARYYA

In the Upanishads we find the first spark that Kings were patrons of Brahmins, also of revolt headed by the Kshatriyas against holds that primarily the mechanical sacerdotalism of the priestly "represent a spirit different from and even class. According to Dr. Radhakrishnan hostile to ritual and embody a theory of "the advance of the Upanihads on the Vedas consists in an increased emphasis of the that underlies the sacrificial theories of the monistic suggestions of the Vedic hymns, a shifting from the centre, from the outer to Upanishads, though originated among the ternalism of the Vedic practices and the ex
Brahmins, and that the doctrines the the inner world, a protest against the ex
Brahmins, were first welcomed by the ternalism of the Vedic practices and the triangle ridge. difference to the sacredness of the William in- Kshatriyas rather than by the ritual ridden difference to the sacredness of the Vedas." section of the M. Hiriyanna, who asserts that the promi-nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen, who may be described as all nence given to the Kehetriyan in the Paul Deussen in the nence given to the Kshatriyas in the Upani-shads after all mean nothing man be described that authority on the Upanishads, suggests that

the Upanishads the universe quite distinct from the one doctrines of the Brahmins, and that the shads after all mean nothing more than "the conceptions of the Upanishads though

^{1.} Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, pp. 143-44.

^{2.} Hiriyanna, Outlines of Indian Philoso phy, p. 48..

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they may were fostered primarily among the been in accord with the facts.8 Kshatriyas and not within Brahmin Circles,"3 and that the doctrine of the Atman as the first principle of the Universe was fostered and progressively developed by the Kshatriyas in opposition to the principles of the Brahmanical ritual.4 He quotes numerous passages to prove the fact that the warrior caste was closely connected with the intellectual life and literary activity of ancient times, that kings or warriors were in possession of the highest knowledge and that Brahmanas used to go to them for instructions.5 Winternitz also supplies a lot of examples to prove the fact that "while the Brahmanas were pursuing their barren sacrificial science other circles were already engaged upon those highest questions which were at least treated so admirably in the Upanishads."6 According to donell the Upanishads really represent a new religion which is in virtual opposition to the ritual or practical side.7 It would seem, therefore, that the characteristic central doctrine of the Upanishads, the doctrine of the Brahman or the Atman was at first developed and systematized within Kshatriya circles and at the court of kings. The Brahmana on the other hand occupied himself almost exclusively with the ritual and only later adopted a doctrine of the universe which had been formulated by others, but which harmonized with his modes of thought, and put himself readily to his schemes for the establishment of his own predominance on the basis of the secret or superior knowledge. These ferences to a Kshatriya monopoly of the highest knowledge, imparted by kings to Brahmanas at their request, have been preserved and handed Brahman literary school, down with the seem improbable that such statements would

they may have originated with the Brah- have been allowed to pass if they had not

Thus we find that though after the rise of Brahmanas as an intellectual class, there had been a difference between the Pen and the Sword in the beginning, yet, in the long run, the Kshatriyas not only rivalled the Brahmanas in the field of intellectualism but also faced the Brahmanas, higher philosopihies, and even made the Brahmanas their disciples, simply due to the fact that the complexity in ritualism made by the Brahmanas created a coercive sterilization in intellectualism, and reaction against Brahmanism primarily expressed itself through the denial of Brahmanical supremacy in society which reared its head even in some of the Brahmanical literature where it is stated that the Kshatriyas are superior to the Brahmanas⁹ because the latter receives gift, drinks soma and is subject to be driven away king from his kingdom.10 The supremacy of the Brahmanas is mercilessly challenged in the Buddhist literature and in a passage of the Digha Nikaya Gautama the Buddha, after refuting the arguments of Ambattha, states: "Thus, O Ambattha, a Kshatriya, whether a male or a female, is superior to a Brahmana¹¹.....Even if a Kshatriya be degraded to the extreme he is superior to a Brahmana¹².....O Ambattha, the Brahmana Paush-Karasseti accepts the offered to him by the King Prasenajit. He is not allowed to appear before the King of Kosala; even, when the king consults with him he has to stay behind the curtain."13

against Brahmanism Reaction culture of intellect by the Kshatriyas began to work as early as the age of the Brahmanical literature. The story of King Janaka in the Satapatha Brahman can be

^{3.} Deussen, The Philosophy of the Upanishads, p. 17.

^{4.} Ibid, p. 20.

^{5.} Ibid, pp. 16-22.

^{6.} Winternitz, History of Indian Literature I, pp. 225-31.

^{7.} Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 218.

^{8.} Geden, Encyclopaedia of Religion Ethics, pp. 545-46.

Kathaka Samhita XXVIII, 5. 9.

^{10.} Aitareya Brahmana VII, 29.

Digha Nikaya-I, 3, 26. 11.

Ibid, I, 3, 27. 12.

Ibid, I, 3, 34. 13.

referred to in support of this hypothesis.14 Here, three Brahmana priests, Svetaketu, Somasushama and Yajnavalkya openly exceptions here and there, entirely anta among confess that they are unable to overcome King Janaka, in theological debate. Even Yajnavalkya wants to offer himself to be instructed by King Janaka. In the Kena Upanishad we find that Indra was the first among the gods to know Brahmana.15 Indra is represented in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad as a Kshatriya god.16 This clearly suggests that the Kshatriyas were the first to propound the philosophy of Brahmavidya. The same passage of Brihadaranyaka Upanisad proclaims that Prajapati has placed the Kshatriya like Indra, Varuna, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Mrityu and Isana to the highest rank and hence the Kshatriyas are the highest of all; for this reason in the Rajasuya the Brahmana takes the lower seat and worships the king; 17 he surrenders his Brahmanical fame before the Kshatriya.18 Even N. K. Dutta, for whom it is difficult to believe that the Kshatriyas created the science of philosophy as a revolt against the sacrificial ritualism of the Brahmanas, admits, after quoting the said verse of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, that "as matter of fact the Kshatriya authorship of some of the philosophical texts was not a courtesy title, but was too real to be possible of oblivion even in later tradition."15

Indeed, the insufficiency of the priestly culture quickened the intellectual movement which was to a considerable extent sponsored by the Kshatriyas. Dr. Belvalkar, who hesitates to give the Kshatriyas their due credit, admits that the priestly ratiocinations, just because they had a very limited scope and did not go far and rooted in the Upanishads.24 Dr. Radakrish deep enough, were not accordingly capable nan thinks that early Buddhism is any longer of fully satisfying that thirst for knowledge which they themselves had

engendered.20 According to Prof. Ranad restat "the spirit of Upanishad is, barring a fer gonistic to the sacrificial doctrine of the two of Brahmanas.21 Dr. Dasgupta thinks that and t "from the frequent episodes in the Upani Buddh shads in which the Brahmanas are descenem cribed as having gone to the Kshatriya aranya for the highest knowledge of Philosophy ancien as well as from the disparateness of the the U Upanishad teachings from that of the vidya general doctrines of the Brahmanas and account from the allusions to the existence philosophical speculations amongst the mention people in the Pali works, it may be infer what I ed that among the Kshatriyas in genera that " there existed an important influence in the change

formation of the Upanishad doctrine."22

The authorship of Brahmavidya wall once a subject of keen controversy amon intelle the scholars. Garbe, Deussen and Rhy Davids strongly hold that the Upanishad Kshatz are in general Kshatriyite. Their views an Here v challenged by Oldenberg and Keith whi is an think that no stamped authorship of any the Br sect can be attributed to the Upanishad nishad and that there is no ground to prove the hand, Kshatriya authorship of the Brahmavidya an est royal patronage should not be misinterpre ties, w ted as royal authorship. As to the first it may be suggested that influence of som of the Upanishads cannot at all be denie on Buddhism and its contemporary philo Nalinaksha sophical creeds. Dr. while dealing with Ekaccassatavada indiof the cates at the influence on the said Cosmogonical speculations observes that there theory.²³ Bloomfield is no important form of Hindu thought heterodox Buddhism included, which is not hard

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Satapatha Brahmana XI, 6, 2-3; cf., XI, 14. 3, 2-4.

^{15.} Kena III and IV.

^{16.} Brihad I, 4, 11.

^{17.} Brahmanah Adhastat Kshatriyam Upaste.

^{18.} Kshatre eva tat Yasah Dadhati.

^{19.} Dutta, Origin and Growth of Caste in India, pp. 94-96. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangfil Collection, Haridwar

Belvalkar, History of Indian Philosophi 20.

^{21.} Ranade, Constructive Survey of Update Philosoph II, p. 78.

^{22.} Dasgupta, History of Indian Philosoft 22. 31 shadic Philosophy, p. 6.

Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism 1, f I, p. 31. 23.

Bloomfield, The Religion of the Foliation, Haridway 41-42. 24.

nas and account.

As regards the second point, the facts Upanishads. ence gst the mentioned above seek to prove at least of som Brihadaranyaka Upanishad is divided into —Prachinasala Upamanyava, structural organisation

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Ranad restatement of the thought of the Upani- One is the portion dealing with the concep-Ranad restatement a new standpoint. Now, tion of Brahman, composed mainly by the Upanishadic literature only Kshariyaa ly ant among the Upanishadic literature only Kshariyas, where Brahman and Atman of the two of the Upanishads—the Brihadaranyaka are identical, and the other mainly deals the two of the Chhandogya—are definitely pre- with the process of Upasana, i.e., worship, e Upani Buddhistic if we accept the chronological which, in all probability, is a later producare descentere of Winternitz. 26 As the Brihad- tion, composed by the Brahmanas, who, in shatriya; aranyaka and Chhandofya lontain the most their turn, tried to make a dualistic ilosophy ancient form of Brahmavidya, the rest of approach by which they placed Brahman of the Upanishads, explanatory of Brahma- over Atman and made the former an object of the vidya as they are, need not be taken into of worship which is the Progenitor of the ideas that are propounded in the later

The second method is a critical estimate e infer what Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt has suggested of the persons, mentioned in the Brihadgenera that "it is unlikely that there was any aranyaka and Chhandogya Upanishads, e in the change in the Social Structure in the Upa- who called themselves Brahmavadins. That rine." nishadic period but it may be surmised there were many quack-Brahmavadins in dya wa that the Kshatriyas raised their standard the age of the great Janaka has been provy amon intellectually though not socially."27 But ed by the Ajatasatru-Gargya dialogues of id Rhy more facts will be required to prove the the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad where the panishad Kshatriya authorship of Brahmavidya. pseudo-Brahmavadin Valaki-Gargya, being riews and Here we can follow two methods. The first unable to answer the questions put forth by th whi is an analysis of the structural growth of the Kshatriya King Ajatasatru, had to o of an the Brihadaranyaka and Chhandogya Upa- acknowledge the studentship of the king.28 anishads, which is, it must be stated before- Same is the case with two Brahmanas, prove the hand, highly speculative. The second is Silaka Satavatya and Chaikitayana Dalavya, navidya an estimate of the Upanishadic personali- who, in their turn, were taught the supreme interpreties, which is, according to the present knowledge by the Kshatriya King Pravathe first writer, reasonable and suggestive. The hana Jaivala.29 That five Brahmana sages denia three parts (Kandas)—Madhu, Yajnavalkya Paulushi, Indradumnya Bhallaveyah, Jana y philo and Khila (Supplement). The Yajnavalkya Sarkarakshya and Budila Asvatarasvi were Dut Kanda deals with the conception of Brah- taught the higher knowledge of soul by the da indi man. Here Atman, the physical principle, Kshatriya King Asvapati of Kekaya, has panshadi and Brahman, the cosmic principle are been preserved in the Chhandogya Upaninade indicate the Brahman he sail made indentical. This portion, in all pro- shad. Now, we shall turn to the Brahma-Restatrives The composed mainly by the vadins who were assembled in the court of Rshatriyas. The Madhu Kanda, in all the great Janaka. That many of the probability composed by the Brahmanas, Brahmanas who questioned Yajnavalkya on allegorises the scanty knowledge of Allegorises the art of sacrifice. The Khila that occasion had scanty knowledge of kanda is Randa is nothing but some moral in- Brahmavidya can be proved if we mark the structions which are undoubtedly later mode of their questions. The questions of thandoms Trans the case of the Asvala are mainly based on the Priestly cult thandogya Upanishad is concerned, it can which has nothing to do with Brahmaof Upon structural organishad is concerned, it can which has nothing to the structural organishad is concerned, it can which has nothing to the structural organishad is concerned, it can which has nothing to the structural organishad is concerned, it can which has nothing to the structural organishad is concerned, it can which has nothing to the structural organishad is concerned, it can which has nothing to the structural organishad is concerned, it can which has nothing to the structural organishad is concerned, it can which has nothing to the structural organishad is concerned, it can which has nothing to the structural organishad is concerned, it can which has nothing to the structural organishad that here generally a twofold vidya. Artabhaga mistakes Brahmavidya organishad the structural organish the structural organish organish organish the structural organish organ

Chhandogya I, 8.

Brihad II, 1.

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^{25.} Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, 26. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature

^{30.} Ibid, V, 11. 10 Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism I p. 27 Gurukul Kangri Collection, Handwar 3. Brihad, III, 1, 2-10.

Brahmavidya.33 Chakraconnected with yana in his questions wants to know the nature of the Universal soul and Yajnadoubts.34 Kaushitaki his clears valkya wants to know of the direct Brahman and has been advised by Yajnavalkya to carry on questions efforts.35 Sakalya intellectual about the number of gods and his false vanity of knowing the Brahman causes his ruin.36 Even we can doubt whether the famous Gargi Vachaknavi was thoroughly acquainted with Brahmavidya. All the premises of her questions are based on the conviction of the five elements which, according to her, are the basis of all measurements and variable in degree only.37 Yajnavalkya tells her that Brahman cannot be measured by the earthly measurements like thickness or thinness, tallness or shortness; earthly qualities like blood or fat cannot constitute it, etc.38 Only the questions of Uddalaka Aruni seem to be of one who was really well-versed in the Brahmavidya.30 Uddalaka Aruni dominates the Chhandogya while Yajnavalkya is the hero of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad. So, a close examination of these two may enable us to throw some light on our problem.

That Uddalaka Aruni learnt Panchagnividya or the doctrine of transmigration from the Kshatriya King Pravahana Jaivala has been proved by the evidence furnished by the Brihadaranyaka and the Chhandogya Upanishads.40 Also for superior knowledge of soul he owed to the Kshatriya King Asvapati of Kekaya; this has been proved by an episode recorded in the Chhandogya Upanishad.41 As has already been stated, in the Satapatha Brahmana we find a passage where Yajnavalkya openly confesses that he is unable to overcome King Janaka in theological debate and wants to offer him-

the fate of Parikshit which is in no way self to be instructed by him. According a story recorded in the Vishnupuranata well as in the Mahabharata.43 Yajnavall was originally a disciple of Vaisampaya who divided the Yajurveda into 17 par Somehow Yajnavalkya had a quarrel w his teacher which caused their mutual sep. ration. Yajnavalkya remarked that he not require such a preceptor like Vaisan Saying this, he vomitted the payana. blood-painted Yajurveda. If we explain t allegory behind this Puranic story we sha find that originally Yajnavalkya was student of Vaisampayans and had devote himself to the Brahmanical ritualism. B slowly he began to realise the futility the sacrificial cult. He had with his Brahmana brethren as well; with his teacher which at last resulte in his complete disunion with them. I then left his fold and came under the risi influence of the Kshatriya cultural grow He became a disciple of Janaka and lear Brahmavidya from him.

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can read Considering all these we agree with Deussen on the point that " are forced to conclude, if not with absolu certainty, yet with a very high degree probability, that as a matter of fact t doctrine of the Atman, standing as it did such sharp contrast to all the principles vedic ritual, though the original conception may have been due to the Brahmanas, wa taken up and cultivated primarily not Brahmana but in Kshatriya circles, and was first adopted by the former in later time The fact, moreover, which is especially prominent that the Brahmanas during a lot period had not attained to the possession this knowledge, for they nevertheless displant great eagerness, is most simply explains on the supposition that this teaching regard to the Atman was studiously will hold to held from them; that it was transmitted a narrow circle among the Kshatriyas to the exclusion of the Brahmanas; that, in a work it was 'Upanishad'."44

^{33.} Ibid, III, 3, 1-2.

^{34.} Ibid, III, 4, 1-2.

^{35.} Ibid, III, 5, 1.

^{36.} Ibid, III, 9, 1-26.

^{37.} Ibid, III, 6, 1; III, 8, 1-12.

^{38.} Ibid, III, 8, 8. 39. Ibid, III, 7, 1-23.

^{40.} Brihad VI, 2; Chhandogya V, 3.

^{41.} Chhandogya V, 11. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

^{42.} Vishnupurana III, 5.

^{43.}

Deussen, Philosophy of the Upanish 44.

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Book Reviews



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EDITOR, The Modern Review

ENGLISH

GREATER INDIA: By Dr. Kalidas Nag. Published by Institute of Asian-African Relations, 108, Raja Basanta Roy Road, Calcutta-29. (1960), 920 pages. Rs. 40/-.

During forty years of cultural study and pilgrimages in the five continents, the author published important papers and monographs. Starting with Indian Iconography and the Dance of Siva (Rodin) Beethoven Centenary and Abolition of Slavery etc., Dr. Nag records the essentials of the East-West relations between the two devastating World Wars,—with his Convocation addresses at the Universities of Gurukul, (1934) of Hawaii (1937) of the Philippines (1938) and ending with his Presidential address at the Chicago Congress of Religious Freedom (1958).

All the valuable monographs on Greater India which Dr. Nag published, were revised and published together with additional papers on Indology in France, Germany and Russia. The author Paid touching tributes to his late lamented friends, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. N. P. Chakravarti and Prof. G. N. Roerich, as well as to his learned colleagues, Prof. R. C. Majumder, Dr. S. K. Who contributed to the growth of the Greater India Movement and its literature, to illumine the external relations.

The cultural heritage of India is thus found hard by many lands and nations,—now collaborating then conflicting with the secular interests lent savants like Avicenna and Alberuni whose were celebrated by the author, as a

member of the Iran Society. So the Western Pioneers of Indology like Jones, Colebrooke and Prinsep are remembered by Dr. Nag in his papers on the new Planning of the Asiatic Society founded in 1784 by Sir W. Jones whose Bi-centennial volume was edited by Dr. Nag. He collaborated for years, with the French Noble Laureate, Romain Rolland (1866-1944), who remembered his Indian 'brother Nag' in his masterly biographies of Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. Many important essays of M. Rolland have been translated from the original French and republished in Greater India. So, along with the papers on Moliere, Dr. Nag gives here the penetrating papers of Rolland on Shakespeare on the eve of his 400 birth anniversary. In that context, we draw the notice of our readers to many messages and papers of Dr. Tagore which Dr. Nag published as the Editor of India and the World. He travelled in the company of Tagore (1924) through China and the Far-East, and so he contacted the Chinese Philosopher Dr. Carsun Chang whose "China and Gandhian India" been condensed and published along with "Tolstoy and Gandhi" which gives the first full documentation of the letters exchanged between the two great masters of non-violence. So the author fittingly presented "Greater India" to the 25th International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow (1960) and to the Tolstoy Museum of Yasna Polyana on Tolstoy's 50th death anniversary.

This is the companion volume of "Discovery of Asia", (800 pages) which gives the much neglected Asian context to the history of human civilisation. "New Asia" is dedicated to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru as the "Pacific World" is dedicated to Master Tagore who was the 'eye-opener' to the new

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Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennai and eGangotri school of our historians. Thus, from Greater may be hoped that contributions of scholars in the chennal by the contribution of scholars in the chennal by the ch India—we pass on to Greater Asia which, through fore long Art and Archeology, links up the history of Afro-Asia with that of the two America's with their rich treasures of Maya and Inca architecture and cultures.

As a life-long disciple of Dr. Tagore the author thus prepares for the Centenary of Poet-philosopher, by completing these monumental volumes which we recommend to the public of India, Asia and to non-Asian countries. They give a new "Orientation" to Orientalism of the old school. So, with the liberation of Africa, Africanism, African art and archeology, will soon come to supplement our knowledge of the Euro-Asian landmass. The nations of the world are covering closer physically, and culturally too. Our teachers and students would be made conscious, of that unity in diversity, if we help disseminating the ideas and facts imbedded in "Discovery of Asia" and "Greater India" with cognate publications in India and abroad.

"Historicus"

ASPECTS OF INDIAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT: By Shashi Bhusan Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Ramtanu Lahiri, Professor of Bengali Language and Literature and Head of the Department of Modern Indian Languages, University of Calcutta. A. Mukherjee & Co., Private Ltd., 2, College Square, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 5/-.

This is a collection of ten articles written by the learned author on different dealing mainly with the origin and development of a number of religious rites and concepts of the Hindus. In most of them we meet with new and interesting interpretations, explanations and suggestions testifying to the keen insight and critical spirit of the reputed writer. A reference may be made to two of these. The apparently unmeaning Tantric mantras are suspected to have been the 'relics of some obsolete dialects of the Mongolian group of speech' (P. 38).

The birthday celebration of Sri Krishna, it is suggested, 'might be reminiscent of some astronomical phenomena' (p. 221). These suggestions may be well-worth following up. The book will provide enough food for thinking to all who are interested in a rational appraisement of Hinduism. Similar treatment of all Hindu rituals especially those of a later period which have not been properly studied so far will be eagerly awaited. As matters stand, however, even descriptive comparative accounts of the rites as prevalent in different parts of the country, presenting a true picture of the life thereof, are not available. It

fore long.

Chintaharan Chakravarti TECHNIQUE OF THE MODER ENGLISH NOVEL: Dr. Sisir Chattopadhyan Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, India Price. Rs. 10/-.

The book under review comes from the per of a teacher of English at the Presidency College Calcutta and substantially it is a thesis original, presented at the London University for a doctoral degree. An approved doctoral dissertation bear the haulmark of quality. By quality I mean penetrating analysis and an all-round study.

The author, in the volume under review, makes an attempt to take up the novel where critics like Percy Lubbock, E. M. Forster and Edwin Muir left it. He wants to define in very clear an definite terms the most characteristic aspects of modern fiction. The quality that strikes a absolutely new in modern fiction is the process of turning inward. This tendency has completely annihilated the age-old story-telling method and has introduced, out of an inner necessity, the special use of a new type of language to render in fiction the emotional and sensory experience of man. The modern novelist, as is quite evident, pays great attention to his medium and by doing so discovers a new subject-matter and new technique.

The book comprises eight chapters, a bibliography and an index. The first four chapters state and defend clearly and stubbornly the case for the, 'new technique.' Henry James is the intiator of this new technique. It starts with him Wells, Bennett and Galsworthy are rejected and a With James, Dorothy new era is ushered in. Richardson, James Joyce and Virginia Wood fiction turns completely inward and external reality is overlooked. Thus Neo-realism is born in the domain of fictional writing. The remain ing chapters are devoted to individual novelist James Joyce like Henry James, Joseph Conrad, and Virginia Woolf. Ch. V is devoted to Henry James and Joseph Conrad. Chapters Six and Seven are devoted to Joyce and Mr. Woolf. Lore for neo-realism is uppermost in Joyce and as such he portrays in his novels his immediate percention of ption of reality and human life. He creates a polyphonic phonic universal language with its own structure that had rhythm. According to the author of the hold under review, Virginia Woolf will deserve than a passing reference from the future historial of English literature as she created a new prostyle which style which could do justice both to the felt

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The author took great pains to read the original manuscripts of such authors as James, Conrad, Joyce and Mrs. Woolf. The book under review offers a study in 'content' and 'technique' of modern fiction and as such the study of language of modern fiction occupies an important place. Dr. Chaterjee's study of the original manuscripts helped him form a correct idea of the trends in modern fictional writing in its language aspect.

We recommend the book to the serious stu

dents of English language and literature.

Sudhir Kumar Nandi

TWELFTH CENSUS OF INDIAN MANUFACTURES 1957: Central Statistical Organisation, Cabinet Secretariat, Calcutta. Pp. xii + 702.

So far there have been 15 censuses from 1944 to 1958. In 1944 and 1945, the censuses were conducted on a voluntary basis. From .1946 to 1956, it was conducted under the Industrial Statistics Act, 1942, and the Rules made thereunder. That Act has been repealed by the collection of Statistics Act, 1953, with effect from 10th November, 1956, but before legal formalities under the later Act could be completed for conducting census. This shows something rotten in the state of post-Independence Central Government. The census under review was conducted on a voluntary basis. Of the 63 industries mentioned in Schedule I of the Rules, the statistics refer to 29 industries; and to this extent they are incomplete.

The data collected has been classified and presented in great details. The printing and get-up is good; and we have not been able to detect printing and which unfortunately one is other errors, now-a-days to associate with the Governaccustomed ment of India publications.

J. M. Datta

THE CULTURE OF INDIA AS ENVI-SACED BY SRI AUROBINDO: By C. C. Duti. Pp. 152, Double Crown 1/16. Price Rs. 2/. Published 1. lished by Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay-7. In this book the Author has ably summarised Sri Aubobindo's "The Foundations of Indian Culture" The Foundations of Indian Culture" which was reviewed in these columns. In this book Sri Aurobindo vindicated Indian Cul-

contemplated reality and could easily communiture against most vilifying attacks of an Eurocontemplated of subjective-objective phenomena pean critic. Many illustrious sons of India had to work in the same role. To quote Keshub Chunder Sen, the teacher of Vivekananda and Aurobinda, etc., as Sister Nivedita aptly put it, from his famous address on "Asia's Message to Europe":

"What Asia demands is unity in variety. Great is Europe, let her flourish. Great too is Asia, let her prosper. We want not their annihilation but unification. It (The new Science of harmony) is not the mixture of purity with impurity, of truth with falsehood, of light with darkness, but the fusion of all types of purity, truth and light in all systems of faith into one integral whole. Each nation has a particular mission to fulfil Behold England sits at the feet of hoary-headed India to study the ancient literature of the country. Thus while we learn modern Science from England, England learns ancient wisdom and spirituality from India. I really believe that India is spiritual and the West material.

"Just as in political, commercial and worldy intercourse, we always try, by mutual traffic to exchange our commodities with those of other nations, so in the spiritual traffic going on in this world we are beginning to recognise the principle of exchange."

Sri Charu Chandra Dutt, the author of the book under review, was a patriot, a man of talents and had the privilege of working with Sri Aurobindo at Pondicherry Asram and Gurudev Rabindranath at Santiniketan. His presentation is lucid. It must, however, be said that at places it appears a bit lopsided.

Sati Kumar Chatterji

INDIAN ECONOMICS YEAR BOOK, 1959-60: Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. pages

266. Price Rs. 3/-.

This is the second edition of the publication containing revised and up-to-date information regarding Land and people, National Resources, Five-Year Plans, Agriculture, Land Reforms, Corporation, Investigation and Power, Community Projects, Industrial Policy and Plans, Iron and Steel Industry, Industries in Public and Private Sectors, College and Small-Scale Industries, Industrial Finance, Labour and Labour Welfare, Railways and Transport, Communications, Foreign Trade, Currency and Exchange, Banking and Credit, Insurance, Public Finance, Cost of Living, National Income, etc.

The book will prove useful to students and the public interested in economic affairs.

A. B. Dutta

HINDI

(1) SAHITYA SANGEET AUR KALA (2) SAHITYA AUR SAMAJ: By Komal Kothari and Vijaydan Detha. Rajasthani Shodha Sansthana, Chopasani, Jodhpur. March, 1960. Price Rs. 4|- each.

The two separate but presentable volumes are the works of two friends. brought together by similarity of pursuits, and joined together in the laudable objective of developing the cultural resources of Rajasthan. They joined hands in editing the monthly **Prerana**, in working through the book **Premchand Ke Patra**, and editing the books published by the Rajasthani Sahitya Sabha of Jodhpur.

The two volumes represent the different lines taken by each. While Komal Kothari is specially interested in literary discussions, Vijaydan Detha is interested in narratives and in personal life he is agreeably occupied with supervision of agricultural operations in his farm.

Specially interesting is the way in which Kothari handles the status of the mother tongue in the preface to his work, Sahitya Sangeet Aur Kala. Equally interesting is the way in which he analyses the folksongs to give an idea of the family relations described there—the brother-sister, the father-in-law's place, the parental home etc. A few sections are devoted to Pandir Hazari Prasad Dwivedi. Equally readable is the last chapter of the volume where shastriya sangeet and loka-sangeet are discussed together and their mutual influence shown.

Detha's book is more taken up with the ways of expression in folk-songs, and a considerable portion is devoted to the place of nature in Rajasthani folk-songs.

Both the writers have drunk of the West—Marx and Caudwell—but with assimilation, and they have a style of writing which is easy of comprehension.

P. R. Sen

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Indian Periodicals

On Two Lyrics of the Folk Literature of Bengal

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The following excerpts are quoted from Shri Sushil Kumar Deb's article "On Two Lyrics of the Folk Literature of Bengal" published in our esteemed contemporary, The Calcutta Review, which provides illustrations of the current folk songs in Bengali available in different parts of East Bengal. This may be a good subject for comparative study or literature, dealing as it does, with the Epics.

Generally speaking, many a treasure of folk music and literature—for example, the lays of the rural communities—lie embedded and unexplored in the current, oral, mythopoeic tradition of the Bengalees. To such we owe-and it also may be indicated, conspicuously—the expression of not

a little of the aesthetic Bengalee mind.

Since the collection of songs from sources at Mymensingh and other areas, that is, in the village hamlets of Bengal was undertaken by the late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, a and scientific historian of the twentieth century who was an ornament to his country, these surely had proved of great richness—as the researchers or the investigation teams of our day would testify.

Only two songs or lyrics are at present delineated in silhoutte in the course of this essay.

The texts of the aforesaid Bengali verses, in their naivete and transparency, are in their usual repertoire of the rural impresarios, the gifted ones versed in song-making, the singing coteries troupes. Both the compositions however may be classified under the headings, devotional and legendary.

Sitar Bilap (Sita's Lament) is a simple folk song, a mournful ditty, as the title ostensibly suggests. The familiar tale belongs to the Ramayana, one of the two celebrated ancient Indian spice I. epics. It is based on a popularly fictionized account of the catastrophe of Sita's exile until she was redeemed from the custody of Ravana, the

age and melodies-it is as of long custom reduced to an epithalamium, being sung during convivial weddings at Mymensingh, East Bengal. Even so, its motif is to reveal the attitude of the ideal, trustful wife.

It seems plain in this descriptive verse, months (notwithstanding that certain ones have been unnoted) and climatic changes of the year furnished the vertebrae round which the events particularly trying and awesome articulated themselves. Here a truth presumably is embodied in the fact of balancing the deeds of human beings with the ponderous ways of Nature-the lore of

the weather and the seasons. Hari Thakurer Pala (Ode to God Hari) is a string of verses, set to religious music. It is in irregular metre and some 125 lines in length. This narrative ode takes in the topics adapted from the great epic, the Mahabharata: Daivaki's motherhood, birth of Lord Hari (another name for Krishna), and Kamsa's monstrosities. Variations on the topics of antiquity can be explained due to the local colour laid on with a trowel. A nice long prologue comprises, in the first place, exclamations of thankfulness and joy, secondly, three hymns of praise to the shrine of Hari, to four directions and to epiphany: ultimately, it summons the listeners to prayer. The main theme is treated in an anecdotal style in rhymed and unrhymed poetry. In an interlude, the god Shiva and goddess Durga bless Vasudeva and Daivaki: thus they become the parents of the Divine Incarnation. Daivaki's ceremony—as she is confined in childbed-of resorting to a choice dietary, is depicted in a couple of ditties: relates to the gathering of culinary plants; the other a ritual dinner-party. The ending mirrors the Divine Child and how king Kamsa, the enemy and a desperado, is baffled.

The folk song "Ode to God Hari" goes on to record the Mother's apprehensions before the Divine Child's birth (by all accounts, it is a case of 'immaculate conception' or one might use the vocabulary unusual in this reference, parthe-By using the media fully comprehensible to observe, e.g., the eating of the consecrated food, observe, e.g., the eating of the consecrated food, the Bengalee country-folk—time-honoured langu- the prepared diet medicinal in content, consist-

ing as it does of herbals and plants with healing powers, a safeguard against sundry ailments and bodily mishaps. Preparing the spinaceous diet, which is a simple little measure, beneficial to the would-be Mother Daivaki, imparts a lesson on health and hygiene. It would appear from the ceremony during the period of pregnancy that a safe delivery was a matter of supreme concern. The curative powers of Oshadhis, a good variety of green leaves and shoots quoted in the Indian materia medica ever since the age of the Rik Samhita through the age of the later Samhitas down to the modern times, point to their efficaciousness in pharmacology. There is in the "Ode" a reference to the Elixir of Life compounded of a few elements, which to the naturalist, the physicist and the chemist are matters of speculation, with which Daivaki was treated. This obviously relates to the science of genetics. The phenomenon of the brith of Hari is reduced to an admirable aesthetic order. A memorable surgical operation is mentioned in

the "Ode." It is certainly not excluded from the competence of the Bengali midwife or foster. I follo mother: she snaps the naval cord linking the johes, child to the mother's womb at childbirth. The mellene language of the song rings quite true : Hari, the stap Lord of Creation, incarnates Himself as a son of highly Daivaki. He touches the earth physically, and ing whi rolls from one side to another, not remaining cuaring quiescent. One might also turn one's attention to the vegetable lore, the theme of Indian flora, sizes, anch tends to condition the socio-economic well tragedy being of all. Referring to the subject, Hooker subjecter and Thomson observed in a notable passage as pious. T follows : "India contains representatives of almost the best every natural family of the globe and it Poetic j contains a more general and complete illustration the establishment of the general of the other parts of the world than war aga any other country whatsoever of the equal or a south even of considerably larger extent." In the "Ode" Rama's there is a feast or a banquet rather elaborately the Tree described. Dinners were invited; and Daivaki Aryan soil from the would-be Mother of the Lord participated in barbaro

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foster following an ancient custom. The dietary king the fehes, cereals, and sweets—was Bengali th. The acellence. Of the common fishes, which provide Hari, the the staple protein diet for the Bengalis, a son of highly flavoured, whitish Hilsa, the Indian herrally, and ing which is included among the coastal and emaining attuarine fishes, is of course mentioned.

Sita's Lament from the Ramayana emphaan flora sizes, among other things, the fact of human mic well tagedy and vexations to which Sita was Hooker subjected, although she had been proverbially ussage as pious. This is also an irony of fate, which theme of almost the best of world literature had dealt in the past. . and it Poetic justice demanded that the Reign of Law ustratios le established and evil punished. Ultimately the orld than war against the despot Ravana led to the fall of qual or 1 southern kingdom and the reinstatement of ne "Ode" Rama's Rule, the Golden Age spreading through aborately the Treta Epoch. This meant the expansion of Daivaki Aryan culture in the south and freeing Indian pated in soil from harrassment of some aggressive, semibarbarous tribes. The southern territories of the Vanaras, the allies and the Rakshashas, the hostiles were colonized and made protectorates under Aryan influence. Generally, the Aryanization movement was spearheaded by the Kashatriyas whenever the saintly Brahmanical missionaries who were of a peaceful disposition were halted or provoked in their social-cultural campaign.

A noteworthy feature of the poem "Sita's lament" is the delineation of the attractive theme, the change of seasons in India. Quite aside from its use in literature, climatology plays a part in military tactics and strategy. It looks as though the raphsodist here consciously brings to bear upon the question of Sita's rescue the climatic influence. Like a puissant god of war, Rama counter-attacked his enemy as soon weather permitted. This poem about Rama's adventure could not have brushed obvious fact.

In folk literature, the historicity of Rama and Krishna has been taken for granted. Hymns or prose texts or rare beauty celebrating their exploits have come into vogue in several Indian dialects. Allegorical treatment of many events concerning their career is likewise current: this shows that the truth of an allegory is representative; it is a pretext to inculcate morality and carry the banner of virtue, which is plausibly of vital concern. Consequently, in folklore, unvarnished historical knowledge is apt to count for little. Popularly expressed, the dialectic material perforce becomes diluted mythology. happens is this: nescience plays down completeness of knowledge under one variation or another of commonplace patterns of thinking. Thus truth is coloured through folklore. circumstance perhaps emboldens the Bengali rhymers or strolling minstrels to take liberties with their poetical fancies and convictions to the greatest possible extent. Even so a kind of light percolates through the moulds of nescience, the garbs of popular verses and melodies.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

New U.S. President A Best-Selling, Prize Winning Author

John F. Kennedy, the new President of the United States is not only well-versed in Political Science but a best-selling, prize winning author as well. Linda Kent has made an attempt to assess his literary achievements in Cultural Notes January 20, 1961, published by the United States Information Service. She writes:

In fact, evidence of his (John F. Kennedy's) literary endeavors can be found in every bookstore, almost every news-stand and on innumerable home bookshelves throughout the land. These days, of course, wherever one goes one sees President John F. Kennedy's more recent volume in the hands of Americans trying to catch up on something that they had failed to read when it first appeared.

It goes almost without saying that the bestseller status of Mr. Kennedy was not achieved in the field of fiction, although his long experience in Congress could certainly have provided material for an interesting novel about behind-the-scenes Washington. Preferring instead to deal with factual matters in a factual way, he wrote probing studies of: (1) a nation in crisis and (2) a group of men facing their own political crises.

Actually, the first of Mr. Kennedy's bestselling books, "Why England Slept," antedates his political career by six years, and was written when he was only 23. A student of political science at Harvard University, he had taken time out from his studies to make a tour of Europe in 1939 and to work with his father, Toseph P. Kennedy, then U.S. Ambassador in London. Earlier, he had studied at the London School of Economics.

Young Mr. Kennedy's observations Furone formed the basis of his graduation thesis which he later revised and published under the title "Why England Slept." This study of the complex reasons underlying England's failure to rearm during the 1930's was greeted by the

painstaking scholarship, such mature under standing and fair-mindedness, and of such penetrating and timely conclusions, that it is notable textbook for our times."

Mr. Kennedy's heroism during World W. II, when he was Commander of a patrol-torped boat in the Solomon Island area, is well-know and needs no recounting here. However, the bat injuries that he sustained at that time were to a factor which later figured in the writing of h second book.

They also led to his discharge from the Nat 1945, after which he tried his hand as newspaperman, covering the United Nation Conference at San Francisco, and the 1945 Britis elections, for a news agency.

But politics proved to be an irresistible magnet, and in 1946 he sought-and wonelection to the U.S. House of Representatives. 1952 he had his eye on a seat in the Senate at this time, too, victory was his.

Two years later, a recurrence of the old w injury sent Mr. Kennedy to a hospital, whe for a while he was near death. Recuperation from an operation on his spine, he wrote second best-seller, "Profiles in Courage," hiogis phical studies of eight statesmen-most of the Senators like himself—who had defied public opinion to stand fast for principles in which they believed.

The personages chosen by the Senator from Massachusetts were extremely varied but as "Most of them, despite their difference hold much in common—the breath-taking tales of the orator, the brilliance of the scholar, breadth of the man above party and section and above above all, a deen-seated belief in themselve their integrity, and the rightness of their cause

Yet the men of whom he wrote were no supermen or demigods. They had their human weaknesses I was a selection to the selection of weaknesses, but the fact that they were able occasion demanda overcome these when the gave them a touch of greatness.

To Mr. Kennedy, the role of courage abstract quality though it may be is quite de in a democracy hough it may be is quite in a democracy. As he put it: "The true dentity the true critics with enthusiasm. They called by the in a democracy. As he put it: "The true tremely able piece of work" and "a book of such faith in the people faith that the people will faith in the people—faith that the people will pe

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comply elect men who will represent their views will reward courage, respect honor and ultimately recognize right."

Mr. Kennedy's own courage in writing study of political independence was well-rewarded: not only did the book quickly reach the hest-seller lists; it received a Pulitzer Prize as the hest biography of 1956.

But perhaps even more important is the knowledge that the book can serve as a primer of courage for everyone who reads it.

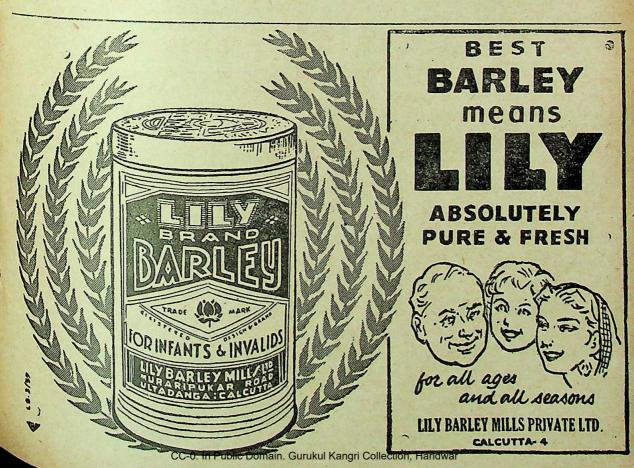
New York's School of Performing Arts

We reproduce here an article under the above caption published by the United States Information Service.

Interest, enthusiasm and ability are the keyably and faithfully, but also elect men who will stones of the most unusual vocational school in ably and their conscientious judgment—faith that the nation—the School of Performing Arts, New the people will not condemn those whose devotion York. There, in one of the city's publicly supthe principle leads them to unpopular causes, but ported secondary schools, talented young people are trained for professional careers in drama, music and dance while at the same time they a study a standard four-year college preparatory course.

> The idea for the school originated with Dr. Franklin J. Keller, Principal of the Metropolitan Industrial Vocational High (Secondary) School and also an accomplished pianist and devotee of the arts. In 1948, Dr. Keller persuaded the Board of Education to start his experimental projects as an "annexe" of the school. He served as the Head of both until his retirement in 1957.

> "From the beginning, it was clear that this was an exciting and fruitful venture," the magazine Dance reports: "The results were, and are, quite extraordinary. Its hard-working pupils are clearly in love with what they are doing-the finest of all tributes to education."



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Enrolment at the School of Performing Arts is limited to some 600 students. Applicants are admitted on the basis of superior academic standing and a rigorous audition to demonstrate ability and promise in their chosen field of the arts. Only about one candidate in five is accepted and, once in, a student must show continued improvement in shop work as well as keep up his academic standing or he may be asked to transfer to a regular secondary school.

The four-year programme is divided evenly between academic studies and shop work. The Drama Department offers a comprehensive course in all aspects of theatre arts, including radio and television production. All forms of dances are taught-modern, ballet, musical comedy and tap. The music course includes orchestra, concert band, dance band, orchestration, instruction in a second instrument and piano instruction for non-

pianists.

The teachers of the arts are, for the most part, professionals. The Music Department, for example, is headed by a well-known conductor and staffed by musicians who play in symphony orchestras, musical shows or wherever fine performers are needed. The dance and drama faculties are of similar calibre.

Teachers must often be changed in the middle of a course because the original instructor is going on tour with a show, is in rehearsal or is about to give a concert. The school believes that the professional instruction more than compen-

sates for the loss in continuity.

The really unique quality of instruction, however, is provided by the School's Advisory Commission, representing a galaxy of talent that no individual institution could afford to pay for. This group includes choreographers, composers, critics, actors, directors and producers. Among them are such famous artists as Leonard Bernstein and Virgil Thomson in the field of music. dancers Martha Graham and Nora Kaye. and Joshua Logan and Helen Hayes from the theatrical world.

These people give their time, thought and energy to help the school and the students. They

appear at auditions to help choose students, assemblies to give the school the benefit of their experience and at individual classes to help out more specifically. They help give examinations and interviews and evaluate school records and other credentials.

For the students in the final year at the school, there is a course called "Job Opportunities" in which the fledgeling artists are taught how to behave at professional auditions. In this course, too, the teacher's instruction is supplemented by advice from men and women experienced in the field-performers, directors, pro-

ducers and casting personnel.

Armed with this training and the experience they have gained in the school's public performances, the graduates are well-prepared for the next step in their professional careers. About 75 per cent of them continue their education in colleges or special schools. Of the recent graduates (since 1952), approximately one-third are working or have worked in their chosen field.

"Theatre 'Playbills' and 'musicians' and 'dancers' biographical sketches have increasing mention of 'attended the School of Performing Arts'," the New York Herald Tribune's weekly magazine notes: "There's no question in the mind of anyone connected with the school that a large percentage of the artistic greats of the next generation have had part of their training there."

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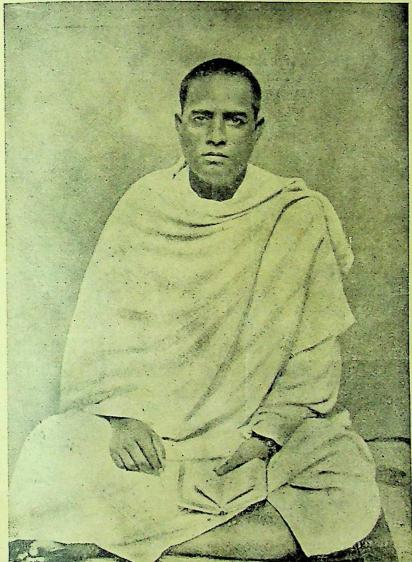
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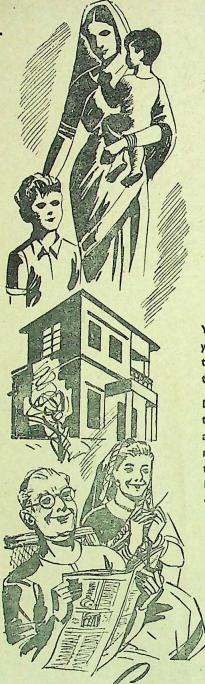
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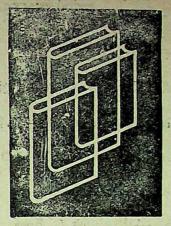
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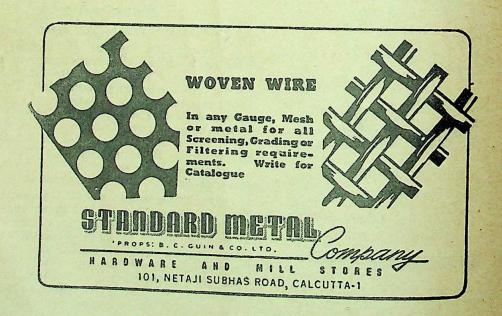
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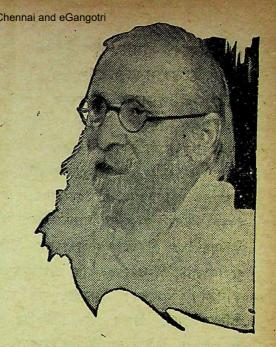
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স্থারকগ্রন্থ

প্রবাসীর আকারের ন্যুনাধিক ৭০০ পৃষ্ঠার বহু-চিত্র-সম্বলিত বহু-বিচিত্র রচনা-সংগ্রহ।

७८७ थाकदन १



- প্রবাসী-প্রসঙ্গ, রবীজ্র-প্রসঙ্গ, বাংলার শ্রেষ্ঠ মনীবীদের সম্পর্কে স্মৃতিমূলক প্রবন্ধ: লিখবেন: গ্রীহুমায়্ন কবীর, শ্রীপ্রভাতচন্দ্র গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীনলিনীকান্ত গুপ্ত, শ্রীপরিমল গোস্বামী, শ্রীতপনমোহন চট্টো-পাধ্যায়, প্রীরতনমণি চট্টোপাধ্যায়, প্রীস্থনীতিকুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীক্ষিতীশপ্রসাদ চট্টোপাধ্যায়, প্রীকাত্তিকচন্দ্র দাশগুপ্ত, শ্রীমতী জ্যোতির্ময়ী দেবী, শ্রীমতী শাস্তা দেবী, শ্রীমতী সীতা দেবী, শ্রীনন্দলাল বস্ত্র, শ্রীসত্যেন্দ্রনাথ বস্ত্র, এহিরণায় বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, এপ্রস্থনাথ বিশী, এতিগোপালচন্দ্র ভট্টাচার্য্য, এমতী লীলা মজ্মদার, এপ্রভাতকুমার মুখোপাধ্যায়, এদিলীপকুমার রায়, এক্ষিতীশচন্ত্র রায়, এহরিহর শেঠ, এবামিনীকান্ত সোম, এলক্ষীশ্বর সিংহ, প্রভৃতি।
- বিগত ষাট বৎসরের বাংলা এই পর্য্যায়ে সাহিত্য, চিত্রকলা, সঙ্গীত, নৃত্য, নাট্যাভিনয়, ইত্যাদি বিষয়ে षालाहनाम्लक প্রবন্ধ। লিখবেনঃ শ্রীস্থবীর খান্তগীর, শ্রীঅর্দ্ধের কুমার গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীনারায়ণ গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, থীমধীরঞ্জন দাশ, প্রীসজনীকান্ত দাস, প্রীপ্রফুলকুমার দাস, প্রীবিষ্ণু দে, প্রীমতী ছায়া দেবী, প্রীনিখিলকুমার নশী, শ্রীস্থারকুমার নশী, স্বামী প্রজ্ঞানানশ, শ্রীআন্ততোৰ ভট্টাচার্য্য, শ্রীদেবীপদ ভট্টাচার্য্য, শ্রীবিনোদবিহারী ग्रामिशाम, श्रीएनरीथमान ताम कोध्नी, श्रीतीतक्किनात तामकोध्नी, श्रीस्क्मात तान, अन्ति।
- माउँ वर्गदात मर्वाञ्चक शतिक्या। निश्वतः क्रीकानिमाम नाम।
- বিজ্ঞানের ষাট বৎসর বিষয়ে প্রবন্ধ। লিখবেনঃ শ্রীনীলরতন ধর, শ্রীদেবেন্দ্রমোহন বস্ত্র, শ্রীচারুচন্দ্র ভট্টাচার্য্য।
- ষাট বংসরের দার্শলিক চিন্তাধারা—বিষয়ে প্রবন্ধ। লিখবেন: শ্রীসরোজকুমার দাস।
- শিক্ষায় বাংলার যাট বৎসর এই পর্য্যায়ের প্রবন্ধ। লিখবেন: প্রীতিশুণাচরণ সেন, প্রীপ্রিয়রঞ্জন সেন, শ্রীভূপতিমোহন সেন।
- রাষ্ট্রচেতনায় ষাট বৎসর ও ষাট বৎসরের আর্থনীতিক অবস্থা বিষয়ে প্রবন্ধ। লিখবেন: শ্রীপ্রভাতচন্দ্র গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীদেবজ্যোতি বর্মণ, শ্রী**চাণক্য** সেন।
- সমাজ-সেবায় মাট বৎসর—এই পর্য্যায়ে প্রবন্ধ। লিখবেন: শ্রীবিজয়লাল চট্টোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীযোগানল দাস, विश्वीदन्यम् ताम्, बीञ्चरतम् ताम्, सामी अखीतानम्, सामी जानीस्तानम्।

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- ষাট বৎসরের সামাজিক পরিবর্ত্তন। লিখবেনঃ প্রীযতীল্রমোহন দত্ত।
- এছাড়া, ইতিহাস-চর্চ্চা, থেলাধূলা, ই গ্রাদি বিষয়ে কয়েকটি প্রবন্ধ থাকবে। ছুইটি পূর্ণাঙ্গ উপত্যাস। লিখবেন: শ্রীমণীন্দ্রলাল বস্কু, শ্রীমতী সীতা দেবী।
- একটি পূর্ণাঙ্গ নাটক। লিখবেন: শ্রীমনোজ বস্থ।
- একটি একান্ধ নাটিকা। লিখবেন: শ্রীমতী বাণী রায়।
- গল্প। निथरन: প্রীপ্রেমাঙ্কুর আতর্থী, প্রীনারায়ণ গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, প্রীপরিমল গোস্বামী, প্রীকালীপদ ঘটক, প্রতিষ্ঠান ক্রেলিবারার চটোপাধ্যার, জরাসন্ধ, প্রীমতী আশাপূর্ণ দেবী, প্রীমতী শাস্তা দেবী, বনফুল, শ্রীশরদিন্দু বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীমতী অমিতাকুমারী বস্ত্র, শ্রীমতী মহাখেতা ভট্টাচার্য্য, শ্রীপ্রেমেন্দ্র দিন্ত, শ্রীবিমল মিত্র, শ্রীধর্মদাস মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীবিভৃতিভূষণ মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীরামপদ মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীশৈলজান মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীঅন্নদাশন্বর রায়, শ্রীসরোজকুমার রায়চৌধুরী, শ্রীচাণক্য সেন, প্রভৃতি।
- কবিতা। निথবেন: শ্রীসন্তোধকুমার অধিকারী, শ্রীস্থার কর, শ্রীবীরেন্দ্রকুমার গুপ্ত, শ্রীমণীশ ঘটন, শ্রীবিমল ঘোষ, শ্রীশন্ম ঘোষ, শ্রীঅমিয় চক্রবর্তী, শ্রীনীরেন্দ্রনাথ চক্রবর্তী, শ্রীসাবিত্রীপ্রসন্ন চট্টোপাধ্যার, প্রীকৃষ্ণধন দে, প্রীবিষ্ণু দে, প্রীস্থশীলকুমার দে, শ্রীমতী উমা দেবী, প্রীমতী হেমলতা দেবী, প্রীনিথিলকুমার নদী, শ্রীস্থনীলকুমার নন্দী, শ্রীনিশিকান্ত, শ্রীপ্রভাতমোহন বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীকরণাময় বস্ত্র, শ্রীমতী মায়া বয়, প্রীঅপূর্বকৃষ্ণ ভট্টাচার্য্য, প্রীকৃমুদরঞ্জন মল্লিক, প্রীপ্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র, শ্রীস্থভাষ মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীকালিদাস রাষ, শ্রীসতীশ রায়, শ্রীকানাই সামস্ত, শ্রীকিরণশঙ্কর সেনগুপ্ত, শ্রীমতী হেনা হালদার, প্রভৃতি।
- মহিলা মজলিস। এতে লিখবেন: শ্রীমতী কমলা দাশগুপ্ত, শ্রীমতী স্থলেখা দাশগুপ্ত, শ্রীমতী বেলা জ শ্রীমতী ইন্দিরা দেবী, শ্রীমতী গিরিবালা দেবা, শ্রীমতী হাসিরাশি দেবী, শ্রীমতী রেণুবালা বন্দ্যোপাধার, শ্রীযোগেশচন্দ্র বাগল, শ্রীঅরুণ মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীমতী কনক মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীমতী আরতি সেন, শ্রীমতী স্কুরুচিবালা সেনগুপ্তা, প্রভৃতি।
- ছেলেদের পাততাড়ি। এতে লিখবেন: শ্রীযোগেন্দ্রনাথ গুপ্ত, শ্রীশিবরাম চক্রবর্ত্তী, শ্রীশৈল চক্রবর্তী, প্রীকেদারনাথ চট্টোপাধ্যায়, প্রীস্থারকুমার চৌধুরী, প্রীকার্তিকচন্দ্র দাশগুপ্ত, প্রীমতী আশাপূর্ণা দেবী, প্রীমতী স্থনীতি দেবী, শ্রীমতী আভা পাকড়াশী, শ্রীবিশু মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীমতী স্থখলতা রাও, শ্রীজীবনময় রায়, প্রভৃতি।
- রবীন্দ্র-রচনাপঞ্জী। সঙ্কলন করছেন এপুলিনবিহারী সেন। রবীজ্রনাথের একটি অপ্রকাশিত গান ও শ্রীশৈলজারঞ্জন মজুমদার কৃত তার স্বরলিপি।

बर्गाक थांकत्व १

বাংলার বিশিষ্ট শিল্পীদের আঁকা, মূল্যবান্ আর্ট পেপারে ছাপা, অন্ততঃ চব্বিশটি **ভিনরঙা ছবি।** অর্ট কুড়িটি উড্কাট্ ইত্যাদির একরঙা ছবি। গল্প, উপস্থাস, নাটকের মনোজ চিত্রালক্ষরণ।

অনতিবিলম্বে প্রকাশিত হবে।

युना :

১২ টাকা ৫০ নয়া প্রসা। ডাক্মাণ্ডল আলাদা!

প্রবাসী প্রেস প্রাইভেট লিমিটেড

১২০৷২, আচার্য্য প্রফুল্লচন্ত্র রোড, কলিকাতা-১

ाप घठेक, छा त्मरी, मञ्ज मिख, मामाजानम

ोग घठेक, होशीशाव, मात नगी, मात्रा वय, ताम बाब,

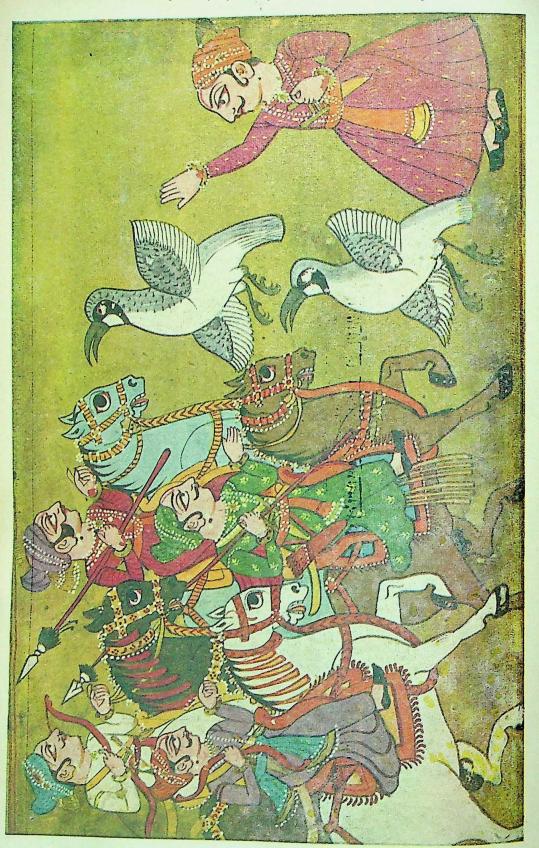
বেলা দে, ্যাপাধ্যাদ, , খ্রীমতী

চক্ৰবৰ্তী, নীমতী প্ৰভৃতি।

অন্ত:



H. M. Queen Elizabeth II



AN OLD MSS. ILLUSTRATION (Bundi School)

(Bundi School)

By Courtesy: Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee

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Prubnai Press, Calcutta

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH



1961

Vol. CIX, No. 3

WHOLE No. 651

NOTES

Africa in Transition

Africa illegally held by the Union of South Africa, The Federal areas of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the toils of the Belgians, who are nefariously trying to retain a hold over the more valuable portions of their old colonial territories by supporting a revolt against the attempt at consolidation on a broad national basis, which would naturally extinguish all monopolistic foreign holdings.

Of these areas, Algeria had the bitterest and most determined fight by the children of the soil against foreign domination. The National Liberation Forces have already inscribed in letters of fire another chapter, containing the story of a heroic struggle for the recognition of the inherent rights of man, in the history of the Mediterranean area in which so many fights for freedom have taken place since the dawn of civilization. The latest news go to show that President de Gaulle has already started the preliminaries of what the world hopes would be the final negotiations be- the colonial capital of

tween France and the Algerian Moslem's National Liberation Front, (F. L. N.) headed by M. Ferhat A few months back we presented in these Abbas, its chief. It has been reported that President columns a statement of the spread of independence Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia had sent his reprein Africa. Since then Nigeria and Mauretania sentative to Paris to find out whether de Gaulle have also joined the comity of free nations. There had really made up his mind for the establishment remain now only scattered parts of Africa over of an Algerian Algeria on a democratic basis. It which the shadow of colonialism still persists. The is reported that Bourguiba's representative has deepest umbra now remains over the Portuguese come back in a hopeful mood. It remains to be colonial possessions, the trritory of South-West seen how far the Tunisian President succeeds in turning down the extreme demands of F. L. N. "Cabinet". Bourguiba has given their Provisional astly Algeria. Congo, though liberated is still in Government a safe harbour and it is because of him that they are still able to present a tangible form of their organisation to the outside world. Tunisia's Information Minister Mohammed Masmondi, who was sent in the first instance by the Tunisian President, had stated that if the F. L. N. were agreeable then President Bourguiba might act as the intermediary for the final negotiations.

In Portuguese Africa, there is rigid censorship and an embargo on all foreigners, both for entrance and exit. But sufficient facts have come out to indicate that the wave of African nationalism which has transformed the other colonial empires, in the last decade has begun to penetrate into the Portuguese territories, which the hypocritical government at Lisbon had declared to be tranquil and contented.

The outbreaks started at Luanda (pop. 150,000) Angola on Africa's West Coast. Angola is situated just south of the Congo and is the largest colony in the Portuguese colonial empire. Its area is 481,351 sq. miles, and it exports-that is, the Portuguese do-coffee, corns cotton and diamonds, and is therefore a rich field for exploitation which the Portuguese have ruthlessly done and intend to do in future—if they can.

For about 350 years the Portuguese had exported human flesh, Angola being the main source of their trans-Atlantic slave trade. But since the third quarter of last century an emphasis was put on colonization. As a result there are now about 120,000 Portuguese in Angola among 4,500,000 Africans. Portuguese exploitation is based forced labour and fourteen years ago Portugal's Colonial Inspector described the labour conditions prevailing in Angola as "worse than slavery". This report led to the dismissal, arrest and exile of the Inspector, Captain Henrique Malta Galvao, by the order of the dictator Salazar of Portugal. He started the opposition movement against Salazar, which received dramatic publicity by his seizure of the Portuguese luxury liner Santa Maria in the Caribbean Sea.

Captain Galvao finally took the liner to an obscure Brazilian port and when the new Brazilian President offered him and his little band of 28 followers sanctuary within the state, he handed the ship to the Brazilian authorities, who in their turn gave possession to the original owners. Captain Galvao expressed the hope, while handing over the ship, that his exploit would embolden the suffering millions to make a bold bid for liberty from the bonds fastened on them by Salazar's Government.

The Portuguese Government tried to tell the that the delirious joy expressed by the Portuguese at the return of the Santa Maria to the port of Lisbon, which was en fete,-by order of Salazar-was equally felt in the "overseas provinces", by which they mean the colonies. But despite rigid censorship and complete isolation of the natives, the news of renewed and savage rioting in Angola leaked out. It is known now that the unarmed natives have been methodically slaughtered by automatic weapons in large numbers when they revolted in Luanda. Latest news indicate that there are storms brewing in Portuguese East Africa. Judging by the strict censorship imposed or all news emanating from Lourenco Marques, the Capital of Mozambique, and the heavy re-inforcement of the armed police

troops, there have been repercussions of the troubles in Angola in Mozambique.

There is trouble brewing in the Rhodesian Federation as well. It is reported from Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia that the Federal Premier. Sir Roy Welensky is preparing for an armed revolt against the proposals of the British colonial office. This arrogant and reactionary Colonialist had rejected the British contitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia at the London round table conference and had returned to Southern Rhodesia in a truculent mood. He is backed by the reactionary Dominion Party and despite all denials there is large-scale preparation going on for an armed reaction by territorial troops and armed white civilians. It is to be seen as to how the British Government tackles this situation.

The South African Premier, Dr. Verwoerd has expressed a desire, so it is reported, to come to an arrangement with the two fellow anti-diluvians, namely Welensky and Salazar, for a campaign for the preservation of European supre macy-which in itself shows the shape of things in those benighted parts of the world.

The reaction of the British Government this show of truculent and warlike preparations Welensky and his associates, has been one of firm disapproval. If the British take the steps the ought to, in order to protect the persons and rights of the Africans in Rhodesia, then Welensky and company will be defeated and driven out office. The question is whether that firmness is in the British Cabinet.

The latest news go to show that the Africa leaders have decided to swing towards Britain, the reaction from Welensky's moves. Welensky, is reported, is issuing a call on the Government and the "People of the Federation", which mean the European settlers in this case, "to resist every means at their disposal any change North Rhodesian Constitution which might result in political power passing out of the hands responsible people." There is no doubt Welensky intends to light the fires of international states of international s racial strife in order to maintain the suprement of the European settlers in the Federation.

But times have changed apace since the shot in Mau episodes. The judicial enquiry into that in human slaughter of freedom loving and desperational procedure. tribal peoples (Kikuyu) of Kenya, showed up Colonial administration as being an inhuman and degraded regime. The British Government show

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not and cannot complacently face another such of the

incident. The African leaders of the United National Independence Party, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda Mr. Sipalo, are confident that they will get freedom in Northern Rhodesia. They are now calling on Britain to send troops to preserve peace, law and order. It seems that the British idea of a equal partnership between the Europeans and the Africans has been totally dispersed by the action of Welensky. Welensky's party are now thinking in the terms of secession from the British.

Lumumba, Hammarskjoeld and the Rest

A political rival is reported to have said, "A Congolese Government without Lumumba is impossible. A Government with him is unthinkable." Our own Pandit Nehru has said, "Lumumba dead is infinitely more powerful than Lumumba alive" -which might well serve as the text of an oraison junebre for the murdered patriot. At the time of going to press we find a report that Pandit Nehru has stated "that the raising of any question now about the U.N. Secretary-General's office or person would come in the way of all effective activity by the United Nations", in his reply to the confidential letters written to him by Mr. Khrushchev. And there the matters stand while the conditions in the Congo remain as critical as before.

On Feb. 17, Pandit Nehru had stated, in a speech delivered at the seminar organised by the Indian Council of Africa, his opinion on the Congo muddle in clear terms. We subjoin an extract from the Statesman's report:

Feb. 17.—There could be no half-way soludon of the Congo crisis declared Mr. Nehru and demanded "definite steps with clear objectives and clear ideas" to save humanity from a catas-

In a solemn 50-minute speech which marked the inauguration of the seminar on Africa orgahized by the Indian Council of Africa in Sapru House here today, the Prime Minister added that the brutal murder of Mr. Lumumba had touched off a crisis on the solution of which hung the fate of the will be congo but of the U.N. and thus of the whole world. "Lumumba dead is infinitely hore powerful than Lumumba alive. His death has become of Africa," become a turning point in the history of Africa," he observed amidst thunderous cheers.

Speaking before an international gathering Mr. Nehru said without mincing words: policies pursued in the Congo failed to achieve the results aimed at. So those policies were the right ones whoever might have been responsible for them and whatever the intentions hind them; and the intentions also were not ways good. It would be the height of folly follow such policies."

The choice in such situations of middle paths became unsuitable. One had to take definite steps with clear objectives and clear ideas, he said and added, "What I am stressing is that the policies pursued in regard to the Congo have failed and the responsibility for this failure is spread out to some extent on all of us who are members of the U.N. and to a greater degree on some Powers."

Tracing recent developments in that strifetorn country, Mr. Nehru observed that attempts were made to stop the killing of Mr. Lumumba but those efforts only hastened it. To stop this grave turn of events some great Powers thought of changing their policy in the Congo but other great Powers still clung to their "pious language" and behind "that seeming piety" still lingered the smell of old colonialism. And thus the talk of changing the policies in the Congo prevented the desired change from actually taking place and hastened the tragedy. This, Mr. Nehru thought, was not an illogical hypothesis.

a few days of his death. Lumumba has become a historical and mythical figure; and with his death-because of historical forces-millions of minds have grown. Lumumba dead has become infinitely more powerful than Lumumba alive".

It will be noticed that Pandit Nehru had generally implicated "all of us, who are members of the U.N." But in our case there seems to be something more than a mere vague cause for crying mea culpa, if the following extract from the Eastern Economist of Dec. 23, (Delhi Diary) described our Mr. Krishna Menon's thrusts at the Secretary-General's work at the Congo:

What encourages me to say my piece about Mr. Krishna Menon's behaviour-in Solomon's words too wonderful for me!-is the point that he is now supporting a totally indefensible position. Almost everyone in India knows that the United Nations in the Congo is surrounded

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three times its numbers in armed troops. It is, therefore, just not militarily possible for Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal to demobilise Colonel Mobutu and put Mr. Lumumba back on the throne (which is what, more or less, the Soviet Union would like). If India's proposal is not this, what is the point of interference? Is it merely to indicate our capacity to order other people's affairs than our own? All my friends here were greatly taken aback when Mr. Krishna Menon allowed himself to be rebuked by the Secretary-General exercising his right of immediate reply. My own sympathy is entirely with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. What is his charter mandate to act in the manner which Mr. Krishna Menon has left delightfully vague? Obviously, there must be some resolution of the United Nations Assembly or the Security Council under which Mr. Krishna Menon deems that the United Nations has the power to carry out raids in the Congolese territory and take charge of the law and order situation rushing in all directions? But if they exist, may I kindly have the appropriate resolutions and mandates? Why is he unable to convince anyone, including the General Assembly, that there has been such a mandate? Even the U.S.S.R. and Comrade Zorin, who now quotes Mr. Krishna Menon with extraordinary approval, can have no proof that the mandate of the Secretary-General has been as sweeping proposed. And if he has the mandate, who has provided him with the forces with which to implement it? There are not a few of us who feel that, under extreme pressure, the Secretary-General may be goaded into getting out of the Congo saving nobody's face, but his own. This will be a momentous defeat for India which has headed both the administrative and military wings.

Schisms within the Congress Party

The Congress President Shri Sanjeeva Reddy was singularly accurate in defining the love of power, or rather the lust for retaining power, as being one of the root causes for dissensions within the Congress. The fall of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Ministry was due to the successful manoeuvring of an ex-minister, who was defeated in the general elctions of 1957, to get back into power. The subsequent behaviour of the displaced Congress group and their adherents in the U.P. Assembly has resulted in disciplinary action by the "High Command". A similar situation has

developed in Orissa, which is now likely to remain under Presidents rule till the next General Elections, through the capturing of the leadership of the Orissan Legislative Congress group by one of the former lieutenants of the Chief Minister, Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab. In Bihar too there is trouble brewing, as we suspected it would when Shri Sanjeeva Reddy had patched up the factional feuds and placed Pandit Binodanand Jha at the head of the Cabinet. We append below two relevant extracts from the Hindusthan Standard:

February 21.—The Governor of Orissa, Mr. Y. N. Sukthankar, has accepted the resignation of the 21 month-old Congress-Ganatantra Parishad Coalition Ministry submitted by the Chief Minister, Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab, this afternoon, and has requested Dr. Mahatab and his colleagues to continue in office till other arrangements are made.

A Press communique, issued late this evening from Raj Bhavan at Bhubaneswar, said: "Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab, Chief Minister, met the Governor on February 21, 1961, and tendered the resignation of the Council of Ministers. The Governor has accepted the resignation with deep regret and expresses his warm appreciation of the invaluable services rendered by Dr. Mahatab and his colleagues.

"The Governor has been pleased to request Dr. Mahatab and his colleagues to continue in office till other arrangements are made and Dr. Mahatab has agreed on behalf of the Council of Ministers to continue."

Before tendering resignation, Dr. Mahalab made a statement in the Orissa Assembly that in pursuance of the decision of the Congress Legislature Party he was tendering resignation.

February 21.—The crisis, which has been brewing since the formation of the new Ministrian Bihar, deepened last evening when at a meeting of the "dissidents" it was unanimously decided that neither Mr. Laliteswar Prasad Sahi nor Mr. Krishnakant Sinha would join the new Ministrias Deputy Ministers.

Both Mr. Sahi and Mr. Sinha were present at the meeting, which was held at the residence of Mr. Mahesh Prasad Sinha and attended by over 100 members of the Congress Legislature

adherents in the U.P. Although the meeting did not formally adopted disciplinary action by any resolution to the above effect, about a similar situation has speakers, who addressed the meeting, said in off CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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sidents, made an important speech at this meeting, in which he narrated how he was called to Delhi and how he wanted to help the new leader of the Congress Legislature Party, Pandit Binodanand Jha to form a Composite Cabinet, which was traditional to Bihar since 1937. From the very start of talks in Delhi he had urged upon the new leader not to change the Ministry in view of the coming general elections. But it was not heeded and the three Ministers, who had supported him in the leadership election, were dropped.

We are glad to record our appreciation of the decision of President Rajendra Prasad not to stand for election as a President again. It is about time men of his all-India standing and calibre went about the country, in the capacity of an elder statesman and a free agent, in an attempt to regenerate broad-based Nationalism and to extinguish the flames of parochialism and inter-party strife. We append below the relevant news report:

New Delhi, Feb. 20.-Mr. Nehru is likely to make a reference publicly in the near future about the desire communicated to him by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, not to stand for election as President for the third term, according to reliable sources, says Hindusthan Samachar.

It is further learnt that the President had communicated this desire to the Prime Minister and other prominent Congress leaders about fortnight ago.

Dr. Prasad is understood to have fully endorsed the principle enunciated by the Congress President, Mr. Reddy, in his Bhavnagar speech that individuals who have been in office for more han ten years should not stand for another term.

The Communist Party's Politics

To the normal sane person, free from indoctrination and not muddled with dialectics of Interhational Communism, the attitude of the Nehru Covernment towards the C.P.I., after the open declaration by some of their leaders in support of thinese Chinese aggression and the tacit support given to them by the rest of the party, seems to be bordering on lunacy. In plain language the statements made by the pro-Chinese group a plea for the betrayal of India brazenly put forward by a group of disruptionists who would not have been allowed to remain free and alive in any Communist dominated country or at liberty in any country with real national feeling. This idea seems to have dawned on the major group of C.P.I. leaders, judging from the report on their New Delhi party deliberations as given in the Statesman, which we append below. It will be seen that emphasis is laid on the "political conflict" after "Mr. Nehru's disappearance from the scene".-

New Delhi, February 20.-By an overwhelming majority the National Council of the Communist Party of India is today reported to have endorsed the "political line" jointly propounded by the party's General Secretary, Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, and the leader of the nationalist group, Mr. Dange.

It is learnt that the pro-Chinese Left-wing group of the party secured only 28 votes against the 52 cast in favour of the Ghosh-Dange leadership. Four members of the council, including Mr. Namboodiripad and Mr. Gopalan, abstained.

The crux of the Ghosh-Dange thesis, accepted today, is that India is a bourgeois democracy capable of being converted into an "independent national democracy" through parliamentary methods and that, for this purpose, the party should strive for "democratic unity".

The National Council has also accepted Mr. Ghosh's contention that, to bring about democratic unity, the party should adopt a "positive attitude" of co-operation and conciliation towards all progressive elements including "those within the Congress".

Before it lost the battle as a result of the voting, the Left-wing extremists, headed by Mr. Ranadive, put up a strong resistance to the Ghosh-Dange thesis. Mr. Ranadive and his supporters argued that the Congress was a totally reactionary organization and that it had already brought the country under a virtual dictatorship. compromise with any section of the Congress or other elements "masquerading" as progressive forces, Mr. Ranadive, said, would "emasculate" the forces of progress and revolution.

What seems to have impressed the Communist delegates was Mr. Ajoy Ghosh's elaborate reference to the country's "political prospective". CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

He is believed to have emphasized that the Communists must plan their strategy and tactics not merely for the immediate future but on long-term basis, keeping in mind the fact that the political conflict would be the sharpest after Mr. Nehru's disappearance from the scene.

In that event, he is reported to have added, Party would be dangerously Communist isolated and highly vulnerable to a "reactionary offensive" if it embarked on a sectarian policy

now.

The 28 delegates who voted for the Leftwing were largely from West Bengal and the Punjab.

The political thesis was adopted today in principle. The details are likely to be settled during the next two days and the thesis will be published after the council concludes its session

on Wednesday.

The battle between the rival factions of the CPI will now be carried to the "party Congress" at Vijayawada in April. But judging from its precarious position within the National Council, the Left-wing group is unlikely to sceure much support at Vijayawada.

"Moral Values"

With passing of time old values are all being exchanged for "cash values", and the highest return is undoubtedly given in transactions where the seller is a thief and dealer is a receiver of stolen goods. In Calcutta, and in all major cities of India, there is a class of dealers who openly trade in stolen goods, inclusive of motor parts and valuable metal scrap. Their profession is that of swindling and corruption from the beginning to the end, and yet they are allowed to ply their anti-social trade without any let or hindrance from the authorities. As they are arrant tax-evaders, there must be collusion between them and the powers that be. We append some typical Police Court reports from a single issue of a Calcutta daily:

Mr. T. C. Ghosh, sub-divisional magistrate at Howrah is engaged in the preliminary inquiry into the matter in which Canauri Ram, a Class IV employee of the postal department of Howrah is being prosecuted under provisions of the Indian Post Office Act for having as alleged, in the course of performance of his duties of clearing letter-boxes (street) secreted letters, threw them away, opened or detained postal articles

and thereby committed an offence under Sections 52 and 53 of the Indian Post Office Act.

As the case is exclusively triable by the Court of Sessions the magistrate is making a preliminary inquiry into the matter.

It was stated by Court Officer Biswanath Neogy, who is conducting the prosecution that on June 14, 1960, report appeared in the issue of a Calcutta newspaper (The Ananda Bazar Patrika) together with a photograph of about a dozen letters that were found floating on the river near Telkalghat, Howrah. The postal department held inquiries into the matter and later the Post Master, Howrah, sent a written complaint to the local police and a case was started.

Caught red-handed on February 18, while removing the head-light rim of the car of Mr. S. R. Das, former Chief Justice of India, Laloo Misra was produced before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Bijayesh Mukherji, who remanded him to jail custody pending further investigation till March 3.

It is alleged that the driver of Mr. Das parked the car in front of New Market and went Hiralal Sen inside the market when constable Bakshi, who was on watch duty in the area, found the accused removing the head-light rim of the car and immediately caught him.

Telephone services suffered a loss of more than 1,000 circuit hours and telegraph services about 1,275 in West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa P & T circles as a result of copper wire thefts dur ing the week ended on January 21. The thefts occurred on the Cuttack-Hijli, Patna-Varanasi Calcutta-Asansol and Ranchi-Asansol lines. Telecommunication services were between Calculta and New Delhi, Lucknow, Patna, Burdwan, Pana garh, Durgapur, Asansol and Ranchi.

To show how deep this corruption has pene trated in our social strata, we append below report regarding some schools where the young are supposed to be taught-what?

Secondary West Bengal Board of Education has received from time to time control plaints from parents of schoolchildren against realization of fees by some school management in a questionable way. There were reports besides the besides the tuition and other usual fees, additional money in the from of a coaching fee was being The Board has therefore sent a circular portion in Collection, Haridway realized from students in some schools.

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bad in principle and liable to give rise to malpra- for mutual subjugation, conquest, looting for students of Class X selected on the basis of on. the results of the annual Class IX examination.

The circular points out that coaching classes can be held provided no fee is charged and there are no complaints against the school that privilege is being misused.

A Board official said on Tuesday that school authorities might realize development fees, small fee to help managements give additional dearness allowance to teachers and some money for the school's poor fund.

THE EDITOR

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India can learn a lot from Congo. The first and most important thing is that when there are many factions and zonal or tribal gangs, cliques and murder clubs, no man, however, patriotic, is safe from the malice and frenzied jealousy of other patriots or secret agents of foreign powers. Lumumba apparently had everything in favour, for he was a great patriot, a pioneer in the field of advancement of the Congolese and a brave fighter of freedom's battle in Africa. But he could not escape the merciless wrath of his rivals in the field of patriotism. For many of them were synthetic patriots made according to formulae supplied by Belgium, the U.N. and Russia. In Congo, whenever one set of patriots managed to climb into power, they put in prison all others who had been unsympathetic to them. Lumumba was also put in prison; as he himself had been Putting other persons in prison. Then things took vicious turn and mere incarceration was no longer considered good enough. People began to disappear from jail and were considered dead or missing. In fact, the more important members of the opposition were bumped off, as they say. Lumumba was killed too along with some of his ablest assistants. And then the fat was really in the fire. In pro-Lumumba regions, all anti-Lumumba elements began to be executed; in anti-Lumumba regions all pro-Lumumba prisoners were in danger of execution. were taken out and executed too. There comnenced a non-stop orgy of murders and counter murders and executions followed by counter exe-

heads of schools imposing certain restrictions on cutions. After the murders and executions heads of coaching classes. It states that various patriots and regional leaders, who all had the holding of such classes in school premises is their own armies, began to deploy their forces tices. They may be given only after school hours general chastisement. We believe this is still going

> In India, the Prime Minister has been greatly agitated and deeply moved by the affairs of Congo. A man who could calmly sit down and watch the rape of the Bengalis of Assam, could not suppress his emotions when Lumumba was killed and his followers murdered here and there. He even offered to send combat soldiers to the Congo for help of the U.N. forces, there. In Jabalpur, of course, the rioting continued without reference to Congo politics. In fact, only our Prime Minister and our Communists have been suffering from strong waves of moral indignation over the happenings in the Congo. The reason for this is quite simple and clear. In India, only the Indian Prime Minister and the top-members of the Communist Party have an extra-territorial outlook. have no true feelings for anything national. All their feelings are for persons and things which are outside India. That is why the Congo has such top priority in Indian politics. But it is an unwise way of thinking and of behaviour. Indians should think of India first, and they should discuss and learn about other countries in order to serve India more effectively and well. The affairs of the Congo should teach us how not to be patriotic. We are already shaping our patriotism into a funny shape. Our regional leaders are showing all the symptoms that are fully manifest in the leaders of the Congo. We have caused some deaths here and there in our endeavour to glorify our "little Indias," in the same way that the Congolese leaders have killed their brother Congolese, in order to satisfy their sense of patriotism. We ought to learn from the Congo, that if we would not see reason and keep our nationalism clean and truly national, we shall also go the same way as the Congolese. We have killed, maimed, dishonoured and expropriated a few nationals here and there. But, if we allow our criminal passions to grow, we shall be soon executing our leaders too. And that will be just too bad for our leaders. Among those leaders are those whose loyalties are not narrower but are much too wide to remain within the frontiers of India.

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National Language

When a nation is composed of many communities, speaking many languages, following different superficial ways of life, manners and customs, but growing fundamentally out of the same cultural roots and presenting a basic unity in point of the broader outlines of civilisation, linguistic and socio-anthropological affinities and strong historical bonds which easily ignore and overrule the petty differences that separate them; then it becomes quite easy for the leaders of the nation to weld the separate communities into one great and superior body politic with a wider outlook and grander ideals which the little communities can never achieve if they emphasise stimulate their petty differences or give way to the baser emotions of narrower local interests. The methods of expansion and consolidation national forces, therefore, should be such as would make it impossible for petty-minded people to profit by stimulating local feelings or by usurping power and position in a cunning manner. Formation of exclusive local gangs or gangs of caste or tribal origin which engage in anti-social activities from the national point of view should be discouraged and opposed by the national leaders, who must be free from all kinds of disruptive emotions and remain aloof from groups, gangs or cliques with narrow interests and outlook. The national leaders should look at all things from a purely national angle and they should never get paganda purposes, and described as Hindi. mixed up with organisations which aim at securing power or profit for this group or that of a local a manner quite different from what happened specification. Participation in activities which India. Those who bargained with the British directly or indirectly aim at strengthening poli- created Pakistan out of India, at first declared tically or economically persons of one class or that the Muslims of India were one nation another must be strictly avoided by national that their language was Urdu. This they did leaders. They may be inveigled into association spite of the fact that Urdu was not the with persons of a separatist or exploitative out- tongue of anyone of the areas which constitute look, but, surely, they can easily look into the Pakistan. The languages of those areas true hackground of the areas with the pakistan. true background of the persons who try to asso- Pustu, Panjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi and Bengali. ciate with them and draw them into groups and untruth uttered by the makers of Pakistan, later cliques by quoting profusely for all the states of the makers of Pakistan, when of nationalism. of nationalism.

seekers is raising a cry of *Hindi Prachar* in the accept *Bengali* as a national language too. name of our national language. This has enabled Pakistan has now two national languages instead many utterly undeserving men and women to of only Urdu. achieve power, position and economic gain, at the cost of others who are highly qualified, truly the history of modern India is closely bound gain, at the

the baser urges which activate the fake chain pions of our national language, which is, by the way, neither national nor yet a fully developed language. When India decided to have a national language and selected Hindi as that language the national leaders either did not consider the matter deeply enough, or they were pushed into a position of acceptance of Hindi as their nationa language by propaganda, persuation and by the fact that Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sri Govind Ballav Pant and large number of forceful leaders from Bihar, U.P. and M.P., supported Hindi. Almost all of them came from Hindi-speaking areas and they all had a sneaking desire to see their own people rise in the social, economic and political scale by reason of their superior ability to read, write and spear in Hindi. It must be noticed that after Hindi was accepted as a national language, no attempts di proper dimensions were made to induce the intellectual classes of non-Hindi-speaking areas, to study Hindi or to accept it as a national language, as their counterparts had done in the past in relation to English. Hindi was and continued to remain a sacred preserve of the caste men of U.P. Bihar and M.P. and it never really spread ever down to the level of the non-caste masses of these areas, who continued to speak their own mother tongues like Maithili, Bhojpuri, Maghdi, Ardhamagdhi and the various other dialects which the Central Government lumped together, for pro-

Similar things happened in Pakistan, but i the Bengali Muslims, fought for their own mother One method adopted by power and profit- tongue and forced the Government of Pakistan tongue and tongue and forced the Government of Pakistan tongue and tongue a

The Bengali language is highly developed and sincere in their love of India and quite free from the history of the Bengalis. The names of

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Rammohun Roy, Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, Maharshi Debendranath Jagore, Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Abanindranath Tagore, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Sri Aravinda, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Sarojini Naidu (Chattopadhyay), Subhas Chandra Bose and of those legions who died and suffered for national freedom since 1905 in Bengal, make it quite clear that Bengal, the Bengalis and the Bengali language are closely woven into the national fabric, and no one can ignore these without ignoring India's national history. This Hindi business is slowly breaking up India and, in our opinion, Hindi should not be our sole national language. We cannot for ever hang on to English either. But Hindi cannot and will not take the place of English by reason of its limited development and lack of a proper background. English can be continued to be used, however, for another twentyfive years. By that time the Hindiwallahs will get ample opportunity to prove their case, at their own cost, and so will Bengali, Marathi, Gujrati, Tamil, Telugu or Malayalam.

A. C.

Jahalpur

There was rioting in Jabalpur for many days last month and ugly scenes were enacted with the customary disregard for all human values. When one reads descriprecently in Jabalpur, one begins to doubt isation or it is only and, superficial, fundamentally, our true nature is just as predatory as that of the head-hunters or of any other tribes which engage in manslaughter, loot, arson and rape just as a matter of course and in response to their India is a great country with all types of permitting the wrong types of men people with thoughts, emotions, a terrifying medley customs and ritual. outlooks, pathologically sophisticated. them by modern human standards. During guarantee safety, cc-0. In Public Domain. Gurukur Kangri Collection, Haridwar

the period that we have been independent, we have constantly listened to lectures and sermons delivered by our leaders improvement of our standard of living, but never a word on our standards of thinking, feeling or acting. Just as formerly we were lectured to adopt a way of life consisting of plain living and high thinking, and, we began either by making plain living and plainer thinking or by adopting the principle of high living and plain thinking, in the present case we have neither raised nor improved standard of living, nor have we adopted any more elevated ways of thinking. fact, those of us who have the means effect the improvements suffer from a lack of hygiene in their physical life as well as in their thoughts and emotions. Our traders or trading class people "honestly" believe that cheating, lying, faking, substituting, adulterating and generally exploiting all fellow humans are great feats of business ability. They, in fact, look down upon all persons who cannot emulate their filthy goondas and ways. Similarly, we have dacoits who sincerely believe in the excellence of all that is foul, obnoxious and contrary to human progress. Their ancestors, the thugis, religiously strangled their victims and dismembered them in ritualtions of what happened in Assam or, more istic perfection; and the present generation of law breakers are no better; for, they whether there is any depth in our civil- also think and feel that by killing, maining and terrorising others, who are innocent, they are fulfilling a great social or political purpose.

Those who rule India today, are the alleged followers of a great saint, Mahatma innermost urges which know no civilisation. Gandhi, but do they realise how, in a few On second thought, however, such gloomy years, they have reduced Indian thought, views and thought, however, such gloomy years, they have reduced Indian thought, views are discarded and we discover how culture and behaviour to shambles by of women to come to the top and to set the manners, physical and mental fashions? In a broad are quite aggressively primitive and some are enforced here and there as suits the behaviour is always based on carefully administrators. But, in the back lanes of cultivated is always based on carefully administrators. cultivated habits which are, however, anti- the cities and in the villages, there are no social, degenerate and obscene if we judge laws, nor rules and regulations them by

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against anti-social elements or an orderly The Assam and existence to the public. Jabalpur incidents are likely to be explained away by the leaders as caused by religious feelings; political, linguistic or these have but the truth is that falling possible because of the standards of independent India and because the Government and the political parties allowing the wrong kind of have been persons to become important in all walks of life. What we need now is a five or ten year programme for moral regeneration of the lost cultural forces which made India great at one time.

A. C.

Pakistan and China

There has been quite a bit of speculation in political circles as to the true nature of the alleged Sino-Pakistani negotiations for demarcating the non-existing frontier of the two countries. China is utterly unscrupulous and can do anything or claim any country or part of a country as an integral part of China; for she has begun her Himalayan campaign with a lie-that Tibet is China. That Tibet has never been an integral part China and that the Tibetans have a totally separate language and culture is very well-known to all who know anything about Tibet and China. The Indian Government (i.e., the Congress) has a record of condoning lies which very few can beat. They began their mission of supporting falsehood by agreeing to a partition of India on the Muslim League two-nation theory. They also disclaimed all political rights or obligations in relation to Burma, Ceylon, Nepal, etc., and abolished "kingdoms" within India at one sweep and proceeded to abolish landlordism and to engage in state capitalism in a big way; all in the bull-in-a-China-shop manner. At the same time the leader of the Indian Government became an apostle of international peace and a general adviser to all good and evil-doers of other lands, for reasons of exhibiting himself in London, Moscow and New York. India started falling to pieces under able leadership and large numbers of half-educated, half-cultured, half-national and half-patriotic persons began to dig in everywhere for an eventual show-down if anyone attempted to move them from power. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Our great leader was so engrossed with his greatness that he neither took any trouble to protect India against outside aggression nor againg aggression from within. Our self-created enem Pakistan had been watching us carefully and she noticed how India had been "progressing". Her own leaders for some time had been misbehaving in a manner which was worse than that of the leaders of India. Until such time, therefore, as in took General Ayub Khan to overthrow the Govern. ment which was dominated by the anti-social elements of Pakistan and to set up a better government untrammelled by the obstructive forces of Pakistani democracy; there was not much dange of any offensive of a military or a diplomatic nature from the Islamic Republic. But when Gene ral Ayub Khan took over all power and liquidated the weak and ill-mannered democracy that Pakistan had set up with men like Suhrawardy. India immediately came into the danger line of pure aggression, as well as of diplomatic manoeur vres. We have no means of ascertaining what steps our leaders took when they were faced by this ruthless dictatorship across the borders of India. They apparently did whatever they did their customary lackadaisical fashion Pakistan under Ayub prepared for a war of nerves against India. She has been doing all kinds of contradictory things without flinching at any step, which shows she has the approval of her sponsors and friends for all her activities. Military and economic aid from America or Russia the Queen of Britain visiting Britain's last stronghold in the Indian Peninsula and Ayub's flirtations with China, all come in a row. General Ayub Khan may be strong enough to ignore India and even the United Nations Organisation in his pretended negotiations for realigning the bound aries of Kashmir against the so-called "Chinese boundary in Tibet; but can he ignore the United States of America? The assumption then remains that General Ayub Khan has perhaps the approva of the United States of America and, may be, Great Britain to hold parleys with China. If he 'India's has, then China will probably gain nothing cepting indirectly by creating a trying atmos phere for India. If, on the other hand, China that is pressing everywhere to come settlements with all Himalayan and trans-Him layan states regarding her primarily stolen from tier of Tibet—which is China—in order to pul pressure on India; then, of course, nothing

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with his come out of it. is a case before the U.N. for her illicit occupation of parts of Kashmir-which is India.

In any case, in this war of nerves, India will come out on top, if she improves her military eqipment and forces and does not relax at any ng". He point nor give way. The present run of ministers and high officers, who are largely political nominees, should be changed first. For the morale of the forces is their best weapon, and that is only maintained in tip-top condition, when the officers look after their men, have the confidence of their men and when the ministers do not allow other considerations to creep in and damage the morale of the officers.

A. C.

Maharaja of Bastar

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We do not know what the Maharaja of Bastar had done to deserve the treatment meted out to him by the Government of India, for he was not tried in any court of law, though he was punished in some manner which caused him loss of prestige, position and, may be, money too. We do not know whether the Constitution of India permits the President of India to punish people at his will, nor whether the Home Ministry has any powers of life, death or reduction of freedom and status without reference to any courts of law or a fair trial. But then we do not know a lot of things about our law and our Constitution and their application and interpretation; for We do not belong to the Congress Party or any other party; though we have a very long history of our closest association with our freedom movement and we have always thought that every Indian must have his rights and freedoms and no one must take away those rights and freedoms in a highhanded manner. The Maharaja of Bastar hust have been very bad or very good (ideologically) to rouse the antipathy of India's Cabinet Ministers. But, we do not how the standards by which the Cabinet lidges goodness, law-abidingness or other-Assamese, for instance, got away with Was denie, for instance, got away was deprived of his gaddi or any other tights or advantages. In the circumstances

For even Pakistan knows, there one would think that the Government had rather flexible moral and legal standards. The Maharaja apparently cannot appeal to a higher court than the Cabinet and will, therefore, have to lump it. The whole thing savours of British Imperial practice.

The Crimes of Pakistan

There are certain fundamental realities of race, culture, ways of thinking and behaving involved in nationalism. A sort of superior and all pervading brotherhood is born of living under the same skies, suffering the same sorrows, enjoying the same blessings of nature and facing the problems of a common struggle for existence. A nation cannot come into existence by agreement, enactment or by conversion to a single faith or belief. Nations cannot be forged out of dissimilar elements by emphasising some chance similarity which happens to be present; for nationality as we have said, goes deeper than superficial similarities. When Pakistan talks about India ill treating her Muslim nationals, she forgets that she began her "larke lenge Pakistan" campaign by well-planned rioting and killing and that she played false to her motherland India by telling a thousand untruths about India's two nations (Hindu and Muslim) and about the "national language" of the Muslims (Urdu) and the great bonds of love and allround affinity that bind the Pathans and the Bengalis who follow the Muslim religion. Immediately after Pakistan was created by the British with the help of the Congress and the Muslim League, there was terrific rioting all over the border regions and several hundred thousand persons got killed and millions were pushed out of their ancestral homes to become refugees. In the case of India the refugees went out to Pakistan only during the early days of the partition, but the Pakistanis kept up their Hindu baiting in East Pakistan and drove out hundreds of thousands of Hindus year after year in a well-planned manner. They did not stop at Hindus only. At one stage they killed thousands of Ahmadia Muslims in Lahore and their orgy was stopped only when the Pakistan army shot down many thousands of

to be tribal fanatics and tried to capture more than the Hindus. This was proved in to be tribal land to success however. Hyderabad where the champion of Paki Kashmir, with not much saccess, the stan, Kasem Razvi, with his two hundred After assassinating a few leaders, the stan, Kasem Razvi, with his two hundred After assassinating a low democracy thousand Razakars, surrendered to the by introducing a dictator into their Islamic Indian Army in a matter of hours and thus Republic and we had General Ayub Khan brought about the downfall of the greatest who guaranteed good government to the of Muslim States of India. Pakistan is people of Pakistan in exchange of their menace to Islam and to the Muslims of the civic rights and constitutional freedoms. world. For a time Pakistan did well by putting in jail the immoral leaders who had been quite useless. But, soon the Bengali Muslims found that Pakistan was not for them but only for the Western Indian Muslims. Corruption and abuse of power came back been fairly elaborate and there is already after a while and things began to get worse. The army personnel who had been free from bribery and corruption, soon picked up the technique of feathering their own nests and things became worse than ever. In between, there had been rioting in East Pakistan to put Bengali back in its place as a parallel national language of Pakistan with Urdu. Now Ayub Khan is trying to divert public attention on to India, so that the people of Pakistan may not try to find out how good his dictatorship has been as a method of political regeneration. Indian Muslims are systematically exploited Pakistan for her propaganda against India. Not many Indian Muslims have any sympathy for Pakistan, for they know how the Pakistanis carved out a kingdom for themselves at the cost of Indian Muslims so to speak. They also know that the greatest killing of Muslims after Partition took place in Lahore and Kashmir and the killers were Pakistanis and not Indians. The Muslims of India know very well that they have been used as pawns by Pakistan before and they will be used as pawns again if Pakistan had her way. For instance, the secret plans of Pakistan to use Indian Muslims as Fifth Columnists in case of a war between India and Pakistan will no doubt create difficulties for India; but matters will be far worse for the Indian Muslims who will run the risk of total extermination. And Exceeding Requirements of His Duties Pakistan may not win in such a war in spite of any disturbances that she may be able

non-Ahmadias. The Pakistanis also pretended criminal activities affect Indian Muslim

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India is making every effort to produce technically qualified men. The effort has over-production in civil and mechanical specialised branches engineering. Certain of engineering are not yet over supplied with trained men; but will be soon, if the present mass production of theoretically trained men is kept up. Many of our technically trained men obtain first class honours in all subjects, specially from the institutions which are controlled by persons with no academic outlook. The result has been, that institutions which are properly run appear to produce less brilliant scholar than those others which specialise in grant ing first class honours to most of the students. Uniformity of standards of education, training and examination should be insisted upon, if India is to give preferent to the best only. As regards workers, then is no arrangements anywhere for the train ing of industrial workers. The so-calle technical schools train persons in the traditional tional crafts, or trades as they are called But modern industry is not run by crafts men. The operators in modern industry require ability of a more intensive general nature than is found in the skill craftsmen. This ability is comparable to ability developed by military training physical culture. The Indian Government has no outlook on the subject.

The functions of a High Commission to provoke within India. So that, Pakistan's are purely ambassadorial, diplomatic

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inspection is preposterous. He will be definitely exceeding the requirements of his position and function, if he went out doing the work of a press reporter, a friendly provocateur. For, Pakistan has many press agents in India who are sending news to and agents provocateur too in India, who do the work of propaganda and even spend a little money here and there in behalf of Pakistan. The Pakistan High Commissioner, therefore, need not do the work of these people. If, however, there should be enquiry into the condition of Muslims in India and of Hindus in Pakistan, that should be carried out by impartial bodies consisting of persons of greater scholarship, ability and a wider outlook, than High Commissioners usually possess. It will not be a bad thing if an enquiry is made as suggested by us above.

A.C.

Coal Mines and Public Safety

In certain parts of the coal fields of the Ranigunge and Dhanbad there are a fair number of colliery owners who do not observe the fundamental rules of safety for prevention of subsidence, and, as a result of their criminal negligence the countryside above the coal mines often develop fissures and depressions causing damage and destruction of property and even loss of life. These rules relate to sand-stowing and many mine owners avoid doing this for profit and thus create a dangerous situation for surface dwellers of whom there are millions in

perhaps, consular. We have never heard of the area. In India, we have a superperhaps, ambassadors going on inspection of abundance of laws, rules and regulations foreign and regulations which have nothing to do but these are seldom observed by the general with their own countries. During the last thirpublic. The people just do what they like teen years the Hindus of East Pakistan have and occasionally placate the police and the been repeatedly terrorised, molested and at- Government inspectors by palm greasing tacked by the organised forces of Islamic and then carry on as before. In this there Pakistan; but the Indian High Commission is no difference between enforcement of the had not gone on tours of inspection in order law in the mines and enforcement of traffic to send reports concerning the facts of the and other laws. Almost all the accidents situation in India. The proposal that Zanab that are caused by trucks and buses, by A. K. Brohi, Pakistan's High Commissioner railway trains, by falling masonry, by bad in India should go to Jabalpur on a tour of electrical fixtures or by running machinery, are due to non-observance of rules and no one does anything about. In other countries, when there, are too many accidents, the public servants concerned get in the net. mission of help and succour or an agent In India, nothing happens to those who could have prevented the accidents by proper enforcement of the law. It is high Pakistan regularly. She has many Mollahs time, the men in charge of Government departments were made responsible accidents caused by their negligences.

A.C.

Pakistan Agitating Over Jabalpur

We have already said, how disgusting and contrary to the national spirit has been the riots in Jabalpur. The wholt of India has condemned the action of the communally-minded hooligans who indulged in the killing, assault looting in Jabalpur. But Pakistan organised a show of disapproval of this affair by a carefully planned stoning of the Indian High Commission. We would not have said anything about this, but for the fact that the stoning was planned by the Government of Pakistan, whereas the Jabalpur incidents were certainly not organised by Pandit Nehru's Cabinet. In fact, the Jabalpur incidents timed well with the visit of the Queen of Great Britain and President Ayub Khan took very good care to show a number of refugees to the Queen and to point out how they had been driven out of India by the Hindus. In this case, we might have seen the hand of Pakistan in Jabalpur too, had there not been that case of the Hindu college girl who had committed suicide after being raped by two alleged assailants of the Muslim Community. Pakistan could have arranged the rape, but not the suicide. Whatever the facts of the case may be, Pakistan has always held the record in communal riots, loot, arson and rape. No one has forgotten the invasion of Kashmir by the Pakistan army in fancy dress. The Kabalis as they called themselves then, looted Muslim houses, killed Muslims and raped Muslim women in a bestial abandon unparalleled in the history of mass crime. No one has forgotten the great Calcutta killing which was organised by the Muslim League Government of Bengal. We are sorry about Jabalpur but it hardly behoves the criminally inclined Pakistanis to display righteous indignation in the obscene manner adopted by them at Karachi.

A.C.

Atul Chandra Gupta

It is with great regret that we have to announce the death of Atul Chandra Gupta, an eminent lawyer and litterateur of Bengal. He had been suffering from heart trouble for sometime past and breathed his last peacefully at his Calcutta residence in the early hours of the 17th February last.

Atul Chandra was born at Rungpur in the year 1887. His ancestors migrated to Rungpur from Tangail, situated in the district of Mymensing. Atul Chandra's father Umesh Chandra earned a very great reputation both as a lawyer and political worker at Rungpur. He came into close contact with veteran educationists and patriots of the time.

Atul Chandra passed the Entrance examination from Rungpur District School and came to Calcutta for higher education. He had a brilliant academic career. He took his B.A. degree from the Presidency College, Calcutta, with a first class honours in Philosophy and in his M.A. he occupied the first place in Philosophy and later he obtained the B.L. degree.

Atul Chandra started his career as a Schoolmaster, but afterwards he felt an attraction for the legal profession and began practising law in the district court of Rungpur. After having acquired varied experiences at Rungpur district court he joined the Calcutta High Court where

the facts of the case may be, Pakistan has always within a very short time he made his mark as held the record in communal riots, loot, arson and a lawyer. In 1917-18 he joined the Calcutta rape. No one has forgotten the invasion of University Law College, as a professor of Roman Kashmir by the Pakistan army in fancy dress. Law and Jurisprudence. After a decade he retired the restriction of the case they called themselves then, looted from this job.

He had a roaring practice and in spite of tremendous success in the legal profession his inherent love for literature increased day by day. He had a special liking and aptitude for poetics and it is this particular subject which induced and inspired him to write a treatise entitled 'Kavya-jijnasa', which won the appreciation of critics and scholars alike. He was one of the close associates of Pramatha Choudhury (Birbal) and contributed a good number of articles to the Sabujpatra, which have been included in his book named 'Shiksha O Sabhyata.' Atul Chandra was an erudite scholar and he had a style of his own which reflects his clear thinking in almost all of his writings.

He was one of the members of the Rabindra Memorial Prize Committee and in awarding the prize the Committee attached great importance to his views.

From his early life he was imbued with the spirit of patriotism and remained out and out a patriot throughtout his whole life. His attachment for national culture was evident in his behaviour, his attitude towards life and even in his dress. He was intensely attached to his place of birth so much so that he did not construct a house in Calcutta. Rather he built a house at Rungpur by spending a lac of Rupees prior to the partition.

Atul Chandra's reputation as a lawyer was widespread. At the time of Radcliffe Award he was the advocate engaged by the Government of Bengal to appear before the Radcliffe Commission.

Undaunted manliness was a remarkable characteristic of Atul Chandra. He had a puritanic outlook on life which did not prevent him from being an exceedingly amiable and charitable gentleman with particularly friendly attitude to wards litterateurs. His death has left a void in the cultural life of Bengal. We offer our heartfelt condolence to Atul Chandra's family in their deeply felt bereavement.

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By KRISHNADHAN DEY, M.A.

BENGAL played a crucial role in her struggle for India's freedom in the beginning of the present The patriots who suffered oppression hands of a vindictive bureaucracy and the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for this noble cause could never be forgotten. Such a martyr was Upadhyay Brahmabandhab who upheld the eternal ideals of life through self-sacrifice and undaunted zeal of nationalism. A real Vedantist in the truest sense, he accepted social welfare as the motto of his life.

Born of a respectable and orthodox Brahmin family on the 11th February, 1861, at Khanyan, Hooghly District, he came under the influence of his uncle, the Rev. Kalicharan Banerjee, a public man, orator and sometime Registrar of the Calcutta University. His father's name was Tarini Charan Banerjee. Bhabani Charan, the real name of Upadhyay Brahmabandhab, was initiated into Christianity of its Protestant fold by his uncle. In his college days he was a student of the Metropolitan College (now Vidyasagar College) and was inspired by the speeches of his Professororator Surendranath Banerjea. He then went to Rajputana, even twice, to get himself enrolled into the Army, -first time with several friends. His real object was to get military training and to make attempts at freeing his motherland; but his hopes were foiled and he had to come back to Calcutta. As his college career was cut short he became restless. Being led by a strong religious Jearning he then came under the influence of Naba-Bidhan Brahmo Samaj and took lessons of teligion, social service and patriotism at the feet of the great Brahmo leader Keshab Chandra Sen and Rev. Pratap Chandra Mazumdar. But a few Jears after, he, being an untiring traveller in the Quest of truth, relinquished the Protestant fold of Christianity and became a Roman Catholic out and out. Karachi was the venue of his activities for several years. His Catholicism was of a pecular type, more suited to the soil of his mother-And His views of the 'Indian Roman Catholicism' expounded in the 'Sophia' soon landed him into difficulties. The leader of the Roman Catholic Church in India as well as the Pope asked him to tecant his views which he instantaneously refused. The Church then Bhabani Charan disowned him. At this time applied himself to the study of Vedanta. He found

the Hindu religion and began to propound his views more vigorously than before. Now he found that he could satisfy the religious bent of his mind in Vedanta. In 1894, he wore the garb of a Hindu monk and assumed the name of Upadhyay Brahmabandhab. A thorough Vedantist as he was, he engaged himself in all sorts of social work and with Nagendranath Gupta of hallowed memory he founded the 'Twentieth Century' at Karachi. He had immense ability in this line of social service and he delegated work to others without appearing to slide out of his own responsibility. The mystery that lay beneath his changing views in the adoption of different cults of religion was the strong uncontrollable impulse to know understand truth. He also joined the Theosophist movement started by Mrs. Annie Beasant in 1893. The memorable lectures on Hindu religion on the basis of neo-Vedantic ideas delivered by Swami Vivekananda at Chicago attracted and inspired him so much that he found a new awakening in him and he came into closer contact with Hindu religion and culture. He then went over to England and delivered some very interesting lectures on Hindu Philosophy at Oxford and Cambridge. There was a sensation at Cambridge and a scheme for forming a Committee to create a new post of professorship for Hindu Philosophy at the University of Cambridge was worked out. But this project was gradually shelved and remained unmaterialised.

He then returned from Europe and in the midst of his all sorts of social work began study the writings, prose and poetry, of Rabindranath Tagore. A valuable paper on the poet's book "Naivedya" was written by Upadhyay Brahmabandhab in the July number of the "Twentieth Century." He also wrote an article about the poetry of Rabindranth in the Sophia, Sept., 1900. This was the medium of his acquaintance with the Poet. He then helped Rabindranath in founding the Santiniketan Vidyalaya, a seedling that has grown into the great Visva-Bharati University of today. He then founded the "Saraswat Ashram" on the model of Tapoban of ancient India. Though his connection with Rabindranath's Santiniketan Vidyalaya discontinued, still friendship with the poet lasted till his death. While Bangadarshan (Naba Parjay) was started himself to the study of Vedanta. He found Tagore, Upadnyay Drandler contributors. afresh, under the editorship of Rabindranath Tagore, Upadhyay Brahmabandhab was selected

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articles the paper very valuable our society and religion. His articles on Buddhism were very sound and are still admired by the scholars of Buddhism.

In 1903, a new awakening was felt in Bengal in the domain of patriotism and the activities of the people were turned to a new movement. A patriot to the core, Upadhyay Brahmabandhab felt the urge of setting up a daily newspaper by means of which he could best serve his motherland. His "Sandhya", the Bengali daily, came into light in 1904, a year or more before the commencement of our Swadeshi Movement. He felt possibility of the coming troubles but he did not refrain from carrying out his mission. convincing style he and powerful spread patriotism in the hearts of the public and his writings were so forceful that they at once gave inspiration to the people of Bengal. Days in and days out he propounded the various objects of the Swadeshi Movement which included introduction of country-made goods into our homes. He gave stress upon the production of Swadeshi goods with our own tools. He helped the establishment of the National University which would control the newly founded national schools all over Bengal. His "Sandhya" served as the Bengali counterpart of the English "Bandemataram" which was published first under the editorship of Bepin Chandra Pal and thereafter under that of Arabinda Ghose (Sri Aurobindo). Both the papers propounded the cause of national autonomy through the means of passive resistance and the only political aim was "complete autonomy for the country free from British control." Like other newspapers which gated these views, the "Sandhya" of Upadhyay Brahmabandhab came into disfavour with the British bureaucracy. They tried to enmesh him under the coils of the Law. Consequently the "Sandhya" Office was searched and Upadhyay Brahmabandhab was arrested along with the Printer and the Manager. Upadhyay Brahmabandhab prophesied spiritedly at the time: "There of his trial he gave a memorable statement in the helping the poor and the oppressed. He was Calcutta Police Court before Magistrate Kingsfull is no British jail which can hold me." In the course "I accept the entire responsibility of the publi- danger. He actually rendered social service cation, management and conduct of the neurons." cation, management and conduct of the newspaper humanity in Behar at the time of Plague. Social "Sandhya" But I do not want to take "Sandhya" But I do not want to take any welfare was the motto of his life. He stood part in this trial because I do not believe that it part in this trial because I do not believe that in a colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying out my humble share of the Colossus in the field of politics and journalist carrying the fiel carrying out my humble share of the God- and the void created by his death cannot be appointed mission of Sicarajin Public Domain Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar anyway up again.

on accountable to the alien people who happen to rule over us and whose interest is and must necessarily be in the way of our true national development." At this time Upadhyay Brahmabandhah was suffering from hernia and with great difficulty he could attend the Court. Suddenly the disease took a very bad turn and he was removed to the (now Sir Nilratan Sirear Campbell Hospital Hospital). The case was going on in the Police Court but he was quite unable to appear before the Magistrate any more. His condition grew worse after the hernia was removed by operation in the hospital. At last on the 27th October, 1907, his prophecy came to be true and he breathed his last in his full glory, laughing at the bureaucratic attempt to put him into jail.

Upadhyay Brahmabandhab was always a source of patriotism that demanded supreme sacrifice in the cause of India's freedom. His "Sandhya" published inspiring articles which became very popular at the time when British bureaucracy had been torturing the people of Bengal with relentless repression. Bepin Chandra Pal, the great patriot and orator, said about "Sandhya": "-the first successful venture in popular journalism in the vernacular of our province. It was this sturdy patriot whose most unaided exertion has brought the people of Bengal to a practically resistful attitude today. Of all men it was he who had imparted a militant character to our Swadeshi Movement." Through his books also he preached patriotism among all classes of people in Bengal His works, viz., 'Beelat Jatri Sannyasir Chith (1313 B.S.), 'Brahmamrita' (1316 B.S.), 'Samo Tatwa' (1317 B.S.). 'Amar Bharat Uddhar' (1331 B.S.), 'Pal-Parban' (1331 B.S.), still hold a high place in the field of Bengali literature. patriotism was so great that he openly declared that India's freedom could only be gained "poly through pen but through sword." Being bachelor all through his life he had no dream than freeing his motherland from foreign yoke.

As a man he was an ideal gentleman, always less to the extreme, sneering at any approaching

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PROSPECTS OF FOREIGN AID FOR THIRD PLAN.

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

THE total of external assistance required for the implementation of the proposed 10,000 crore Third Five-Year Plan of India is estimated at Rs. 3,200 crores by the framers of the Draft Outline of the Third Five-Year Plan which was published earlier this year by the Planning Commission of the Government of India. Exports estimated at Rs. 3,450 crores—an average of Rs. 690 crores per year-are expected to just meet the cost of inescapable imports of raw materials, intermediate products, foodgrains, capital goods for replacement, etc., which are estimated at Rs. 3,570 crores. 1

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There will be thus little left out of the current account in international trade to finance the Third Plan. Besides, India will be called upon to make payments to the tune of Rs. 500 crores on account of repayment of external obligations. It is estimated that the foreign exchange component of the Plan will be of the order of Rs. 1,900 crores which will be required to finance purchases machinery and equipment for projects included in the Third Plan; in addition it will be essential to provide for imports of about Rs. 200 crores worth of components balancing equipment, etc., needed to increase the production of capital goods within the country. Moreover it is proposed to import 17 million tons of foodgrains valued Rs. 608 crores from the U.S.A. Thus the total balance of payments deficit for the Third Plan comes to Rs. 3,200 crores.2 But since the credit for obtaining foodgrains from the USA has already been obtained by an agreement under U.S. Public Law 480, the total requirements of external assistance for the Plan may thus be placed at Rs. 2,600 crores. This is the minimum amount that is absolutely necessary to make the Plan a success. Eventually, however, due to the uncertainties of exports and imports the deficit in fact may even be higher. That this estimate of the requirements of external assistance is rather on the low side is also demonstrated by the experience of the first two Plans when the relative importance of external assistance in the total plan finance proved to be actually much higher than had been anticipated.

Two-pronged Strategy of the Government

The Government of India apparently wants to tackle the problem on two fronts: (i) to secure an agreement of the lending powers to the deferment of the repayment of loans beyond 1965-66; and (ii) to induce foreign governments to agree to take positive steps in making available funds to the Government of India as fresh loans.

Finance Minister's Tour Abroad

The Indian Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, was recently in London in connection with the meeting of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers and in Washington in connection with meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. During this tour Shri Desai had meetings with Government leaders as well as bankers and industrialists. While he did not negotiate or discuss any specific amounts of assistance, Shri Desai took the opportunity both publicly and in private to inform them of India's development needs, the extent of the effort herself would be putting in and the foreign assistance she needed at this critical stage of her development.

In a speech before the Overseas Press Club in New York, on October 6, the Indian Finance Minister expressed the hope that India would be independent of financial aid from foreign governments in ten or twelve years' time, but in the intervening period she would need external assistance to the tune of Rs. 500 crores (\$1,000 million) every year. In addition, over the next few years India would need some assistance in the form of surplus agricultural commodities.3

First Reports of Aid Prospects

The Indian Finance Minister returned to India on October 10. Reports emanting imme-

^{1.} Third Five-Year Plan—A Draft Outline,

^{3&}lt;sup>2</sup>. Ibid, p. 55.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, October 7, 1960, page 3, cols. 3-4.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and e Cangotti Reactions diately upon his arrival from sources close to

him were highly optimistic about foreign aid prospects. The Bombay correspondent of the Hindu reported on October 10, "It is gathered from sources close to the Finance Minister that foreign aid for the Third Plan was likely to be substantial. Both at Government and private levels India's needs were likely to be given first priority".4

Financing countries were said to have agreed with the priorities given in the Plan and were credited with the opinion that it was not correct to say that India's Third Plan was over-

ambitious.

The "Aid India Club" was reported to be willing to consider the question of repayment of the loans received by India during the Second Plan and allocation of funds for the first two years of the Third Plan in March, 1961 at its meeting in Washington.5

A PTI despatch from New Delhi dated October 12, said that the Union Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, had reportedly told the Prime Minister that the prospects foreign assistance for India's Third Plan were good, though the exact extent of aid that would be available would be known with certainty only by March next.6

According to later report of the news agency dated October 14, from New Delhi, the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, was understood to have told his Cabinet colleagues that he was optimistic about the prospects of foreign aid for India's Third Five-Year Plan, but that the exact quantum of aid that would be available would be known only in March next when the "Aid to India Club" under the auspices of the World Bank could meet.7

The Finance Minister was also reported to have told his colleagues that his talks with Government leaders, World Bank authorities and others had led him to believe that the required foreign exchange would be forthcoming.8

4. Hindu, Madras, October 11, 1960, p. 1, cols 7-8.

8. Ibid.

Leading editorial opinion was also option mistic about the prospect of getting foreign and this time. The respectable and influential mass circulation daily Amrita Bazar Patrika of Calcutta wrote editorially on October 16, "So far as the Third Five-Year Plan is concerned foreign exchange difficulties may not be as acute as it was apprehended. Out of the estimated total of Rs. 3,200 crores of foreign aid requirement during the Third Plan period, Rs. 1,200 crores have already been secured or promised The balance of Rs. 2,000 crores may be expected to be made up by further assistance from friendly countries, collaboration from foreign private parties and stepping up exports".9

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The Hindustan Times of New Delhi also wrote in the same vein: "The Finance Minister has indicated in conversations and speeches abroad that this country would be needing, for some years to come, external assistance of the annual order of Rs. 500 crores. Signs are that he found sympathetic even if not enthusiastic The World Bank no doubt continue listeners. to help in a big way. The International Development Association (I.D.A.) which has just started functioning promises some supplementary finances. The bulk of external assistance will nevertheless have to be inter-Governmental and bilateral. It is, therefore, particularly gratifying to find American interest in our developments steadily growing. In the case of the U.K. also the recent commitment of £30 million sterling for financing British capital goods imports for the Third Plan is a welcome indication of a continuing desire to assist".10

Finance Minister's Statement11

of the Union In the formal statement Finance Minister on his recent visit to the UK the USA made before Parliament of November 21, however, there was no reflection of this optimism. On the other hand he actually

10. Hindustan Times, New Delhi, October Ibid, October 16, 1960. 10, 1960.

^{5.} Ibid.

^{6.} Amrika Bazar Patrika, October 13, 1960, page 5, col. 6.

^{7.} Ibid, October 16, page 10, col. 7.

References to the Finance Minister's official statement in this article have been thindle 11. in the Hindu, India and the from the reports appearing Amrita Bazar Patrika; each of these newspapers having provided the second spects having provided details about different aspects

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emphasized the seriousness of the foreign exchange situation in grave terms: "As our reserves are already down to rock bottom level, there is no scope for running them further down", he said. "We have thus to depend wholly on foreign aid for the financing of our development plans".

Giving further details Mr. Desai said that India's sterling balances which stood at Rs. 189 crores at the commencement of the financial year had come down to Rs. 141 crores. Even with assistance from the Development Loan Fund, PL 480 aid for the import of cotton and other aids from different countries, Mr. Desai said that the balance of payments gap would remain, though reduced in size. It would be necessary to secure further assistance to cover the gap or in the alternative some foreign exchange expenditure would have to be carried into the next plan.

"In this situation", he said, "we have to minimize our imports by imposing cuts which may seem harsh but which are inevitable. Our present level of foreign exchange reserves is too low to provide any cushion".

He hinted at greater stringency in imports for the winter months (1960-61) because this part of the year was favourable for exports and because further external aid to meet the payments gap in the current year could not be counted upon.

Mr. Desai stated that the quantum of aid for the Third Five-Year Plan already committed or indicated inclusive of aid from all sources, namely the governments of the USA, the USSR, UK, West Germany, Canada, Japan and other countries and the World Bank, would be in the heighbourhood of Rs. 750 crores. This estimate was "somewhat tentative" as some of the assurances of aid were "purely verbal". He paid a tribute to Mr. Eugene Black, the World Bank President, for his effort to focus attention on the

economic problems of under-developed countries. He concluded his statement by saying that India had to redouble her efforts not only to increase foreign exchange earnings but also to tonserve and develop internal and external tesources. "We need more and more investment domestically and we shall have a growing themel external debt to service. These claims can be met by by increased savings which in turn requires all-round intensification of the production 13. Ibid.

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effort and the exercise of maximum restraint on consumption".

The press did not miss the serious tone of the Finance Minister but was not alarmed. The Indian Express wrote a leader under the caption: "Message of Hope":

"Dismal as the prospect seems to be, one must reconcile oneself to the need for cutting his coat according to the cloth left over after providing for the launching of the Third Plan. Having agreed to the Plan, enthusiastically or reluctantly, Mr. Morarji Desai's major premise that it is an integral plan which must be implemented in its entirety cannot be disputed. He further stressed the need for ensuring adequate assistance for completion of a project at the time of its initiation".12

Plan Not Over-ambitious

The newspaper stressed the significance of the report that the investment targets proposed for the Third Plan had found the approval of foreign experts. "Of more than ordinary significance", the Indian Express added, "the Union Finance Minister's statement that in all his discussions during his visit abroad it was nowhere suggested that the plan was too big or overambitious" deserves special notice. Earlier plans had been criticized precisely on this ground and this general approval of the Third Plan shows a material change of attitude towards them as well in retrospect. It is no small gain that expert opinion should credit India's planners with such foresight and in retrospect acknowledge implication their own under-estimation. whatever direction the Government of India's calculations may have gone wrong, it is, indeed, heartening to know that our plans have been laid on with precision to meet the internal need and the external challenge.

"With the need for going forward fully reinforced from every quarter and substantial help assured from friendly governments and institutions it is up to the Government and the people of India fully to pull their weight in their economic regeneration".13

The Hindustan Times warned the Government to minimize imports government

^{12.} Indian Express, New Delhi, November

account and give a greater elbow room to the private sector. On the whole, however, it also took a hopeful view of the situation. It was expressly full of praise for the Finance Minister personally. It observed:

the references "Mr. Desai's broad climate of opinion he encountered abroad on the question of support for this country's third plan are on the whole encouraging. It is indeed gratifying to learn that misconceptions and misapprehensions regarding our economic policies are steadily clearing up. To this end he himself has contributed not a little. The Finance Minister will no doubt agree that the policies themselves have tended to become at least in some respects more realistic and flexible. For this again he may justly take some credit. It follows that it helps enlightenment abroad if we also keep becoming more and more enlightened ourselves. It is true that friendly people in other countries are exerting themselves to the utmost to assist us with the Third Plan and Mr. Desai's graceful tribute to the role played by the World Bank and its distinguished President was particularly called for, but is it not our duty to help our friends abroad in this effort which they are making on our behalf? Amounts already promised as assistance for projects in the next Plan add up to Rs. 750 crores, exclusive of PL 480 funds (of over Rs. 600 crores) for the import of foodgrains. This is comforting so far as it goes, but we should not forget that the Planning Commission itself has estimated that external assistance of the order of Rs. 2,600 crores (exclusive of the PL 480 aid already mentioned) would be required to implement the next Plan. To the extent that the export expansion and import savings now projected may not be realized, the need for external assistance may even be greater."14

None-too-Bright Prospects

The moderate *Hindu* of Madras however took a different and graver view of the situation. "From the frank statement of our foreign exchange situation given by Shri Morarji Desai", the *Hindu* wrote in an editorial article captioned 'Hand to Mouth', "no undue comfort can be drawn. The precarious basis on which our

14. Hindustan Times, New Delhi, November 22, 1960.

balance of payments gap is being dealt with from year to year continues in the current year. In some respects this final year of the Sceond Plan has been worse than the previous year, While during April to December, 1959, our external reserves had remained fairly stable, since April, 1960, our reserves have gone down by Rs. 48 crores. In the Finance Minister's words the reserves have reached the 'rock bottom' and if further foreign assistance cannot be secured in the next five months to close the balance of payments gap, there will have to be a further cut in imports and some of the foreign exchange expenditure on the Second Plan schemes will have to be cafried over into the Third Plan period. This position does not certainly appear to promise a flying start for the Third Plan the estimates for which are based on the availability of foreign aid to the tune of Rs. 2,600 crores."

Two days after its first editorial article the Indian Express also came out with a severe warning against the none-too-bright prospects of getting foreign exchange. "The Finance Minister's statement about the prospects of foreign aid though it is welcome as indicating the minimum of which we can be certain, can do little to allay the general concern about the foreign exchange budget for the Third Plan," the newspaper wrote. 16

The well-informed and influential financial weekly, Capital of Calcutta sounded a warning against exaggerated hopes. On December, 1, 1960 it wrote: "It is quite clear from the size of the commitments already secured that the plan is running a grave risk, which is only obscure al the moment by the optimistic assumption that 'something will turn up'. Well, it might, and cer tainly timidity has never achieved anything. But before the irrevocable decision is taken to proceed with a plan of the projected size and form it might be useful to review the prospects foreign aid in the context of circumstances they are and not as the Government would like them to be. And whatever Mr. Desai said by did not do week about prospects, he certainly this".17

The Capital added that, "... in the absence of some such unlikely development as world dis-

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^{15.} Hindu, Mardas, November 23, 1960. 16. Indian Express, November 25, 1960.

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armament, which would release funds on both sides of the Iron curtain that would otherwise have been put to military use, India's prospects of raising development aid on the scale presaged in the Third Five-Year Plan, are about as poor as they have ever been since planning started".18

"Touchstone", the economic columnist of the Hindustan Times, commenting on the Finance Minister's statement, maintained this pessimistic tone and wrote that only about Rs. 340 crores could be said to be certain to be received from foreign countries as external assistance, leaving an unexplained balance of Rs. 410 crores mentioned in the Union Finance Minister's speech. 19

Aid from Communist Block Countries

The Soviet Union apparently approves the targets set in the Third Five-Year Plan.20 Information available to the public goes to show that a little under Rs. 300 crores will be forthcoming from the Soviet Union, other Communist countries and Yugoslavia. Of this amount, the Soviet part would be Rs. 240 crores. A team of Soviet officials was scheduled to visit India in mid-December to discuss the allocation of the latest Soviet credit of Rs. 60 crores for the Third Plan announced in September last. The projects tentatively selected by the Government of India for financing out of this loan are—oil refinery in Gujerat, oil and mineral drilling equipment, balland rolling-bearing plant, heavy compressors and pumps project, basic and certain power schemes and coal washeries.21 According to an earlier statement by Mr. A. M. Thomas, Union Deputy Minister for Food and Agriculture made on October 12, after his return from Moscow, the Soviet Union was keen on providing assislance to India to start more State farms like the Suratgarh farm in Rajasthan.22 On December 15, the New Delhi correspondent of the Capital reported that the Soviet Union was believed to be no longer enthusiastic about helping India in the establishment of the fourth steel plant.

On October 26, a trade agreement was signed in Belgrade between India and Yugoslavia visaging a 20 per cent increase in Indo-Yugoslavia trade. In 1960, trade would be worth about \$10,000,000 in each direction. While India had an unfavourable balance with Yugoslavia in 1959, the trade exchange between the two countries in 1960, was expected to be "totally balanced".

Great Britain

In his statement to the Lok Sabha (Lower House of Parliament) on November 21. Indian Finance Minister said that India's financial problems were fully appreciated in Britain. A further loan of five million pounds to finance a broad range of imports had brought the total British loan during the current year to 15 million pounds. The Finance Minister stated that Selwyn Lloyd had informed him that for the Third Plan, Britain would be prepared to make loans amounting to 30 million pounds to finance orders to be placed in the United Kingdom for capital goods. In addition, it had been agreed to explore the possibilities of getting another 20 million pounds from Government and private sources for the expansion of the Durgapur Steel Works.

On December 23, an agreement for a credit of Rs. 6.67 crores from the British Government to the Government of India was signed in New Delhi.

The main features of the agreement were that the loan was not tied to any project—it would be utilised for broad range of imports from U.K. during the current year 1960-61 and was repayable in 20 years, the first instalment falling due on November 30, 1966. With this, the British Government's assistance for the Second Five-Year Plan totalled a little over Rs. 107 crores. rate of interest would be the same as that rently applied by the U.K. Treasury to a loan for a comparable period out of the British Consolidated Fund on the same date plus one-fourth of one per cent for administrative charges.

According to a PTI report the British High Commissioner, on the occasion of the signing of the agreement in New Delhi on December 23, said that for the Third Plan, the U.K. Government expected to provide aid amounting to Rs. 66

18. Ibid.

19. "Economic Affairs" by Touchstone (this is pseudonym of the Associate Editor of the newspaper) in the Hindustan Times, December 1, 1960. 20. See the article on India's Third Five-Year Plan in the New Times, Moscow, No. 51,

21. Commerce, Bombay, December 17, 1960.

Hindustan Times, New Delhi, October

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crores—Rs. 40 crores as an initial act of assistance for capital goods from Britain required for the Plan and another Rs. 26 crores for the extension of the Durgapur Steel Project. These loans, the British High Commissioner added, would bring the amount of official assistance (including finance by the City of London for the Durgapur Steel Project) since 1957 to Rs. 188 crores. But this amount did not include the flow of British private investment and reinvestment in the Indian economy.²³

According to the New Delhi correspondent of the *Capital*, a British technical expert would shortly visit India to finalise the details for the expansion of the Durgapur Steel Plant.²⁴

U.S. Assistance

statement in the Lok Sabha his November 21, Shri Desai disclosed that U.S. Development Loan Fund had agreed to extend credits totalling \$187 million for certain power projects, railways and fertiliser factory, though only a fraction of the amount was likely to be utilised during the current financial year. These loans were in addition to two others, of \$25 million each already announced for financing the import of steel and machinery. The World Bank had given a loan of 70 million dollars for the railways and 20 million dollars for the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation (ICIC).

Biggest DLF Loan to India

On December 5, the Government of India and the United States signed agreements²⁵ covering loans to India totalling 114.1 million dollars (Rs. 54.3 crores) by the U.S. Development Loan Fund. The loans would be repayable in rupees. These rupee payments were not ear-marked to pay for export of goods from India and would not be a charge against India's balance of payments.

These agreements represented the biggest single execution of finalised loans by the U.S. Development Loan Fund made to any country on

23. Times of India, New Delhi, December 24, 1960.

any one occasion. Including three other loans approved by the Development Loan Fund in respect of which agreements had not yet been signed on that date, the total of credits extended to India amounted to 423.3 million dollars (Rs. 2015 crores).

Five agreements covered loans to the Indian Railways (50 million dollars), import of capital equipment for private industries (25 million dollars), import of steel (25 million dollars), extension to the Kanpur thermal power plant (1.6 million dollars) and the Barapani Hydro-Electric Project in Assam (2.5 million dollars). Simultaneously an agreement was signed in Washington by Indian and American officials for a ten million dollars loan to the Indian Finance Corporation (IFC).

While the Loans made by the U.S. Development Loan Fund would meet the foreign exchange costs of the Kanpur (thermal) and Barapani (hydro-electric) power projects, the local currency (rupee) costs would be met by loans from the sale proceeds of agricultural commodities supplied to India under Public Law 480. Thus, these two projects would be financed in their entirety by the United States.

The details of the loans are as follows:

(1) 15,000 kilowatts extension to the Kanpur thermal electric power plant—1.6 million dollars (Rs. 76 lakhs). From the sale proceeds of agricultural commodities supplied under Public Law 480 a loan of Rs. 95 lakhs would be made to the project to meet local currency costs.

(2) Barapani hydro-electric power project-2.5 million dollars. This would provide for the construction of a concrete dam across the Umiam river and would generate 27,000 kilowatts. From Public Law 480 funds, a loan of Rs. 6.2 crors would be made to meet rupee costs.

(3) Third Railway Loan—50 million dellars which brought the total of credits granted by the Development Loan Fund to the Indian Railways to 115 million dollars. The latest loan would be utilized for procuring electric and diesel loco motives and centralised traffic control equipment.

(4) Capital equipment for private industries—25 million dollars. The imported machinety would provide for increasing the productive capacity of private industrial enterprises in the fields of metallurgy, electrical installations, machine-tools, earth-moving equipment, chemical control equipment, electrical installations, machine-tools, earth-moving equipment,

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^{24.} Capital, Calcutta, December 15, 1960. 25. See the *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, December 6, from which the details have been taken.

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(5) Third steel loan—25 million dollars to be utilized for the importation of steel and steel products needed by private and public enterprises. Two loans for the same purpose totalling 60 million dollars, had been granted in 1958 and

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(6) Industrial Finance Corporation-ten million dollars to make available medium and long-term credits to private inudstries in India.26

Prospects of U.S. Loans

Speaking on the occasion of the signing of the agreements, the Finance Minister said that the record of assistance India had received from the DLF was certainly an impressive one. During 1957-58 the country had received totalling 75 million dollars. During 1958-59 the allocations amounted to 120 million During 1959-60 the figure was about 80 million He said that a number of other loan agreements were being drafted and would, he hoped, be signed soon.

Mr. Desai added, "Loans from the DLF have proved of the greatest value to us because we are not obliged to make repayments in hard currency. We in fact repay DLF loans in our own currency and the sums on repayment are not transferred back to the USA either in cash or in goods but are kept within the country to be used in such manner as is mutually agreed upon."27

Mr. Vance Brand, Managing Director, U.S. Development Loan Fund said that the diversity of the economic areas represented in the agreements signed on that date (December 5) was an evidence of the broad scope of the Development Loan Fund's history in India. He added, look forward to working with India during the coming months, continuing a relationship that began in 1958 and during which 23 such loans have either been signed or approved".28

Private Sector

"I would like to re-emphasise that the Development Loan Fund maintains an abiding interest the private sector of business and in the cooperative efforts of American and Indian private business interest", Mr. Brand said.20

26. Ibid. 27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

According to a Communist party analysis 35 million dollars of this DLF loan went directly to the private sector. Moreover, according to a separate directive the DLF aid was no longer valid for spending in 19 "hard currency" countries, including the United Kingdom and West Germany. That meant that most of the loans would have to be spent on purchases in the USA where goods were costlier by 20 to 25 per cent.30

On December 23, a credit of \$50 million (about Rs. 24 crores) for India's Third Five-Year Plan by the Export-Import Bank was authorized by the U.S. Government.31

The credit would be utilized for the import of capital goods from the U.S. for projects both in the public and private sectors. Small and medium-sized business concerns in the private sector would benefit by the credit. The loan was repayable over a period of 10 years beginning from 1966. This was the second credit granted to the Government of India by the U.S. Export-Import Bank. The earlier credit for \$150 million was authorized in 1958 for the second plan. In addition, Air-India International and three Indian firms in the private sector had been authorized loans totalling \$19.6 million earlier by the Bank.

Total U.S. Aid

The latest U.S. Export-Import Bank Loan brought the total of U.S. aid to India to \$3,740 million (Rs. 1,780 crores).32

The U.S. Government was understood to have agreed generally to help India for the Third Plan needs. It had also indicated that for the first two years it would make available 250 million dollars. The U.S. aid was expected to some extent to be united and be available to finance maintenance imports.33

It is generally held in financial circles that the U.S. aid could be increased if the private sectors were allowed a larger share of the plan. "For various reasons", writes the Capital,34 "the western aid to India is likely increasingly to be

^{30.} New Age (Weekly), New Delhi, December 18, 1960, p. 3.

^{31.} Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, December 24, 1960.

^{32.} Ibid.

Ibid, October 13, 1960.

Capital, Calcutta, December 1, 1960.

available for private sector projects exclusively. This is largely because with the virtual disappearance of 'united' assistance the major part of U.S. aid will in future be channelled through institutions whose charters do not permit cooperation with public sector enterprises, and because, now that the USA's allies, especially West Germany, have increased aid in these matters, more attention is going to be paid to the question of how funds are used".

World Bank

The Indian Finance Minister in his speech in Parliament paid a glowing tribute to the World Bank and its President Mr. Black for their support to India's developmental efforts. Earlier this year the World Bank had sent a mission to India under the leadership of Mr. Michael Hoffman to assess India's needs. According to the Statesman's special correspondent in New Delhi, the Government of India had thanked the World Bank and its mission headed by Michael Hoffman for their valuable and profound support to this country's developmental plans. But with some conclusions of the missionespecially those relating to the management of the public sector steel plants and to the need and feasibility of the fourth steel plant—the Indian communication had expressed disagreements.

"The Hoffman Mission" the correspondent reported, "had described as unsatisfactory the present three-tier structure under which the public sector steel plants are managed by a single corporation, Hindustan Steel, which has the Steel Ministry above it and the three plant managers below". The Hoffman Mission's suggestion implied that separate and autonomous management for each steel plant would be better.35

Writing about the Hoffman Mission, Hindu's financial correspondent in New Delhi, Shri H. Venkatasubbiah had the following to report on October 23: "The Hoffman Mission says nothing to mar the impression brought back from his foreign tour by the Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, that the general climate of opinion in financial circles abroad regarding the Indian endeavour has been 'consistently good' but it does make a number of observations which

35. Statesman, New Delhi, October 14, 1960, p. 7, col. 7.

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to constitute a suggestion that the public sector should be 'contained'

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"The cardinal point to be realised from the Hoffman Report is that those engaged in shaping the fortunes of the public sector enterprise should endeavour to strengthen the hands of those who are engaged in negotiating external assistance for the Third Plan and they should do it as far as possible before next March . . Theoretical justification of the public sector though sound in itself-needs to be supported with some demonstration of its workability."37

"On the basis of the World Bank Report" writes the New Delhi Correspondent of the influential financial weekly Capital of Calcutte "the Western countries have not shown and interest in the projected fourth steel plant i Bokaro. They would rather like India to concentrate on consolidating and expanding he three plants before embarking on a fourth one",

Total of World Bank Loans to India

According to an official summary of the Bank's operations released in Washington of December 8, 1960, the World Bank had extended loans totalling 662,100,000 dollars to India since 1948. Its first loan in Asia was 32 million dollars made in 1948 to buy locomotives and rolling stock for the Indian railways.

Canada

Canadian Government had given a grant of million dollars to finance the import 25 capital equipment for power projects, non-fer ous metals and wheat.39

West Germany

West German industrialists are reported ready to contribute one thousand million mark to investment in underdeveloped countries. money would be given out at five per cent interper year, no repayment for the first five year and repayment during the successive ten years The Bonn correspondent of the Hindu, hower noted:

Hindu, Madras, October 23, 1960, P. 36.

^{37.}

Capital, December 15, 1960, P. in Shri M 38.

Shri Morarji Desai's statement in the on M-Lok Sabha on November 21, 1960.

Hindu, October 14, 1960 (Report the Bonn correspondent). Pp. 4 and 7. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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but in numerous other highly industrialised countries as well has the tendency of being more to the benefit of the highly developed nations than the underdeveloped ones."41

According to a PTI report from New Delhi dated October 12, 1960, it was considered likely there that in view of the criticism of the nadequate size' of West German assistance to the underdeveloped countries made by several countries including the USA at the recent Bank-fund Meetings, aid to India from West Germany might be stepped up.42 The Indian Finance Minister said that West Germany had given two loans of 30 million dollars each and also agreed to the rephasing of repayment in regard to the Rourkela Steel Plan debt.

Analyzing the prospect of receiving aid from West Germany "Touchstone" observed in the Hindustan Times, "All that the West German Government may be able to do at persent is to give a broad assurance that this country (i.e. India) will have a reasonable share of the benefits of the new aid programme of the value between Rs. 400 and Rs. 430 crores, which Bonn has drafted for 1961 for the various developing economies seeking such assistance".43

The Hindu apparently was a little more optimistic about prospects of German aid. "It may be", the newspaper editorially observed on November 23, "that in view of the declarations made in West Germany to raise a 2-3 billion-Mark fund for helping countries like India, there may be no serious difficulty in raising over the next five years the entire foreign aid required for the Third Plan".44

Yet the prospect may not be as bright as that. The report prepared by Vogel for the German Foundation for Develop-Herr Rudolf ling Countries, an official organism designed to to-ordinate and promote the various efforts that proposed Republic is making to assist economic progress overseas, is frankly sceptical of offerlng assistance to India and other underdeveloped

"It is generally admitted that a high super- countries. "It is unthinkable that we should give that prevails not only in West Germany any encouragement whatsoever to an increase in the Indian birth rate", he said.45

U.N. Aid

Following a suggestion by the Indian delegate Shri B. K. Nehru, with the active support of delegations from other developing countries, the Economic Committee of the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution urging the richer members of the U.N. to ensure that the "total net outflow of funds from their own countries for promoting the economic development of underdeveloped States is increased and maintained at a level not below approximately one per cent of the national income".

Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) announced on December 20, the allocation of 36 million dollars for 41 new projects in 28 countries. According to this allocation India would get 935,000 dollars over three years for the provision of specialists in electronics and __electrical. mechanical and optical instruments to centres of India's instruments industry.46

This would be done through the Central Organisation for scientific instruments which the Indian Government had set up in 1959 for purpose. The specialists would Instrument Industry Centres in improving methods, standardizing manufacturing processes and designs. The Government was contributing 2.200,000 dollars and the UNESCO would be the executive agency.

For equipping a Cavitation Research Centre at the Central Water and Power Research Station at Khadakvasala, near Poona, 3,64,100 dollars were sanctioned for three years. Cavitation studies in the Test Water Tunnel would help improve hydraulic design and minimize the dangerous phenomenon of cavitation arising in flow problems of hydraulic structures and hydraulic machines. The Indian Government would contribute 210,000 dollars and the United Nations would act as the executive agency.

^{42.} Hindu, October 13, 1960, p. 4, col. 4. Hindustan Times, New Delhi, December

^{44.} Hindu, Editorial article. Madras, November 23, 1960.

Quoted in the editorial article in the 45. Capital, Calcutta.

^{46.} Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, December 21, 1960.

Aeronaut Research

A sum of 1,439,700 dollars was sanctioned to be spent over five years for equipment for a Research Laboratory, Aeronautical which the Indian Government proposed to establish. The Government would contribute 6,800,000 dollars and International Civil Aviation Organisation would be the executive agency. A sum of 1,050,000 dollars to be spent over four years was sanctioned for Central Training Institutes to train Instructors to staff State-operated industrial training Institutes needed to meet India's needs for 750,000 craftsmen in engineering trades. The Government would contribute 1,690,000 dollars and the International Labour Ogranisation would act as the executive agency.

Forest Products Industry

The Government of India was understood to have decided to approach the Special United Fund Economic Development on (SUNFED) for aid for planning for projects preparintegrated forest industries, ing investment prospectuses, and selecting sites for plantation of quick-growing trees. Mr. Von Monroy, an FAO expert, had estimated that India's consumption of wood (excluding fuel) would rise from 4.5 million tons at present to 9.5 million tons in 1975 and 12 million tons in 1985. In his view it would not be possible to raise output substantially unless certain measures were adopted which should include planting 1.5 million acres in 15 years with quick-growing trees and opening up inaccessible forests in the Himalayan region including Kashmir and the Punjab which had remained undeveloped.

Mr. Von Monroy also recommended establishment of integrated forest industries. Under countries and that aid on a bilateral basis must the proposed survey the country was likely to be continue. Western Europe could do much more divided into four gones. There is a likely to be continued in the four gones. would be prepared for 20 to 40 preionic world Bank in fact had made it of the world Bank in fact had belong the wo would be prepared for 20 to 40 projects.

ference in Tokyo on pulp and paper problem in retarded through limitation of capacity to serve the Far East that consumption of paper is the ference in Tokyo on pulp and paper problem in retarded through limitation of capacity to serve the ference in Tokyo on pulp and paper problem in retarded through limitation of capacity to serve the ference in Tokyo on pulp and paper problem in retarded through limitation of capacity to serve the ference in Tokyo on pulp and paper problem in retarded through limitation of capacity to serve the ference in Tokyo on pulp and paper problem in retarded through limitation of capacity to serve the ference in Tokyo on pulp and paper problem in retarded through limitation of capacity to serve the ference in the ferenc the Far East that consumption of paper in India debts on conventional terms, was likely to increase from less than 400,000 tons development financing different from the conventional terms, some likely to increase from less than 400,000 tons development financing different from the conventional terms, some likely to increase from less than 400,000 tons development financing different from the conventional terms, some likely to increase from less than 400,000 tons development financing different from the conventional terms, some likely to increase from less than 400,000 tons development financing different from the conventional terms, some likely to increase from less than 400,000 tons development financing different from the conventional terms, some likely to increase from less than 400,000 tons development financing different from the conventional terms. at present to 1.5 million tons in 1975. Packag- tional pattern must be developed on a substantial ing paper would account for one-half of the con- scale". sumption, newsprint 20 per cent and printing and writing paper 30 per cent. The Conference con- the newly set-up International Development Cluded that India would need between 1970 cluded that India would need between \$500 Association had been easily recognised during million and \$600 million of which about \$770

million would have to be in foreign exchange The United States, Germany, United King, dom, Sweden and France agreed to support the investment programme for India and other countries. Resources underdeveloped Would however, have to be found within the investment pattern.

Other Nations

According to "Touchstone" (In the Hindus. tan Times of December 1), the Japanese Government had just begun talking of a new credit of \$10 million. An earlier report in the Commerce (Bombay, 19 November) said that the Government of India was seeking Japanese collaboration for setting up a plant to manufacture "people's car" in India. If the present plans materialized Japan would invest 2,500 million Yen, in the

Conclusion

In his report to the Lok Sabha on November 21, the Finance Minister stressed two points to be remembered in connection with the Third Plan. First, it was an integral plan and finance must be found for the whole of it, not merely for a part. Secondly, when initiating a project, j must be ensured that the necessary assistance for completing it would be ultimately forthcoming

One hopeful thing in an otherwise gloom situation was that the Western nations, who alone have the resources to offer adequate assistance, did not consider the Third Plan over At the Fund-Bank meetings is ambitious. Washington it had been recognised that the international institutions could not by themselves med the assistance needs of the under-developed that if the "tempo of progress in the under It was estimated at the FAO/ECAFE con-developed countries was not to be dangerously

The inadequacy of the funds available to million and \$600 million, of which about \$150 those discussion had been easily recognised CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridward hope had been expressions.

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that the members' contributions would be increased long before the stipulated five-year

As far as the International Monetary Fund period. was concerned, the need to deploy its resources with great speed and flexibility had also been stressed. It had been suggested that the Fund should undertake a study of the damage that might be caused by restrictions inevitably imposed by under-developed countries on the economies of other underdeveloped countries and ways in which this could be minimized.

While it would be premature to rush to any conclusion before the announcement of the new Kennedy administration's policy in the USA and the "Aid India Club" which is scheduled to meet in March next, the prospects of India being able to secure Rs. 2,600 crores worth of foreign exchange during the coming five years are, put it mildly, none-too-bright.

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PARTY, PARLIAMENTARY GROUP AND POWER

By PRAFULLA CHAKRAVERTI

important. First of all, there is a whole series independent. of technical devices which make it possible to reason. On the contrary, with the communist the celebrities. parties, the procedure assumes political signifibut provides him with benefits in kind which makes it possible to exercise control over him. the task of defending it. Communist deputies have no private secretarial help; they use the services of the party secre- device used to guarantee lariat, which is thus able to exercise strict and parliamentary representatives. close supervision of their parliamentary activities two-edged. An instrument of domination

The aim is in the partial and parliamentary representatives. The party it is the leaders of

THE factors internal to the party are much more to prevent the elected members from becoming

(iii) With systematic uprooting may be (i) increase this subservience of the parliamen- compared the system of elimination of celebrities. lary representative. The old idea of making over The party generally chooses its candidates from the parliamentary salary to the party has acquired the unknown and unhonoured men who have no a new force in this connection. The socialist individual fame. No post of responsibility in the parties had made use of it primarily for financial party and no Parliamentary seat is entrusted to

The technique of the study or research cance. In the first place, the intention is to make bureau is similarly much used by the Fascist and the deputy only a salaried worker of the Communist Party. No bill tabled by a deputy ever Party. The party pays the deputy a modest wage emanates directly from him. It is prepared by the party specialist and the deputy simply is given

(v) Finally, dual status provides the last discipline amongst The weapon is down to the smallest detail. The system is most parliamentarians in middle-class and the socialist parties, dual status here becomes an instrument (ii) A more important device is the syste- of domination by the parties. Instead of parlia-The aim is to prevent them from turning their leadership in the party, it is the leaders of the constituence. constituencies into personal stronghold. With this party who take seats in Parliament. Then the inner aim in view care is taken to choose candiates circle leader can utilise the prestige conferred on outside the conferred ou from outside the district that they will be called him by the deputy or minister to bolster his own outside the district that they will be called him by the deputy or minister to both to represent. Communist parties in parti- authority in the party. To a communist, it is a had at it. their disposition many other methods quite obvious that a member of the Central at their disposition many other methods quite obvious that a member of the Central

Committee is much more important than a member of the parliamentary group. When a leader unites both functions in his own person, it is obviously the former that he prizes, being himself trained in the party attitude and himself convinced that the party is far superior to bourgeois parliament, that party office is far more meritorious than parliamentary office. When the communist deputies become ministers, there is no change in essentials. The party explains to the members that the ministers are primarily representatives of the party who are carrying out the party's policy in the ministry. This robs the post of a minister of the essence of its prestige.

Domination over the parliamentary presentatives by the party is the result of general structure of the party and of its general orientation much more than the adoption of particular technical devices. In consequence, communist and fascist parties can deliberately neglect certain of its devices. Parliamentary representatives may hold majority in committees. This is of no importance because they are not parliamentary representatives in the true sense, because their status as members of the party's inner circle takes precedence over their status members of the parliament because the communist party constitutes a community powerful enough and homogeneous enough to unify all the elements of which it is composed.

In a recent controversy regarding the authority of the Labour Conference and the parliamentary leadership, the question has been raised by several prominent members of the Labour Party in an appeal for unity, published in the 'New Statesman' of November 26, 1960, calling upon all members of the Labour Party to endorse the following appeal in support of Conference decision.

"We declare that unity in the party can only be achieved through the whole-hearted acceptance of the authority of the party by all sections of the movement, including the Parliamentary Party and the implementation of Conference decision by the National Executive Committee and the Party's Standing machinery and paid officials. We believe that unless the authority of Conference is maintained this way, the prospects before the movement is one in which party policy will be arbitrarily determined by the Parliamentary leadership."

"We refuse to allow the party Conference and affiliated trade unions and the constitute parties to be reduced to the impotent position of debating resolution without deciding the policy."

They further remarked that in casting aside the authority of the Labour Conference and flagrantly defying its decision, the parliamentan leadership has deliberately provoked a crisis the Labour Party. While every party member and M.P., must be free to express his own opinion and try to change party policy by constitutions means, no one has the right to usurp party machinery in order to overthrow its constitution and policy. Among the signatories were Philit Abrams, Robert Davis, Richard Fletcher and thousand other leading party workers.

A similar crisis arose in 1945 when Prof Harold Laski became the Chairman of the Lahou Party Executive. A Conference was called a Potsdam between Britain. America and Russia Prime Minister Churchill invited Attlee accompany him to Potsdam as one of the British representatives. After consulting the leading college gues Attlee accepted. Prof. Laski made a state ment in which he suggested that Attlee should attend only as an 'observer.' Mr. Attlee reacted strongly and remarked that the position of the Chairman of the Executive was not well under stood by Prof. Laski. He was elected for a yes only by the Executive from among their out number. It had become the practice to choose the member with the longest service who had no occupied the Chair. It was rather a curious custom and had at times led to the election of Chairman who was not very well qualified. duty of the Chairman was to preside over meet ings of the Executive and of Annual Conference

The leader of the party on the other had was the Chairman of the Parliamentary elected to that position annually by the members of the D of the Parliamentary Party in the House who seemed to always uncertain as to whether his role was to of that of a leading figure on the political state or an 'eminence grise' operating influential behind the scenes, appeared to be inclined to which party policy will first role when he became the Chairman. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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In this connection Herbert Morrison has remarked, "The leader of the Party was recognised as the leader of the Labour Party not only in the Parliament but also in the country." He was ex-officio member of the National Executive and was free to attend any of the sub-committees of the Executive whenever he wished to do so. He was the leading spokesman of the party.

In this connection he said that the leader of the Conservative Party possessed powers much beyond those of the Labour Party. He appointed the Chairman of the Conservative Party organisation at the Central Office. This gave him a special authority over the party in the country. Once elected he remained the leader until he died or resigned. The party followed traditions and precedence. Consciously or unconsciously, the Conservative Party had some sort of constitutional theory that the Government should have a considerable degree of independence. The Central Council of the Conservative Party and its annual conference could express views but they were restrained in such expression, specially when the Conservative Party was in power. In any case, it had been publicly and officially stated that the leader of the party, responsible as he was for policy, was in no way bound by these expressions of opinion. -

Mr. Morrison further remarked that the standing and authority of the Labour Party Conference and the National Executive of the Party in policy matters were stronger than in the Conservative Party, particularly on policy declarations at General Elections. The standing orders read as follows:

1. The Party Conference shall decide from time to time what specific proposal of legislative, financial or administrative reform shall be included in the party programme. No proposal shall be included in the party programme unless it has been adopted by the Party Conference by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes recorded on card vote.

which items from the Party Programme shall be included in the Manifesto to be issued to every General Election. The joint meeting of the two Executive

define the attitude of the party principal issues raised in the elections which are not covered by the Manifesto.

So it was clear that both the Executive and the Party Conference had substantial policy-making functions. A Labour Government was committed to general policy laid down in the Labour Election Manifesto. Neither the Party Executive nor the Party Conference claimed the right to instruct a Labour Government while it was in office nor was there anything in the party constitution giving the Conference or the Executive the power to instruct the Parliamentary Labour Party when in opposition. Mr. Attlee made it clear prior to General Election in 1945 that responsibility must rest with the Government but that there should be consultation upon the issues that arose in order to present a policy consonant with the views of the great majority of the people of the country. In reply to Mr. Churchill in this connection Mr. Attlee said that within the programme adopted by the annual Party Conference, the Parliamentary Labour Party had complete discretion in its conduct of parliamentary business and in the attitude it should adopt to. legislation tabled by other parties. The standing orders which governed its activities were drawn up and determined by the Parliamentary Labour Party.

consultations between There were National Executive of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party. These consultations were indeed arranged for in the Labour Party's own Constitution, the clause reading as follows:

confer with the Parliamentary Labour Party at the opening of each Parliament session and at any other time when it or the Parliamentary Party may desire Conference on any matters relating to work and progress of the party."

At no time and in no circumstances had the National Executive Committee ever sought 2. The National Executive Committee give instructions to the Parliamentary Labour and the Parliamentary Committee shall decide Party arising out of the consultation. Indeed it had no power to do so. The Chairman had not by the National Executive Committee prior remarks in a press correspondence constitute Committees shall also Executive Committee of the Parliamentary Party.

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Mr. Attlee with the approval of all the labour candidates and of the party generally held firm to the principles of parliamentary democracy and the constitutional doctrine set out in his letter had never been repudiated by the Labour Party.

These instances depict in summary a picture of the survey made by historical philosophers, notably Mr. Maurice Duverger of the University of Paris regarding the functioning of the political parties, the trends of party growth and their there is no methods of operation. Though abstract standard or norm in terms of which the working of parties can be evaluated, still these country tried instances show how each grapple with the problems that made their appearances in different stages of its growth.

In this evolution of political parties, the main question that poses itself is how far authority of the leaders working in the party itself as well as its Parliamentary representative should be weighed one against the other whether a form of rigid discipline can be prescribed for conditioning their behaviour. In any case, the homogeneity of the members has to be maintained to make the party really efficient and competent to exert itself in the shaping of body politics of the country. The leadership of the party rests on certain foundations and it gathers strength provided it is strongly based. It must get itself acquainted with the positions and the influences at the base and modify its tactics in that light. The leadership adapts itself with the times and the form of authority thereby becomes modified within the party itself and if really there is preparedness for transformation, organised and institutionalised leadership is established in which the office becomes more important than the persons who hold it.

As has been indicated earlier, broadly three phases in the evolution of the parties are evidenced. One, domination of Parliamentary representatives over the party; two, a state of relative equilibrium between Parliamentary representatives and party leadership; three, domination of the party over Parliamentary representatives.

Except in Communist countries, the systems that prevail in the different countries of the world substantiate the fact that the party nominees once elected to the Parliament are in general guided by their parliamentary party rules and manners of behaviour. Considerable initiative is the mindle client of the mindle client of the control of the c

left to the Parliamentary Party and the leader in given a good deal of authority to guide his party members in the Parliament whether in the ad ministration or in the opposition, unfettered by extraneous directives.

The tussle comes when the question of nomination of candidates for general elections is taken up. In the process of this nomination, the party units operating in the constituency areas play some important role and the extent of their influence is determined by the extent of the constituency itself and the method of voting that is taken recourse to. In case it is a large constituency, it becomes difficult for one person to contact the wide electorate and, naturally, he has to rely on the support of the party. When the proportional representation or the list system is applied in the method of election, the power of the party becomes supreme. In that case, the party mandate seems to carry a considerable weight.

The U.S.A. has accepted the principle of preballot, namely, primaries in nominating party candidates for election. Thereby, it has attempted to eliminate the unholy influence of the 'machine'.

It is only through the power retained in the hands of the party in nominating candidates for general elections that the party can seek to exert its control over the prospective candidates. It is this factor that has been creating divergences between groups of Congressmen who hold control of the organisational set-up and those working in the parliamentary field. The importance that is attached to the Congress Committees function ing at the Pradesh level and also at the levels lower below seems to rivet round the point whether the sitting member in the legislature will owe allegiance to the leader of the Legislature Party or more to the Head of the Congress organisation with a view to ensuring his nomination for the next election. This assumes more importance, the more the election days come nearer. After all, the local Congress Committee functioning in the constituency of the member of the legislature concerned has to be kept in good humour so as to ensure their ungrudging support during the hectic days of election. Naturally, is prompted to see that the feelings of the people that countries that count in the organisational set-up should not be unduly made adverse to his own interests.

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sts. of as well of the office-bearers of the Congress Committees bring about a psychological attitude that places the Congress organisation at an advantage vis-a-vis the prospective candidate only when the election is in the offing. Elaborate preparations are made to capture the Congress organisation on the eve of the election year and all enthusiasm fades out the moment the election is over.

Up till now, the Congress legislature parties have been trying to develop traditions of their own by adopting some workable formulae for ensuring concord and amity with their counterparts working in the organisation. On the whole, i has worked well except in some acute cases of crisis when controversies assumed serious proportion over the question as to who should dominate whom. Some ad hoc arrangements had been made to settle the disputes, but the vital question remained unsolved.

The recent Session of the AICC held at Raipur adopted a resolution regarding the selection of candidates for the Third General Elections. It has been pointed out that the machinery that has already been provided for in the Congress Constitution needed to be improved and strengthened so that the right type of candidates were selected and unnecessary and unseemly controversies avoided.

This clearly shows that there has been considerable awareness in the country that the technique of nomination of candidates plays a very vital role and that in that process a lot of controversy arises which, instead of strengthening the organisation and also bettering the pros-Pects of success of its nominees, weakens itself. The opposition thereby takes advantage of this party distuption and outmanoeuvres the Congress in its bid for success in the general elections.

It is expected that the Working Committee of the Congress in consultation with the PCCs devise some effective method that will help the selection of candidates without acrimony and bitternetion of candidates without acrimony of bitterness. Once the question of nomination of candidates is settled, the unsheathed sword that kept hanging over the heads of the prospective tandidates including the sitting members of the legislature is put back in its scabbard and the hender of the legislature finds himself disenhangled from its incubus. The party leader also is ket free to deal with the working of the legislaparty released from super-imposition of the

guide the working of his party within the broad policy outlined by the Congress in its annual gathering or in the meetings of the AICC.

It has now to be considered whether in the light of experiences of the working of parties in different countries of the world, and also in India itself, the Congress organisation should devise a suitable method congenial to its own climate and culture, which will determine the relation between Congressmen working in the organisation those working in the Parliamentary field.

There is a section of Congressmen which holds the view that the third phase in the evolution of the party as has been indicated above should be the determining factor in the working of the Congress party in India, namely, that the party should have domination over its Parliamentary representatives. It has been amply illustrated above that the different parties had attempted to replace Parliamentary domination by party domination in different forms, and that it was the Communist and Fascist party who developed the method that favoured the domination of the party over its Parliamentary representatives, thus fitting it with the collective organisation of the parties. As has been described above, a series of technical devices made it possible to increase the subservience of the Parliamentary representatives to the party. Besides, in the Communist countries, no importance is attached to the position of Parlamentary representatives because the status of the Communists as members of the party's inner circle takes precedence over their status as members of the Parliament.

It is only when the general structure of the and its general orientation undergo change and when particular technical devices are adopted analogous to those in the Fascist and Communist circles that the Congress as a party can expect to wield influence over its Parliamentary representatives. The practices of the Labour Party in U.K. that has evolved through the few decades of the 20th Century may be studied with considerable benefit by the Congressmen in India. Strangely enough, at the end of the controversy that was raised by the statement of Prof. Laski over the question of Mr. Attlee's proposed visit to Potsdam, Mr. Laski having described himself a scapegoat No. 1 pointed out that after the general of any external force. Of ceremental described and external force. Of ceremental described and external force. election of 1945, "he would be returned to the

of Mr. Attlee's letter to the Prime Minister (Mr. Chuerchill). It defines a position the Prime Minister knew perfectly well existed".

The statement of Prof. Laski undoubtedly was tinged with a feeling of agony and affliction as he felt discomfited in failing to maintain his stand and ultimately in being compelled to withdraw. The voice of Prof. Laski is not certainly

strange to us.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that since in a country where multiple party system works, the technique of the Communist and the Fascist countries through which the party places itself in a form of absolute supremacy dominating in each field including the Parliament can hardly be adopted. The Congress party has built up a tradition unique of its kind. Controlling as it does the destiny of people numbering more than 400 millions, having the largest party membership in the countries working for democracy, the Congress need not necessarily adopt a stereotyped method on the line of others. The organisation works through its committees functioning at the base and spreading over more than half a million of villages and by and large commands considerable confidence, of the people through its long record of service. It is quite in the fitness of things that it has yet to maintain that contact by working through its agencies directly associated with the building up of a new India. The Party counts more with the people at large through its constructive activities rather than its represen-Legislatures. The introduction of Panchayati Raj self more to the people at large whose interests cult to find out a solution even in the midst he serves by direct participation in the develop- confusions and contradictions which the Congress ment work rather than the man working at a dis- has been working under.

Laski also commented, "I agree with every word tance in the State headquarters or in the Capital

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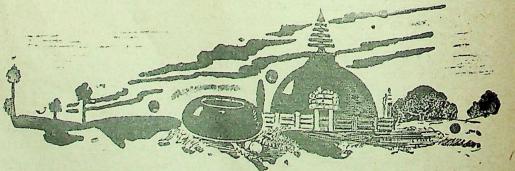
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As such, the idea of the organisational set-up simply restricting itself to the task of nominating candidates for the legislature and that also not with unfettered discretion and withdrawing itself from all position of power and prestige, can by no means be admitted as cogent and reasonable It has to retain its sphere of influence and status as has been accrued by its service and suffering and no question of minimizing its importance should arise. At the same time the organisation itself must take into account the historical factors that have been brought into prominence in the other countries as an outcome of the interplay of forces, both social and political, and have considerably reoriented the parties and their mechanism of work. The special factors that had so long influenced the growth of party system in India and the steady evolution of the Congress moving to higher stages of eminence-saddled with the responsibility of running the administration in the Centre as well as the States have to be weighed with care in this historical perspective and some practical scheme be adopted soon. The controversy must be set at rest at least for some time to come and the malady that is finding unhappy methods of expression through the constant tussles among the Congressmen in some States to the remorse of the erstwhile supporters of the Congress should be put a stop to.

Shri K. Hanumanthaiya and Prof. Humayun representatives working in different spheres of Kabir sought to find out a workable formula ensuring the smooth workings of the party without tatives working in the Parliament and the State impairing the status of the Congressmen working either through the organisation or through the has made it abundantly clear that the 'man on the legislatures. Other leading Congressmen had also spot' plays more effective role and endears him- made some recommendations. It will not be different role and endears him-



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AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and egangoundla

By Dr. P. C. BANSIL

Improved Seeds

It is believed that the use of improved varieties of seeds increase yields of crops by 10 to 15 per cent. Improved varieties also help to increase production indirectly by way of checking pests and diseases. By virtue of their superior constitution, improved varieties resist the attack of diseases and withstand the rigours of frost and drought to a greater extent. Some experiment conducted on cultivators' fields under the auspices of Crops Survey Wing of the National Sample support the above contention Survey (Table I).

increase Average Average Percen (Source: P. C. Bansil, India's Food Resources. Survey) Seeds on Wheat additional estimates yield Survey 43 Sample control yield plot 624 Results of National Effect of Improved 1951-52 1952-53 1952-53 increase Average Pradesh Madhya ... Bombay Bharat Punjab

Past Position

Cultivators are well aware of the importance of using good seed and progressive ones are known to preserve their own seed. Agriculture Departments in some of the States also make arrangements for the supply of improved seeds to the cultivators but the number of cultivators receiving such benefits is limited. On the whole no organised effort has yet been made by the Government to provide improved seeds to the

The Foodgrains Policy Committee, 1943, and the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, 1957, were rather critical of the then existing state of affairs. According to these Committees complaints made by the peasants about the seeds supplied to them being not of improved varieties were genuine. Truly speaking, in cases where improved seed was not supplied according to specifications, it sometimes resulted in lower yields than those available from local varieties. leads to the losing of confidence in the Government programme.

Not only that the existing data about the area under improved seeds under various crops are all the more inadequate and in many cases defective. Table II supplies the available information for the years 1951-56.

	ıdia		Percentage to	T	20.29	17.60	ne First pp. 94-95.)
	Area under improved seeds in India	res)	Area under Percent- Area under Percent- improved age to improved age to	(1955-56) 8.03	5.93	16.00	(Source: Adopted from Review of the First Five-Year Plan, May 1957, pp. 94-95.)
TABLE II	mproved s	(In million acres)	Percent- age to	9.14	22.92	23.66	from Re
	a under i	(In	rea under improved	(1951-52) 6.74	5.36 6.01**	3.99+	: Adopted Five-Ye
	Are		Crops Ai	Paddy	Wheat Millets	Others	(Source

Jowar and Bajra only.

The above figures are subject to certain limitations. It would be better to quote the relevant observations made by the Planning Commission in this respect.

"The two sets of data given above are not comparable and in each there are large elements of error and possible guesswork. It would, however, be correct to say that the progress made during the

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idst of Congress Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri lan in evolving im-conducive to their exerting every effort to ferent crops, in pro-ward improving the conditions.²

period of the first plan in evolving improved strains for different crops, in producing quantities of nucleus seed and in multiplying them for local distribution was on the whole poor and work which should have been accomplished in the first phase of planning was left over for the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. It should also be observed that accurate data regarding the seed and distribution multiplication grammes are not available and this makes it difficult to offer a precise statistical assessment of the work actually done in this field.1

It would look strange that after five years of planned development, the position should have deteriorated. In the Grow More Food Enquiry Report, the entire area under paddy, wheat, jowar and gram was reported to be under improved varieties. The figures now made available for 1956 show that it has gone down. Reasons for the same are not far to seek.

Source of proved high-yielding varieties of certain field crops in India are quite few. Fairly extensive work is being done on some crops, notably rice, sugarcane, wheat and tobacco. But farmers are not protected by rigid standards of seed purity or certification as to the source or strain and, therefore, cannot depend on the quality, purity, or the source of seed offered for sale. Hence there is little incentive for the production and use of high quality seed.

Although breeding work is under way at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute and in some of the States, facilities for increasing seed stocks of improved strains on a large scale and getting them into the hands of cultivators are very limited. There is no agency either at the state or national level to inspect fields and certify as to the purity, quality or identity of field-seeds. For this reason new strains rapidly become contaminated and lose their identity. This leaves the breeders and other experimental workers with a feeling of futility which is not

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The question of extending improved varieties over the entire cultivated area in the country was examined at the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan by an Expert Committee on the subject appointed by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, It recommended the setting up of seed farms in the country at the rate of one farm of 25 acres per Block. Taking into consideration the yield of each crop and the multiplication factor thereof (20 for wheat, sugarcane and cotton, 25 for gram and pulses, 50 for broadcast paddy and jowar, 100 for transplanted paddy and bajra) it was calculated that foundation seed farm of 25 acres set up in each Block would bring a complete saturation of the total cropped area with pure seed of most of the crops grown therein within a period of 3 to 4 years. This was on the assumption that the 'Foundation' seed produced on the farm would be multiplied further in one or two stages through the registered growers.

It has accordingly been tentatively claimed that one 'Foundation' seed farm of 25 acres would suffice for each Development Block and the total requirements for such seed farms would be 5,000. Once such a 'Foundation' seed farm is set up it would not take more than 4 to 5 years to saturate the whole of the cropped area with improved seed.

This original calculation of one seed farm of 25 acres per Block has come in for Committee on criticism. Report of the Madras, has for Agricultural Production, (pages 70-71) that example pointed out against the fixed target of 360 such farms, 210 would be sufficient. Similar is the case with Mysore and West Bengal. on the multiplication formula given by the Ministry, Appendix 'A' shows that for 3 of the country, we need in all 3,400 farms. About 480 farms 480 farms were already in existence by

Planning Era

^{1.} Review of the First Five-Year Plan, Planning Commission, May, 1957.

^{2.} Inadequate and inefficient production and distribution of agricultural commodities 1959 Technical Co-operation Mission to India.

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end of First Plan. Some of these farms may be for research, etc. If an allowance is also made for states like Kerala where, because of the small size of holdings, 'A' class growers might not be able to part with the whole of the grain and new nurseries might be needed for other crops like coconut, arecanut and other plantations, the maximum number of farms needed should not exceed 3,500. As there would about 3,800 seed farms of 25 acres each by the end of the Second Plan, there would be no need for additional seed farms during the Third Plan.

Exact number of seed farms needed for a cent per cent coverage of the total cropped area can be determined after the Second Plan experience. If any more farms are needed, they would be set up during the Third Plan. The Fourth Plan period of five years may be utilised to put all the seed farms into full use and improving the distribution machinery, etc. certification and testing organisations whenever necessary would also come into existence. There should not then be any difficulty to supply improved seed for the whole of the country, say by the end of the Fifth Plan.

A word of caution may be added about paddy. Different kinds of paddy grown in the country are legion. Several hundred distinct botanical varieties have been found in Madras, 3 Orissa accounts for another 1,000 Varieties,4 while in Bengal they number about 4,000.5 Traditional varieties change from place to place. Soil and climatic condilions of different localities suit one variety better than the other. To break the prejudices of cultivators and convince them about the superiority of improved varieties would thus not be an easy task. An ideal plan under which full saturation of the total

cropped area may be possible, will have to pay due attention to three basic changes.6

Three basic changes are needed to work toward a solution of the problem. These are: (1) Making available to the farmers greatly increased supplies of pure high quality seed of improved varieties of field crops through (a) greater efforts of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute and State plant breeders in the development of improved strains, (b) introduction of adapthigh-yielding varieties from countries, and (c) provision of adequate facilities for storage and handling. (2) Establishment of a national seed certification and inspection agency and similar agencies in every State whose duties shall be to prescribe and enforce standards of purity, quality and genetic identity of the seed offered for sale. This must involve careful field inspection and laboratory investigation of all seed offered for sale, and (3) Commercial seed companies to take newly introduced varieties and increase seed stocks on a large scale under the supervision of the inspection agency and to serve as retail outlets. In order to improve the situation it is essential that private capital be attracted to this enterprise.

A Continuous Progress

Seed improvement is a sort of a chain process. This is an ever-continuing never-ending stream. After certain improved varieties have been evolved, work in the experimental stations does not come to an end. Some outstanding plants from among the improved ones are picked up and multiplied further. The method is the utilisation of hybrid vigour. Seed farms. under the circumstances, will continue to be of permanent utility in the programme for agricultural production.

Pests and Diseases

Crop pests in India, numbering over 250, range from wild animals like elephants. jackals, monkeys, flying foxes, porcupines,

^{3.} M. S. Sivaraman, 'Farmers of India'-Madras, I.C.A.R. Chapter IV (Under Print). 4. Dr. H. K. Nandi, 'Proceedings of the Seventh meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Board Husbandry's he Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry',

^{5.} John Kenny, India, p. 246. 6. T.C.M. 'Report, Inadequate and Ineffi-'Intensive Farming in cient production and Distribution of Agricultural CC-0. In Public Domain. Guruk (I) diampio collection plantiwap. 13.

stray cattle, birds, snails and crabs to rats and small insects of many types. India's rat population is estimated at over 2,400 millions. Of about 5,000 species of insect pests known to be injurious to crops in various parts of the world, more than 200 are found in this country.

Indian crops also suffer from about 150 diseases, 30-40 weeds and four kinds of parasitic flowering plants. Diseases are caused by fungi bacteria and viruses, as well as by deficiencies of such trace elements in the

soil as boron, zinc and manganese.

Weeds compete with the cultivated plants for space and sunshine above ground and for moisture, soil nutrient and root growth under ground. The four parasitic plants, namely, Striga, Loranthus, Orobanche and Cuscuta, act as parasites on such cultivated plants as jowar, sugarcane, tobacco and mango and reduce their vitality and sometimes even kill them.

Paradoxically, as agricultural methods have improved so have the number of pests. Since new methods enrich the plants, pests find the contents of leaves more succulent.

There are instances when some diseases or pests appeared in a very serious form and took a toll of the major part of the crop resulting in enormous losses and widespread famine conditions. Blast disease outbreak of rice in the Tanjore Delta in 1919 destroyed 66 per cent of the crop. The same disease in 1956 wiped out the entire early paddy crop in Kashmir and caused a loss of nearly 30 per cent in the later maturing crops. Blast and Helminthosporium diseases caused extensive damages in the Deltaic tracts of the Godavari and Krishna in 1918-1919 and in Bengal in 1942. Gundhi bug epidemic in 1952 caused enormous loss infesting 7-8 million acres of rice in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa. Similar examples losses on other crops, wheat, potato, etc., can be cited.

In spite of the fact that a heavy loss to standing crops in the field as well as agricultural commodities in storage is being caused from year to year, adequate data in regard to the extent of loss caused at different times and different places for various crops are not available. In the

absence of any survey or assessment of loss caused by various pests and diseases, some of the conventional figures are being used

The International Conference organised by the Food and Agriculture Organisation in London in 1947, considered that in tropical and sub-tropical countries where climatic conditions are conducive to a rapid multiplication of pests, losses in storage might be estimated at about 10 per cent. In addition to it 10 per cent of the loss can be accounted for by diseases, weeds, parasites and flowering plants and to the extent of per cent in storage. Considering the above factors the total annual loss on account of pests and diseases may be taken to be of the order of about Rs. 600 crores annually.

Losses to crops caused by insects have been estimated by Burmah Shell⁷ at 5 per cent in the case of pulses including gram, potatoes, tabacco, oilseeds, jute, tea and coconut, 10 per cent in paddy, 7 per cent in other cereals, 8 per cent in coffee, 16 per cent in sugarcane and 18 per cent in cotton. Estimated reduction in losses as a result of application of various plant protection measures varies from 10 to 50 per cent. In the case of foodgrains, it is 10 per cent except for paddy where it has been taken as 20 per cent. Appendices 'A' and 'B' supply similar information from other sources.

Since none of these figures is based on any regular survey, no sanctity can be attached to them. Nobody would deny the immediate need for the protection of our crops. But before any effective programme can be worked out, it would be extremely necessary to know the position as it exists to day.

All the crops are not infested by all the pests each year. We must know first of all the maximum area infested at various given points in a year over a period of last five or ten years. Organisational set-up the machinery to be evolved during the coming plans will depend on the type the problem that will emerge if accurate information on the above lines is collected.

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Remedial Measures

Methods of controlling pests and disease fall into the following main categories:

Mechanical method in which are include ed measures for the physical removal of pests and disease-affected plants or parts thereof by such means as collecting insects and other pests in nets and traps, pruning of diseased branches of fruit and other trees and weeding with suitable implements. The method is usually laborious, though sometimes it can be practised with great effect and advantage.

Cultural method aims at modifying agricultural practices in such a way as to put the pest or the disease organism at a disadvantage so as to prevent its growth and multiplication. Alterations in the times avoidance harvesting, of sowing and of ratooning, judicious use of manures, fertilisers and irrigation water and the growing of crop varieties which may resist pest or disease attacks are among the cul-Spotted bolltural measures adopted. bunds and worm, which bores into the young bolls of cotton plants, can be effectively controlled if after the harvest, cotton stumps are removed from the ground with their roots before a specified date, leaving some six weeks or ten months in which there is no cotton on the ground. This prevents the insect from being carried over from one 'season' to another by living on shoots coming up from the old roots in the ground.

Biological method implies the liberation of parasites and predators in large numbers, which may prey upon the pests, mostly insects, so as to reduce their population to the point of harmlessness. Some insects have also been employed to eradicate weeds or ther unwanted plants, whose mechanical removal was expensive and impracticable.

Control of pests and diseases by means of chemicals and other poisons, collectively pesticides. This method, known for a long time, has been intensively developed in many countries, including India, since the World War II. It is also the most popular method because it quickly removed popular method because it quickly removes popular method because infestations at economic popular method because infestations at

within a matter of weeks, if not days. In most cases, special machines are required to spray or dust pesticides over crops and to fumigate rat and other burrows and various agricultural commodities. Considerable developments have taken place in the designs and use of such machines. In the case of those diseases which are carried through the seed, it is important to see that the seed is free from infestation.

Stem-rot, a soil fungus of jute, for example, can be checked by treating the seed with Ceresan (an organic preparation of mercury).

Control can be preventive or curative and in plant protection, as in public health, prevention is always better than Preventive measures include the use of resistant plant varieties, the pre-sowing treatment of seeds of wheat, barely, jowar, some millets, paddy and cotton to prevent certain seed-borne appearance of the diseases on the crop and various prophylactic treatments in storage godowns to prevent the multiplication of pests. Resistant varieties have not always been easy to evolve and have generally not maintained their quality of resistance over large periods or areas. During the past few years seed treatment has been increasingly popular in India.

Prophylactic measures such as destruction of old staples and plant residues which harbour diseases and pests, when carried with thoroughness, also pay rich dividends. Based on the knowledge of existing pests and diseases in a country, plant quarantine measures can be taken to prevent the entry of diseases and pests through inter-state movement of plant materials.

Plant Protection and Plans

Plant Protection Organisations were functioning in most of the States before the First Plan was launched. It was proposed to have, during the plan, 10 Plant Protection Centres to assist States in fighting pest and plant diseases but only four Centres at Indore, New Delhi, Hyderabad and Palanpur were established. The stations were primarily included to provide material and technomic costs and the results are apparent technical help to the States in fighting pest

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seaport in addition to the Plan Fumigation assumed an epidemic form and to trace the and Quarantine Stations at Bombay and factors favourable for their growth and Madras seaports already functioning. But subsistence. If the results are shown on the Plant Quarantine Station proposed for maps it would facilitate the location of the port of Calcutta was not established, centres of attack, the selection of plant. The Locust Warning Organisation was protection equipment and the determinastrengthened. Aeroplanes were also used tion of the strength of staff required to control locusts and some other pests of sugarcane and paddy.

known to damage the crops.

machinery for any assessment of the type. a date.

and disease outbreaks. An Air-cum-land First plan recommended that it might be an Quarantine Station was established at advantage for each State to study over Amritsar and Fumigation Station at Cochin period of years all outbreaks which have

Practically nothing has so far been done on these lines. It may be expected An aerial unit of three aeroplanes for that the final Third Plan would pay attendusting and spraying started functioning in tion to this matter. Once such an informa-May, 1957, and by the end of 1958 had spray- tion is available, it would be quite an easy ed and dusted a total area of about 41,000 job to decide which areas should receive acres in several States. Steps are also being which type of treatment from among those taken to control seeds and wild animals already discussed. An ideal plan, which for all practical purposes should be com-It would be very difficult to say any- pleted by 1980-81, can then be drawn out thing about the actual area covered by plant No useful programme for plant protection protection measures today. There is no will be of any utility in the absence of such

APPENDIX-A

Percentage	increase in yie	elds of crops du	e to the use of improved	seeds
Crop	Punjab	S. J. Sevenir	Technological	
	experiment	I.C.A.R.	possibilities of	
		13-11 A STAND 319	agricultural dovolon	Miscellaneous
		areas During	ment burns	William
Rice		SEC REGILLERMENT	10-25	10-151
Wheat	18.8	10 50	15-40	$13-52^2$
Jowar Bajra		Projection of the		57-743
Maize	17.00	to this His to m	25	50^{3}
Ragi	17.82	100 mode	66.7	
Barley		arma mode an		15.30^3
Sugarcane ((gur) 2.0	a late to be to		
Pulses	26.7	1000		2.5^{7}
Gram	20.0	1227 5-7		5.264
Groundnut	8.0-15.5	1707		10-302
Linseed	100.0	50-1257	50.0	1230^7
Castorseed				85.0 ⁸
Sesamum		147		200
Rape and Mu	stard —	N. O. A. T. A. C. No.		20-30 ^s
Cotton			- turn	50.06
Jute		20-30	Was to the second	
Sources :-		20-30		

1. Improved rice varieties, Ramiah.

3. Millets in India by Panikkar (conference of workers on millets). 4. Improvement of pulse crops in Bombay States by Kumar and Chavan.
5. The Indian control ciles of the Indian 5. The Indian central oilseeds committee.

6. Better seeds, The Publication Division.

7. Second Five-Year Plan Proposals.

8. Report on Research on oilseeds CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukup Rangin Collection, Hardwar. John, p. 17.

S. Randhawa,

Research in Indian Institutes and Organisation by Dr. H. S. Rar. 2. 10% area under cols. 5 and 6. 3. All India average.

Agricultural

Data from Agricultu. 1958—I.C.A.R., p. 281.

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ed area	11	Farms Additional No. of	in exist-			360	22	231	200	വ	1	448	156	111	208	205	168	498	20	4	7.2	က	-5	100	1	2927
	10			ence1		-33	15	22	99	138	15	52	27	40	46	46	10	41	24	1.	21			- 14		483
al cropp	O	No. of	seed.	farm neede d		393	37	253	.992	23	91	498	183	151	46	251	178	539	44	4	19	3	2	17		3410
of the total cropped area	8	Gross	block			22.0	4.1	11.0	29.5	11.0	2.8	29.9	12.8	14.1	4.0	27.5	19.2	15.0	3.2	20.3	13.6	5.5	3.3		3.2	in.
NDIX—B	zL.	eed for	buildings,	roads,	fences, etc.	22.0	0.5	1.0	2.7	1.0	0.3	2.7	1.2	1.3	0.4	2.5	. 1.7	1.4	0.3	1.8	1.2	0.5	0.3		0.3	
APPENDIX—I cent per cent saturation	9	Area need for	fruits	and vege-	tables	2.0	0.1	1.0	0.8	3.0	1.0	2.2	9.0	1.3	9.0	5.0	1.5	1.6	0.4	0.9	4.4	2.0	1.0	-	6.0	:
	5	Size of farm needed	o Dasis of	double	emiddor	18.0	3.5	0.6	26.0	7.0	1.5	. 25.0	11.0	11.5	3.0	20.0	16.0	12.0		12.5	8.0	3.0	2.0		0.2	
red for a	4	Size of fa	OH LING	singic	Out d'Ann	24.18	5.94	12.29	32.22	9.14	2.48	37.95	, 16.32	17.32	5.57	26.35	21.59	14.17	4.13	13.90	90.6	4.74	3.60		0,23	
rms required	က	Cultivated	block			62531	22562	38250	93298	22727	14238		43466	82450	37305	86991	21258	58633	39404	49400	28087	28404	24375		1500	622503
Seed farms	2	No. of	LAUCINS			447	224	575	649	nir 52	142				307	228	232	899	341	2	h 34	15	16	r	1000	5216
	1	State				Andhra Pradesh	Assam	Bihar	Bombay	Jammu & Kashmir	Kerala	Madhya Pradesh	Madras	Mysore	Orissa	Punjab	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh	West Bengal	Delhi	Himachal Pradesh	Tripura	Manipur	Andaman, Nicobar	& Pondicherry	All India

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THE MODERN REVIEW FOR MARCH, 1961

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri APPENDIX—C

		TILL		
	Losses caused	by pla	nt diseases and pests.	
	Name of the disease I	robable	Name of the pest Probable	e annua
Crop	Name of the disease	nual loss		er centi
		er cent)		
	1 c -4 and		stem borers, sucking insects, grass-	
Paddy	blast, leaf spot and foot-rot	10	hoppers	15
wwrt 4	rust, smuts and bunts	10	termites, stem borers, sucking	
Wheat	Tust, siliuts and zone		insects, etc.	3
Barley	rust and smut	5	sucking insects, etc.	3
Jowar	grain smut	- 1	stem borers, sucking insects	15
Maize	Statif billet	1	stem borers, sucking insects	15
Bajra	green ear disease	1	stem borers, sucking insects	10
Gram	blight and wilt	5	leaf-eating caterpillars	10
Ragi	smut	5	stem borers, sucking insects, etc.	10
Sugarcane	red-rot wilt and smut	10	borers, sucking insects, etc.	10
Groundnut			leaf-eating caterpillars	10
Cotton	wilt and root-rot	25	leaf-eating caterpillars, sucking	
			insects, borers	15
Jute	stem-rot	5	leaf-eating caterpillars, borers, etc.	5
Sesamum	wilt and other minor		leaf-eating insects, borers, etc.	5
	diseases	1		
Rape and				
mustard			sucking insects	10
Linseed	rust and wilt	10	linseed fly	10
Tobacco	virus diseases	10	sucking insects, etc.	10
Potato	the yield of potatoes ca		potatoes are grown over small area	
	be increased about 25	The state of the s	Damage caused by insects, pests	
	by protecting it fro		could be put at 10 per cent. Apply-	
	virus and other disease	es.	ing suitable method of control	
			damage could be reduced to a	
		R THE	great extent.	

(Source: Land Transformation by B. P. Pal.)

APPENDIX_D

		APPEN	VDIX—D			
Showing	the effect and	economi	ics of plant	protection	chemical	ls.
Name of the	Controlling	Dose lb.	Cost in Rs.*		7	Value 01
crop pest	chemical	per acre	per acre	in the crop	in lb.	return cost of
Tea termites	Dieldrin			yield	per acre	chemical 2.52
		4	29.72	2.0	38	
Coffee stem borer	-do-	2	14.86	2.0	6.	1.26
Chili leaf curl	-do-	2	14.86	17.5	100	4.85
Rice stem borer	Endrin	2.5	44.23	30.0	300	1.51
Sugarcane pyilla	-do-	2.5	44.23	10.0	300	2.42
Cotton, ballworm Jas	ssid		14.20	10.0	300	
and whitefly	-do-	2	35.38	00 0	10	1.13
Tobacco prodenia	-do-	2		20.0	40	8.48
Sugarcane termites	Aldrin	4	35.38	25.0	300	27.33
Tobacco cutworms		1	3.92	10.0	300	21.00
Potato cutworm and	-do-	1	3.92	5.0	25	15.87
white and						CA
white grub	-do-	. 1	3.92	12.0	800	3.64
(Source : Shell Pe	etroleum Chem	nicals for	Industry)	14.0	* (10	value.
		101101	maustry.)		" CIT	V.C

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Tolstoy Museum, Yasnaya Polyana



Excursionists at Tolstoy Museum-Estate

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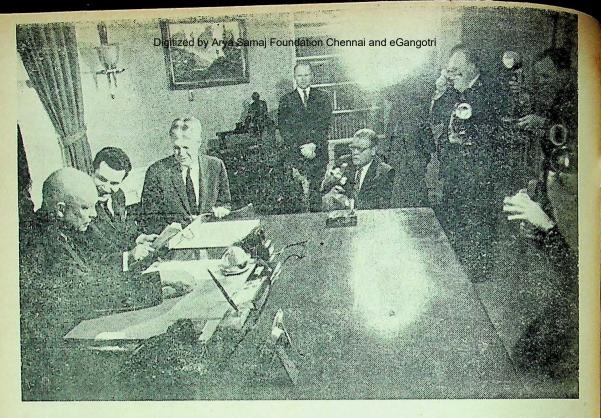
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The President of the United States (left) was counted under the glare of television lights



On the remote slopes of a California ranch, a census taker interviews a Shepherd

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THE CRISIS IN LAOS Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri

By R. K. VASIL, M.A., Ph.D.

Kingdom of Laos occupies an area of about French re-entered Laos 9,000 sq. miles and has a population of anything Chinese. between 12 million and 3 million. The two major forests and marshland which make infiltration easy and detection and control extremely diffi-

The landlocked kingdom of Laos is surrounded by an equal number of Communist, pro-United States and non-aligned countries. It borders on two Communist states, China and North Vietnam; two Pro-U.S. states, South Vietnam and Thailand; and two neutrals, Burma and Cambodia. All pull it to their own side. The country is subjected to heavy pressure from the Communists in Peking and Hanoi who would like to see Laos turned into a Communist state. Equally potent influence is exerted by Washington and its allies in Saigon and Bangkok who want lo turn the kingdom into an effective barrier against Communist advance in Southeast Asia. Then the policy of non-alignment as practised in Phom Penh, Rangoon and farther in India has its own attraction for them. And that is enough lo set the stage for the tragic drama that is being played in Laos.

In early 1945, towards the end of the Second World War, the Japanese, who were in occu-Pation of the country since 1941, got afraid of growing pro-allied sympathies of the French in a swift coup drove them out. Until this time the French had been allowed to retain the internal administration of the country by the lapanese. Later, in April, 1945, after the French had been driven out, the Japanese succeeded in the Japanese Successive out, the Japanese Successive of Luang Praham King Sisavang Vong of Luang from the Prabang to proclaim independence from the the hand. the hands of Chinese troops. In conformity with the agreement reached at the Potsdam Conference of 1945 M. reached at the Potsdam Conference of 1945, Nationalist China had accepted Japanese Suttender north of the 16th parallel in Indothing, It was only in the spring of 1946, that the Indo-China, 1954, p. 257.

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Before the French returned to Laos after the between 12 country are Luang Prabang, the War a group of nationalists, bitterly opposed to cities in the capital with a population of about 15,000 the French, had launched the Lao Issarak (Free royal capital with a deministrative capital with a launched the Lao Issarak (Free Toyal capital with a Laos) movement. This group led by Prince population of about 20,000. Most of the trouble Petsarath and his half-brothers, Souphavong and for this simple and peace-loving people emanates Souvanna Phouma, was successful in establishing from the geography of the country. The country a Free Laos government in Vientiane in October, has a 500 mile border with Communist China 1945, with the encouragement of the Chinese. and North Vietnam. Along the border are thick They deposed the King who had remained sympathetic to the French.

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The French, on their return in the spring of 1946, had to face an entirely changed situation in Laos. They were confronted with a Free Laos government operating from Vientiane. nationalists fought and lost against the French and had to run away to Siam with their supporters, where they set up the Free Laos "government in exile" in Bangkok. The government in exile was headed by Prince Petsarath with Prince Souphavong as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defence. Following this in Laos a government under King Sisavang Vong, sympathetic to the French, was set up, which on the 27th August, 1946, signed a modus vivendi with the French. The French recognized the King as the King of the whole of Laos.

King Sisavang Vong held elections to a Constituent Assembly towards the end of 1946 and later on 11th May, 1947, gave the people of Laos a Constitution. Absolute monarchy of old was abolished. Constitutional monarchy, with a Prime Minister and a cabinet responsible to a popularly elected assembly, was established. Ties with France were retained by joining the French Union as one of the Associated States.

Although the changes made in the formal set-up of government were quite radical and for the first time opposition was given a legal medium for the expression of its views, they did not satisfy the nationalists, the Lao Issarak. In spite of the fact that "Laos had achieved a considerable political autonomy (it) continued to live under a nationwide network of French control".1

Among the nationalists, Prince Souphavong had started getting restive by this time and had

^{1.} Hammer, Ellen J., The Struggle for

started looking towards the Communist Vietminh in North Vietnam.2 This caused fears amongst the other nationalists. They threw Souphavong out of the Lao Issarak. Thereupon Souphavong withdrew along with his followers to an area close to the Laos-Burma border where he organised a "Committee of Laotian Liberation", with aim of "co-operation with resistance movements French Vietnam and Cambodia against colonialism".3

At this time the Siamese government, under the new Premier, Pibul Songgram, got afraid of Vietnamese communism and made it more and more difficult for the Indo-Chinese nationalists to operate from there.4 More, on the 19th July, 1949, the government in Laos signed an accord with the French which granted them more real independence. This accord was considered by the two half-brothers of Souphavong, Petsarath and Souvanna Phouma, to have provided some measure of independence. And, therefore, in October, of the same year they announced the dissolution of the Free Laos government in exile and called on their followers to return to Laos. They felt it was time to collaborate with the government of King Sisavang Vong. Prince Petsarath who was approaching sixty chose to abstain from politics and elected to stay on in Thailand, while Souphavong "threw in his lot with the Vietminh".

In August, 1950, Prince Souphavong transformed the Committee of Laotian Liberation into a Laotian Resistance government which declared itself to be "the only real regal government of Laos" and adopted a national flag and a national anthem.5 It also established a Laotian People's (Pathet Lao) United Front. Soon the Communist Vietminh in order to strengthen their control over this group led by Souphavong acted integrate the three movements-Khmer Issarak in Cambodia, Free Laos, and the Vietminh. March, 1951, the representatives of the three movements met together and established a Joint National United Front for Indo-China. The manifesto of the Front declared:

2. Kennedy, Malcolm, A Short History of Communism in Asia, 1957. p. 426.

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The French colonialists and the America interventionists are making all-out attempts to conquer Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and to enslave these three peoples once again.

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This "marked the opening of an extremely significant new phase in the Communist move. ment in Indo-China".7 Following this for the Norodo first time the struggle in Laos and Cambodia "began to feature in the context of world Comminism as a whole".8 Also for the first time Laotian and Cambodian delegates were seen in international gatherings of the Communists abroad.

The Vietminh not too long after strengthening their control over the movement in Laos chose to strike. In the middle of April 1953 Vietmin troops aided by Laotian guerillas invaded Laos At first Hanoi denied that any Vietminh regular had participated in the invasion. It maintained that the invasion was carried out by the Laotian people who had risen against the French. However, two days later they admitted that Vietmin "volunteers" were assisting the Laotians. And soon the invasion was described as "a reply to provocation by the French" who were accused of using Laos as "a base for attacks on the Vielminh".

In a short time the Vietminh troops were able to take over Sam-neua (23 miles from the North Vietnamese border) and Xieng Khoung (further down south-west and not very far from Luang Prabang and Vientiane). Suddenly in Maj of the invasion, three weeks after the start from not at all an awkward position, the Viet minh started to withdraw. Though the Franco Laotian forces recaptured many of the areas from the invaders, a considerable area of about 20,000 sq. miles in northern Laos remained under the control of the Vietminh. At Sam-neua the "Fre Laotian government" under the leadership Souphavong was set up. And this was enough to give them a foothold from where later operation could be launched and subversion could be conducted. In this area the Vietminh "left be hind them several thousand political and military agents. They have not been idle. They are training and ing and organising Laos peasants into guerili

6. Quoted in Hammer, op. cit., p. 262.

7. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 428.

^{3.} Quoted in Kennedy, A Short History of Communism in Asia, p. 426.

^{4.} Hammer, op. cit., p. 257. 5. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 426.

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American Following this the French, who had retained considerable control over the Laotian government mder the Franco-Laotian treaty of the 19th July. 1949, woke up. They were pressed by King Norodom of Cambodia who made it very clear to them that it would be impossible to rally round Cambodians to defend themselves in case of an attack by the Vietminh unless the French gave them complete freedom. More, the French must have come to realize themselves that unless real independence was granted to the Associated States, Communist propaganda could be successful in making people believe that Souphavong and others were fighting against the French imperialists and not against their own people. And therefore, on the 3rd July, 1953, a few months after the Vietminh invasion on Laos, the French Prime Minister M. Laniel announced that his government intended to "complete the independence and sovereignty of the Associated States" within the French Union "by the transference of those powers which she has hitherto retained, in the interest of the States themselves, on account of the perilous situation created by the state of war". Negotiations were opened in Paris and on the 22nd October, 1953, a treaty was signed which tecognised and declared that "the Kingdom laos is fully independent and sovereign state".

In late 1953, the position of the French, who had been fighting against the Vietminh since 1946, began worsening. The final blow came when on the 7th May, 1954, the heavily fortified Dien Bien Phu fell. The Vietminh prepared advance toward Hanoi and Haiphong in the Red The French position was precarious. They requested the United States government or direct military intervention and for a time it states that the United States Billing the side of the French. But pressure from Bilain halted this. The British felt that another altempt at a negotiated rothwhile and that the United States would better wait the outcome of the projected meeting the Great Powers at Geneva.

Therefore, in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the British, the French, the Soviet the United States Foreign Ministers at Berlin

Stanton, Edwin F., "Spotnern on Foreign Affairs, October, 1954. p. 75. Stanton, Edwin F., "Spotlight on Thai-

which operate nominally under the socalled the Geneva Conference opened on the 26th April, in Indo-China". The following took part in the Conference on Indo-China: Britain. France, Soviet Russia, United States, the three Associated States (Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam) and the representatives of the Vietminh. On the 21st July, 1954, the conference ended successfully with the signing of separate cease-fire agreements regarding Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. settlement brought an end to the war in Indo-China which had lasted for about eight years. Under the settlement the Vietminh recognised the independence and political integrity of Laos and agreed to withdraw their troops from the country within 120 days of the settlement. Pathet Lao forces would be "concentrated in twelve assembly areas and would withdraw within 120 days to the provinces of Phongsaly and Sam-neua [the two provinces under Vietmini control], except for those who wished to demobilised on the spot". These two provinces would remain under Pathet Lao control would be reintegrated with the Kingdom of Laos after the elections to be held in 1955. The settleprohibited the "establishment ment military bases and the introduction into Laos of equipment from outside". troops and military Finally a Joint Commission composed of equal number of military representatives of the International Commission two parties and an composed of the representatives of Canada, India and Poland would be set up "to control and supervise the implementation of the armistice". The International Commission was vested with "the tasks of control, observation. inspection, and investigation connected with the application of the armistice agreement".

> The United States which took part in the Conference did not sign the final agreements. However, it assured that it would not oppose any of the provisions of the final settlement. At the same time the United States President in special statement made it very clear that the United States government would consider as "a matter of grave concern" any renewal of Communist aggression in the area. And as far as Laos entered into agreements prowas concerned it viding military and economic aid to Laos. Since then this aid has amounted to about \$50,000,000 a year.

TAGORE: A HUMANIST

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

grievous sin of losing faith in man..... A day will come when unvanquished Man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage."-Tagore.

Time is ageless. It has been aptly compared to a vast, limitless Births and deaths of individuals, rise and fall of nations are the ripples and waves on its bosom. On occasions, at long intervals, sometimes of centuries, giant waves rise that are remembered long after they have merged in the waters from which never-to-be forgotten rose. Such waves are those deathless mortals who have sought to make man better and nobler. They may be rightly regarded as pathfinders of humanity. They transform the lives of many who come into contact with them. They are a never-failing source of inspiration to generations that follow. Their lives, sayings, writings and deeds are like lights in a dark night to a wayfarer. But these are no ordinary, ephemeral lights. They illumine not only the countries of their birth and death. Their own countries and the world at large see their light "a thousand years later," which gives "solace to innumerable hearts." They are the blessed ones who add their "bundle(s) to the granary of human spirit" and say their "word(s) in civilization."

Modern India was blessed with two such immortals. One was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) in whom the ascetic genius of India reached its culmination. The other was Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), the embodiment of the aesthetic genius of India. Tagore was born into the well-known Tagore family of North Calcutta (Bengal). His father Maharshi Devendranath Tagore was a socio-religious leader of no mean repute. The Tagores played a vital role in the Indian Renaissance,

"....And yet I shall not commit the the path for which was paved by the great Raja Rammohun Roy (1774-1833). The Indian Renaissance, it may be noted in pass. ing, was "the regeneration of national life not only in art and literature but also in social, political and economic activities in general" (R. K. Das-'India and a New civili. zation', p. 127).

Rabindranath Tagore grew up during a period of his country's history when the whole Indian atmosphere was surcharged with a spirit of resurgence in all walks of national life-social, political, cultural and spiritual. Later on, he was one of the leaders of the Indian Renaissance in all its manifold aspects. But he was, first and foremost, a leader of the cultural-spiritual regeneration, which was an integral part of the Indian Renaissance. "It is", says a great Indian savant and historian, "incorrect to call it a Hindu revival. It is really a which cosmopolitan movement bringing all humanity together and hence the Eastern poet's appeal has found a response in some of the noblest hearts all over the world. (J. N. Sarkar-India Through the Ages', p. 95).

Tagore is, in fact, much more than all individual. He is an institution by himself Nay, he is still greater. He symbolizes a whole epoch in the national life of modern India. His name constitutes a definite land mark in the Indian history of our times. Few our age except any, individuals in Mahatma Gandhi have so profoundly influenced enced the moral, mental and spiritual outlook of a whole nation. No poet with the possible exception of Germany's Goethe (d. 1832) and Italy's Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) has ever rendered a greater service to his own country and people. No poet, to our knowledge, and people. our knowledge, has done a greater service to humanity at I

to humanity at large.

Tremendous, indeed, has been Tagores act on the impact on the mental, moral and spiritual

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be belongs to the small group of earthly immortals whose memory remains ever green in the posterity's mind. Tagore's "life and personality have become a fabric of India's life." His writings give expression "to the moods and misgivings, hopes and fears of millions." A true representative of the universal outlook of Indian thought, the value of Tagore's work "lies not in tribal or national characteristics, but in those elements of universality which appeal to the whole world." (Quoted from the appeal of the Central Committee for Tagore Centenary celebrations, India, d. May 14, 1959).

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The versatility of Tagore's genius was unique. An Indian admirer aptly describes him as the "thousand-rayed sun" (His name Rabindra literally means King of Suns). His was indeed a genius with many facets. He was a poet, a patriot, a philosopher, a social reformer, an educationist, an essayist, a literary critic, a dramatist, a novelist, a story-teller, a political and religious thinker, a master musician, a consummate actor, a painter, an internationalist, a humanist, all rolled into one. Volumes could be written on each and every aspect of Tagore's genius. We shall make an attempt in the present article to give an idea of the poet's humanism, his love of life and of man.

Tagore's writings reveal his inner being as nothing else does. A poet is not to be found in his biography, but in his poetry. Great as a poet, he was infinitely greater as a man. It was his constant endeavour throughout his long life of eighty-one years lo bring the message of love and peace to a world torn by greed, jealousy and rivalry. His faith in the essential oneness and indivisibility of humanity and in the 'one believer in the sublime ideals of love and ing me behind?" concord, of peace, amity and brothershows how his heart bled for the day-to-day miseries and sufferings, degradations and humiliations of man. A "positive attitude of sympathy for all, even for the lowly and lost, permeates Tagore's writings. He believed in each individual living his or her

Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennai and eGangotri of the Indian nation. To be brief, life in his or her own way. "He is", says to the small group of earthly im- Dr. Radhakrishnan "Ill- Indian nation." individual in his age-long struggle against the mass tyranny which crushes him..... Tagore is the poet of sorrow and sufferings. The pathos of men's striving, the bitterness of life submerged in the shadows, the waste and loneliness of women's lives have found few more profoundly moved spectators." ('Great Indians', p. 90).

Tagore was fully convinced of the futility of renunciation or negation. The world was not a snare, its joys were no delusion to him. They were to him opportunities of self-development, paths of self-realization. If God can take upon Himself the bonds of creation, why should we-His creaturesfight shy of this world! To Tagore human relationships were the main springs of spiritual life. The spirit is one. It animates all. Tagore's Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of Man are an exhortation to realize the Supreme in the heart of us all. It is not necessary for a truly religious man to run away from the world. He should rather work in it with the sole object of creating better material and spiritual conditions. But he must work in a spirit of detachment. Tagore believed that "to dwell in the realm of spirit does not mean that we should be indifferent to the realities of the world." He was in this respect like Wordsworth's 'skylark': True to the kindred points of heaven and home."

In Tagore's beautiful Sonnet "Vairagya" (Renunciation) God tells the man about to renounce the world that his wife and infant child were really God Himself in human bodies, that He was to be found in the family life. The man paid no heed to the voice of God and went away. God said with a world' ideal was unshakable. He was a firm sigh, "Alas! where does my devotee go leav-

Tagore's writings breathe a profound hood. He reveals his true self in his writ- love of life and of the beauties of sight and ings and ings and even a cursory perusal thereof sound. He sings out in the fulness of heart:

> "This world I loved, "Its memory haunts me to-day, "How much of (its) southern breeze my basket (of flowers) !" "Filled

He told an admirer (Prof. Dr. M. L. Sarkar) They are beautiful to look earth). Life's sport—a sport of unions and Religion and worship must be reflected in would be content with a place in your hue. (i.e., men's) midst as long as I live.

renunciation..... "Joys derived from Thee (God)

"Will animate (my) joys derived from sights, sounds and songs."

'Prakritir Pratishodh' Tagore shows how Chelmsford, the then British outraged nature had her revenge on the India, is in a class by itself. A forthright ascetic who tried to conquer her by break- condemnation of the British policy in India, ing the bonds of human desires and affect the letter might well earn a conviction for tions. The ascetic tried to arrive at a know- its writer under the notorious Defence ledge of the world by cutting himself off of India Rules. from it. But a little girl upset his plan and "brought himself back from this region of a great friend and admirer of the poet, a abstraction into the play of life." It is a great friend and admirer of the poet, a abstraction into the play of life." He dis- friend of the down-trodden, poverty-stricken covered at last that "the great is to be humanity—millions in India remember him found in the small the infinite within the found in the small, the infinite within the as "Deenabandhu", lit. a friend of the poor bounds of form and the eternal freedom of the poor the letter. bounds of form and the eternal freedom of —requested him to tone down the letter the soul in love." (Radhalmichae (C.) the soul in love." (Radhakrishnan—'Great Tagore only looked at him. And what a Indians', p. 88). We must bring heaven described the soul in looked at him. And what a Indians', p. 88). We must bring heaven down look it was! Andrews writes that it was to earth and put eternity into an hour look it was! Andrews writes that it was the eyes God must be realized in this world.

in his old age, "When I go back to my wither before long as nourishment from Creator, I shall request Him to send me mother earth is denied to them. If we again to this earth, which I have immensely want to be firm and rooted, we must not enjoyed. He declared in his Sonnet "Prana" reject the nourishment from life. Asceticism (Life)—I want not to die in this world full may be necessary—it may not be—for the of charms. I would rather like to live in growth of human personality. But it must the midst of man, if I find a corner in living not be confused "with a mere refusal of the hearts in this flowery sun-lit garden (i.e., the nourishment by which the growth is helped." separations—goes on ceaselessly. If I fail to every act of life. They must enrich the build a habitation for the gods by making human personality, must tinge both the ingarlands of the joys and sorrows of men, I ner being and external acts with the divine

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Religion has many facets. It speaks in Tagore's great Sonnet "Mukti" (Deliver- many voices. In the poet's own words, it ance) clearly shows that he was no escapist: "Speaks in myriad voices, through histories of nations". But it has one true voice, "For me is not the salvation through "The voice of human pity and compassion, of patient love" and we must listen to it. Because Tagore listened to this voice of religion, he was extremely sensitive almost allergic-to cruelty to man in any shape or form. His heart bled for afflicted humanity. Love for God's creatures is but the It cried in agony to see man's inhumanity logical outcome of a genuine love for God to man, which "makes countless thousands and for the world created by Him. The mourn." It is a heart lacerated by mangreat of the world are highly sensitive inflicted sufferings on fellow human beings to its woes. When a Buddha preaches which prompted him to protest publicly-"maitree" (friendship) or a Christ preaches he was the first Indian to do so—against the brotherhood, they imply that selfless love is diabolical Jalianwalla Bagh massacre and the elixir of life. Through love alone we the brutal atrocities that shook the Punjab can understand others. Life is not an evil. for six weeks in March-April, 1919. His The world is not a delusion. In his play letter of protest (d. May 30, 1919) to Lord

Rev. C. F. Andrews, an Irish missionary. God must be realized in this world of Gurudev (lit. the reverend teacher. Ascetics, who reject life, it should be means the poet.) before and after. He had ed, are like cut flowers in motal years. noted, are like cut flowers in metal vases. written in a letter a week earlier (d. May 2).

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the time); but the tyranny of (man on) my ribs aflame". The poet, we all know, is the worshipper

of "Satyam," "Sivam" and "Sundaram" something more in Tagore's opinion. He his worshippermust lend his hand in building up a better and juster world. There are occasions when he must "snatch (himself) from the mere appreciation of literature". He must not turn a deaf ear to the wails of miseries around him. He has no right to confine himself to the ivory tower. Nor must he be a lotus-eater. The stern realities of life must be faced. The poet too must come out of his haven of isolation in the hour of need. He must do his best to awaken the people, to give "voice to the mute" and "Kindle hope in the weary, broken and withered hearts" of the countless millions who have been ignored, neglected and exploited for centuries.

During the days of colonialism, many countries in Asia and Africa suffered from a callous "neglect of such minimum necessities of life as adequate provision for food, clothing, educational and medical facilities for the people". Tagore's heart bled for the sufferers. We have it on record that once he actually burst into tears while speaking of the scarcity of drinking water in rural India during summer months. Many perhaps do not know that Tagore was a pioneer in the rural uplift movement in Sriniketan Santiniketan bears an eloquent testimony to his conception of rural welfare. He ungrudgingly physical resources to create self-confidence and a sense of joy of living in the "exploited, down-trodden, neglected and unlettermasses of rural India.

Tagore, we all know, was a believer in God. But his God is not the God of any

He is Particular religion or community. He is

"I can tolerate the tyranny of the the "Pranesvara" (Lord of life) of every-(the poet was referring to the scorching one. He is, in other words, the God of of the Bengal plains where he was at Man and Tagore's religion is the Religion of Man, of which he spoke in his Hibbert the unbearable. You are in the Punjab Lectures and which has been referred to well aware of her agonies. They have set above. It is the perfection of the divinity in man. Tagore's God does not live isolated in the high heavens beyond the mortal reach. He refuses to accept isolation and Truth, Goodness and Beauty. But he is lives in our midst as one of us. He tells

> "In a poor man's guise from door to door I wander. "The house that shelters the homeless is my temple."

Tagore's God enjoys the company of the lowliest of the lowly, the humblest of the humble. The poet sings out-

"When my obeisance I make to Thee, where does it stop? "Behind all, below all, among the destitute.

Tagore's God is with and within man in the vices and virtues, in the sorrows and sufferings, in the dust and dirt of his daily life. He is man's constant companion. Tagore drew God and man closer to each other. In his vision, the two merged to make a complete entity. Tagore, in other words, elevated humanity to a pedestal.

Little wonder, Tagore had an unshakable faith in man-faith in the innate goodness and greatness of man. Man was to him the most sublime of all truths, the apex of God's creation. In April, 1941, less than four months before his death, when he saw the "crumbling ruins" of the proud civilization of the West "strewn like vast heaps of futility" around him, he firmly refused "to commit the grievous sin of losing faith in Man." He looked "forward to the opening of a (new) chapter in his (man's) history after the cataclysm (World War II) is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice". (Tagore—'Crisis in Civilization', pp. 17-18).

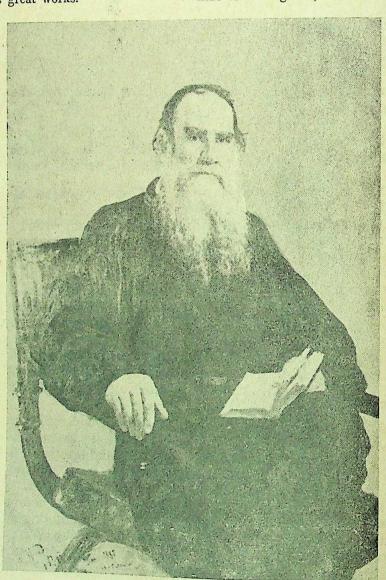
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By A. POPOVKIN,

Director, Yasnaya Polyana Museum-Estate

LOCATED near the town of Tula, the Museum-Estate of Yasnaya Polyana is one of the great shrines of Russian culture. Yasnaya Polyana is known to the world as the home of Leo Tolstoy, the genius of Russian literature, and the place where he wrote his great works.

than half a century. At the entrance, reaching over the terrace, stands the old, spreading elmtree, known as "the tree of the poor." Under it Tolstoy was wont to chat with his visitors. Quite recently visitors to Yasnaya Polyana listened here to I. Yegorov, one of Tolstoy's contempo-



Portrait of Count Leo Tolstoy by the artist Repin, 1887

It is with a feeling of reverence that countless visitors set foot on the soil of Yasnaya Polyana, leaving behind them the white turrets at the gate and walking along the roadway leading to the house, where Tolstoy had lived for more

raries, tell of the writer's attitude to the ordinaries people, and how he enjoyed listening to folk song which the nearby peasants came to sing to him of holidays. Further details were supplied by Aksinis Kozlova, an elderly woman folk singer, who

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frequent guest at Yasnaya Polyana. A number of persons, who were in close contact with the great writer, are alive to this day. Among them are Ivan Shurayev, Tolstoy's valet, and V. Bulgakov, the writer's secretary.

In the hall, a good part of which is taken up by birchwood book-cases filled with many rolumes, are Tolstoy's hunting gun and kit. Behind one of the book-cases hangs a black leatherbag, in which newspapers, magazines and from Russia as well as other lands were delivered to Yasnaya Polyana. Nearly 50,000 letters had been received by Tolstoy from all parts of Russia and from abroad.

From the hall a narrow wooden staircase leads to the spacious drawing-room, where Tols-. by bid welcome to his guests. Among them were the world-renowned writers Turgenev, Chekhov and Gorky, and such eminent Russian painters as Repin, Kramskoy and Nesterov.

In one corner of the room stands a round mahogany table, where in the evenings the writer's family gathered. Sitting at this table, in 1895, Tolstoy read to his intimate circle his novel "Resurrection," still unfinished at the time. A door from the drawing-room leads to the writer's study, where stands an old coach upholstered in oilskin, the coach on which Leo Tolstoy was born. Near it is an unvarnished walnut desk at which Tolstoy had written many of his works. On the desk lies a large block of green glass, which was Particularly precious to Tolstoy. On it is the inscription: "Highly esteemed Lev Nikolayevich, you share the fate of many great men marching ahead of their age. Russian people will always be proud, considering you their great, dear and beloved writer." This was a gift to Tolstoy from the workers of the Maltsevo glass-works.

In his study the writer spent the night before he abandoned Yasnaya Polyana, never to return. The book he had been reading that night was bostoyevsky's "The Brothers Karamazov" and it lies open on his desk. Adjoining his study is the Wilter's bedroom. On a wall peg hangs his old tavel coat and a long white blouse of the style accordance with the writer's own wish. he always wore.

his personal belongings, anything connected with was housed.

the remotest recollections of Tolstoy, preserved with the greatest care.

Visitors tarry long in each room of the museum. Of great interest is the writer's private library numbering more than 22,000 volumes in Russian, English, French, German and other languages. Many of the books contain Tolstoy's margin marks and comments.



Tolstoy's grave in Yasnaya Polyana

Nor does the visitor forget to drop into the "vaulted room" which Tolstoy used for a study, and where he began to write "War and Peace". In this room in November, 1910, the people paid their last respects to the great writer, after which his coffin was transferred to Stary Zakaz, in

From the museum devoted to Tolstoy's home The surroundings in which the great writer surroundings, a broad path leads to the second and world into a literary museum. lived and worked have been preserved in the wing of the house, turned into a literary museum. and worked have been preserved in the wing of the house, turned into a school were in his life exactly in the same state as they It was in this part of the estate that the school which in his life exactly in the same state as they It was in this part of the peasant children Were in his life-time. All valuable relics, all of which Tolstoy founded for the peasant children

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The materials of the literary museum tell of the rich literary legacy left by Tolstoy. In six halls are displayed the originals and copies of numerous illustrations and documentary photographs, giving insight into the ideological content and peculiar artistic features of Tolstoy's work.

In this museum are also collected pictures of views of Yasnaya Polyana and countless illustrations of Tolstoy's books.

Exhibits in the first hall show Tolstoy's father and mother, and tell of the writer's child-hood and youth.

In the museum's second hall visitors are acquainted with Tolstoy's early literary career, his life in the Caucasus and his taking part in the Crimean War.

Passing through other halls visitors learn particulars regarding the writing of such of Tolstoy's immortal novels as "War and Peace" and "Anna Karenina." On view here are the first editions of these books. The last hall contains editions of Tolstoy's writings published in the languages of the various nationalities of the USSR and other countries.

After viewing the literary museum visitors go to the writer's grave. Here they stand in reverential silence with bare heads to pay homage to this genius of literature.

Visitors also long admire the beautiful scenery around Yasnaya Polyana. Near the Stary Zakaz is the oak and lime copse called Chepizh where Tolstoy loved to take strolls. From it leads a path to his favourite bench put together from birchwood on instructions of his wife towards the end of his life.

The visitor is made familiar with those nooks of nature which were with unexcelled mastery described by Tolstoy in his works.

Having declared Leo Tolstoy's museumestate a cultural and historical treasure-house of the people, the Soviet Government shows constant concern for its preservation. Completely restored after the destruction wrought by the German Fascists, Yasnaya Polyana today is a place of pilgrimage, to which are drawn Soviet people as well as great numbers of guests from other lands. In 1959 Yasnaya Polyana was visited by 110,000 persons. The number of visitors in the summer of the current year ran almost into 90,000.

WHAT THE U.S. LEARNED FROM ITS 1960 CENSUS

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Bureau of Census show that the official 1960 population of the 50 States is 179,323,175, an increase of nearly 28 million persons—or 18.5 per cent—in the last decade. This increase is almost equal to the total population of the United States 100 years ago.

As important as the growth revealed by the figures secured through the interviews of 150,000 enumerators are the changes in the patterns of growth. The large city has evidently passed its apex. Since the first decennial census made in 1790, cities have shown a steady increase. This year, populations of the large cities have taken a downward turn with a few exceptions. In all but one of the 15 largest U.S. metropolitan areas the central city has lost population. Los Angeles, California, is the exception and while the city's gain was 24 per cent, its suburban area gain was congestion, better scholower rent; and many government regulation helped to make su suburbanites drive to these vast residential has made housing industry. Last year a units were built and that the city's gain was 24 per cent, its suburban area gain was congestion, better scholower rent; and many government regulation helped to make su suburbanites drive to these vast residential has made housing industry. Last year a units were built and the congestion in the patterns of lower rent; and many government regulation helped to make su suburbanites drive to these vast residential has made housing industry. Last year a units were built and the congestion in the patterns of lower rent; and many government regulation helped to make su suburbanites drive to the second to the patterns of lower rent; and many government regulation helped to make su suburbanites drive to the second to the patterns of lower rent; and many government regulation helped to make su suburbanites drive to the second to the patterns of lower rent; and many government regulation helped to make su suburbanites drive to the second to the patterns of the patterns of the patterns of the patterns of the large city has lost population.

82.5 per cent. Approximately two-thirds of the total population gain in the U.S. was registered in the suburbs surrounding the cities, great and small. The city has become increasingly important as a place of work and has declined in popularity as a place to live.

Many explanations are offered for this change—families of all economic levels seek less congestion, better schools, a lawn and a garden lower rent; and many purchase their own home with the aid of long-term mortgages protected government regulations. The automobile has government regulations. The automobile has believe to make suburbia possible, for most suburbanites drive to work. The construction of suburbanites drive to work. The construction these vast residential areas surrounding the cities has made housing the nation's largest industry. Last year alone 1,400,000 new dwelling units were built and the current year may match that marks.

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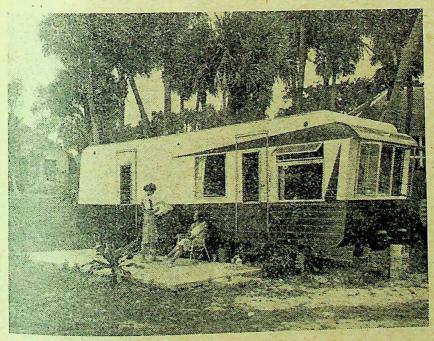
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Another significant factor emerging from the latest census figures is the movement towards the West. Population of the Western States has grown nearly 38 per cent, more than twice the

The total number of representatives is fixed at 435. California, the large Western State situated on the Pacific Ocean, with a population increase of 48.5 per cent will gain eight seats when the



Carrying a satchel filled with Census froms, an enumerator starts on her interviews



The enumerator assigned to the Florida trailer park does her interviewing out of doors

halional average. These major population changes next Congressional election is held in November 1062. Florida a Southern State on the Atlantic of the number of seats apportioned to some of the States in the U.S. House of Representatives.

1962. Florida, a Southern State on the Atlantic Coast, led in proportion of increase with rise of

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78.2 per cent and will be entitled to four more seats in the U.S. House of Representatives.



When the Census taker called at this Maryland Farm, she found the farmer and his son at work in the field



An apartment dweller answers queries about the age, sex, race and marital status of the members of her household

While the census provided for in the U.S. Constitution was originally planned solely to

determine apportionment of the seats to the House of Representatives, demands have arisen

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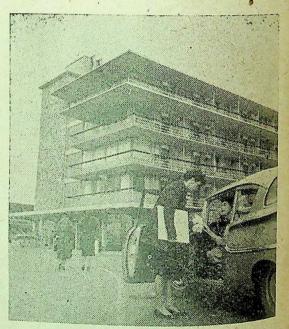
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This couple informed the Census taker that their permanent residence is a Yacht on the Potomac River, Virginia



A tourist arriving in her automobile receives a special Census form

for more information concerning the nature and needs of the people of the U.S. as the country has grown. The first housing census was made in 1940. This year's housing survey—the

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extensive ever made—sought information from the properties of education and related data. One household in four was sampled and asked to complete the long questionnarie. The individual's identity disappears into the mass of statistics derived from the information gathered and his privacy is protected by law. Most Americans were aware that the questions had been carefully drafted to reveal regional needs in housing, public schools, highways, locations of factories, playgrounds and many public services needed in expanding areas.

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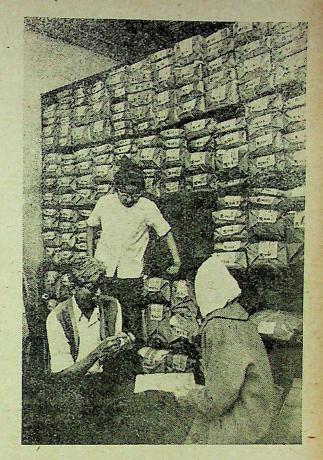
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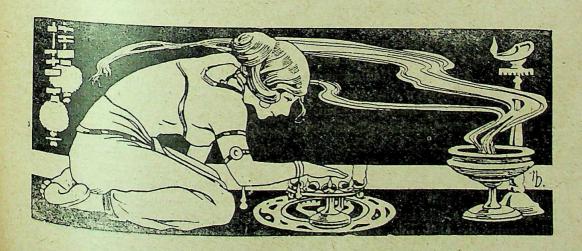
re and ountry made most The latest and fastest electronic devices for processing and tabulating data are being used by the Bureau of Census in evaluating the 1960 Census. While the head count is completed it will be many months before tabulations are released on the changes taking place in American modes of living. Educators, sociologists, businessmen, legislators, manufacturers, public utilities companies and countless others who have a part in planning America's future are awaiting a look at the new portrait of the U.S.

The 18th decennial census recently completed in the United States by the Bureau of Census reveals that the official 1960 population of the 50 States is 179, 323, 175, an increase of nearly 28 million persons—or 18.5 per cent in the last decade. This increase is almost equal to the total population of the U.S. 100 years ago. This census included a comprehensive housing survey and required the services of 150,000 enumerators and intricate electronic processing



The Chinese proprietor of a city laundry counts the rooms in his home for the enumerator

equipment. The accompanying photographs show some census takers on calls at diverse households throughout the country and reflect a cross section of how Americans live.



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THE CONGO STORY* 4. Role of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

By CHANAKYA SEN

on the one hand and by Belgian armed intervention on the other, the infant Republic of the Congo looked to the outside world for assistance.

In the first days of the aggression the Prime Minister, Mr. Lumumba, did not precisely know from which source succour was most likely to come. He sent feelers to Washington as well as Moscow for help. He also looked up to the independent African states for assistance.

We have seen that from the very beginning the United States was against the idea of unilateral help being extended to the Congo Government; it was in favour of assistance being routed through the United Nations. The American anxiety was to keep the Soviets out of the Congo, which geographically belongs to the heart of the African Continent. The Soviet Government was, from the outset, rather loudly sympathetic the nationalist forces represented by Patrice Lumumba; and the first official statement issued in Moscow on the Congo crisis contained veiled offer of unilateral aid. Thus the two major powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, began approaching the Congo crisis from two opposite angles; each was more anxious to keep the other out of the Congo than to put Humpty-Dumpty together again.

It was the tragic failure of the two major powers to agree on a common minimum programme for the Congo that helped to plunge the country into chaos. The United Nations reverts to a state of paralysis when the two major powers do not stand jointly behind it. This is because of the fundamental metamorphosis which

Confronted with the mutiny in the Force Publique has taken place in the international balance of power.

The world in 1960 was very different from what it was ten years before. In 1950, the United States was able to mobilize the United Nations in support of the military action it had taken unilaterally in Korea. The Soviet Union was then boycotting the Security Council. As soon as news reached the White House that the North Koreans had crossed the border into South President Truman ordered the American forces in Japan to war; simultaneously the Sixth Fleet was ordered to patrol the China Straits, and Formosa was immunized from an attack from the Chinese mainland. The Securty Council met twenty-four hours later, and in the absence of the Russian veto, the American action was over Within a few weeks the whelmingly approved. majority of the member-countries of the United Nations rallied behind the United States and a many as sixteen of them sent combat troops to the fight in Korea.

This never happened again. In 1956, Britain France and Israel mounted a joint invasion of Egypt and the Egyptian Government appealed to the United Nations for help. It was no longer possible for the United States alone to halt the aggression. And yet it was halted, and the United Nations was able to play a constructive role a vital part of the world in defence of a lot But behind this achievement lay the combined stand of the United States and the Soviet Union against the tripartite aggression.

The United Nations succeeded in Egypt be cause in spite of vital differences between then America and Russia were able to agree on he minimum programme, viz., aggression must halted, foreign troops must immediately draw and the sovereignty of Egypt must he restored untrammelled. The United Nations failed in Korea because there has been no store common minimum programme acceptable to two major powers, and neither of them is in Editor, M. R. position any longer to decide alone the course of CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Harfdwar

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^{*} This is the fourth article by Chanakya Sen on the Congo; it gives a factual analysis of the part played by the world's two great powers during the Congo crisis. In his next article, the writer will examine the U.N. role, where it has succeeded and where it has failed, and why.

fairs in any part of the world. In between them has grown today the undefined "third force" comprising the non-aligned nations. But this bird force only constitutes moral persuasion, it acks the tools, economic as well as military, to decide an international issue without the cooperation of the two major powers. In the Congo, he non-aligned countries have been unable to lay an effective role because, unlike in Egypt in 956, they could not bring the two major powers ogether. Thus, the cold-war between America nd Russia, intensified beyond measure since the break-up of the Paris Summit in May, 1960, was the doom of the Congo. The present quiet earch for a new policy in Washington is aimed a building up a "consensus" of objectives acceptable to the two major powers. If these moves succeed there may still be hope for the

On November 11, 1956, the New York Times, reviewing the dramatic developments in Egypt, said: "Washington stands caught in cross-fire of interests; the alliance between Britain and France; a moral commitment to help either Israel or Egypt in case of aggression; the need to retain the friendship of the Arabs for military and economic reasons, and, above all, the stralegic need to prevent Russia from achieving its goal in the Middle East". And it went on to say that the cumulative effect of the previous week's developments "added up to a major defeat for Britain and France and, to a lesser extent, Israel. It was plain that the combination of Russian threats and U.S. and U.N. criticism had forced london to back down and Paris had to follow in the end, Israel was unable to go

In the Congo, the United States faced an almost similar dilemma. It was allied to Belgium France, in contravention through the North Atlantic Treaty; the army that Belgium was sending back to the Congo was carrying either American arms or arms purchased with American money; the Congo was as strategically important in 1960 as Egypt had been in the Congo than in Egypt. And soviet Union out of the heart of Black Africa. Soviet Union out of the heart of Black Africa. With the aim of "artiflowork out a United Nations programme in the Congo an in the North Was this possible in the Context of the events the United Nations of the liquidation of young Congolese state." The colonialist character with the aim of "artiflow work out a United Nations programme in the Congo an in the Co

of the preceding four of five months. Soviet relations were at the lowest ebb ever when the Congo crisis broke out, and the two nations were hardly on diplomatic speaking terms. The Soviet Union was trying to implicate the United States in every conceivable trouble that broke out in any part of the world. After the U-2 incident and the tragic consequences that followed, the United States considered it below its dignity to seek Soviet co-operation on any issue whatsoever. Thus the two powers acted in mutual isolation. The United States wanted the United Nations to play a constructive role in the Congo but was unable to secure for it a mandate which could have earned the world organization the wholehearted and complete co-operation of the nonaligned nations. With all good intentions the United States actually turned out to be backing, however indirectly, the forces of Belgian colonialism and local reaction. The Soviet Union, on its own part, sought to introduce as much heat and hatred into the Congo as it possibly could; its obvious objective was to - convince African nationalist opinion of the "diabolical imperialist designs" of the Unted States and thus win a big propaganda battle in Africa rather than to try to help the Congo back to its feet.

The first Soviet statement on the Congo was issued by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, in Moscow on July 13. It accused Belgium, the United Kingdom, France, the United States and West Germany, as well as NATO as a whole, of "aggression" against the Congo. The note said that "immediately after the proclamation of the independence of the Congo, the officials of the former Belgian colonial administration with the direct participation of the diplomatic representatives of . . . the U.S.A., Britain and France, in contravention of international law and the United Nations Charter, undertook measures directed at the undermining of the sovereignty and the liquidation of the independence of the young Congolese state." The incidents of the past few weeks, the note said, "soon assumed an anticolonialist character" whereupon "ultra-reactionaries backed by large foreign monopolies, organized panic among the Europeans in the Congo" with the aim of "artificially creating a pretext for armed intervention." The note then went on to allege that the United States was intending to use in the Congo an infantry division which was then posted in Western Germany. "It is intended

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to be used to suppress the struggling Congolese people . . . Nor can one disregard reports that the United States Ambassador in the Congo is at the moment in Leopoldville interfering in the domestic affairs of the Congo and is making use of the presence there of the United Nations Deputy-Secretary-General, the American Bunche, to work out plans to expand the intervention of the Western powers under the United Nations Flag." The Soviet Government warned the Western powers of the "heavy responsibility" assumed by them and demanded that "in view of the serious situation the United Nations should take immediate steps to put and end to the aggression in the Congo."

From the very beginning, therefore, the Soviet Union regarded the U.S. as a country directly involved in the Congo and it sought to give the impression to Africans that the United States Government was at the back of Belgium's armed intervention.

The United States waited for the first meeting of the Security Council to reply to the Soviet charge. The Council met in New York on July 13, at Mr. Hammarskjoeld's request to discuss the Congo situation. The Secretary-General had circulated two cables he had received from Mr. Kasayubu and Mr. Lumumba. The second was a confirmation of the first. It had specified that the Congolese Government had appealed to the United Nations for help "not to restore the internal situation in the Congo but rather to protect the country against an act of aggression committed by the Belgian metropolitan forces." The cable had also said that if the United Nations did not rush help immediately the Congo Government would be "compelled to appeal to the Bandung Treaty powers".

The initiative of asking for a mandate from the Security Council was thus left with the Secretary-General. He had summoned the Council himself in the light of the Congo's urgent request for succour, and, in his opening statement, he outlined the principles which should guide any action undertaken by the United Nations. Three of these principles were that Belgian troops must withdraw from the Congo, the U.N. troops would not use force except in self-defence and would not be a party to internal conflicts in the Congo, and that the U.N. Force should be composed of contributions from the smaller nations-"no

forces belonging to other members of the Security Council should be used."

One of the main questions before the mem. bers of the Council was whether Belgium had committed an act of aggression by its military intervention in the Congo. The Soviet delegate said it had, while the American representative asserted that it had not. Mr. Cabot Lodge, American Ambassador to the United Nations, categorically declared that no aggression had been committed by Belgium although "certain aspects emerge from the confusion which do justify speedy U.N. action." It would be futile, even positively harmful, to seek to apportion blame for what had happened, he added, and the United Nations should act because "the duly constituted Congolese Government had asked for urgent U.N. aid." The Soviet delegate, Mr. of "collective Sobolev, repeated the charges Western aggression" in the Congo, and Mr. Lodge intervened to refute "the outrageous and untrue statements of the Soviet representative". He rejected the charge that the United States Government had undertaken measures to liquidate the Congo's independence and that American forces in West Germany were preparing to leave for the Congo.

The Council had before it a joint resolution put forward by Tunisia and Ceylon. It called for the withdrawal of Belgian troops from Congo lese territory and asked the Secretary-General to take the necessary measures to furnish the Congolese Government with military help as well as technical assistance. The Soviet delegate brought forth several fundamental amendments to this resolution, the purpose of which was to condemn Belgium for armed aggression, to urge the immediate withdrawal of Belgian forces and to stipulate that military assistance to the Congo should be supplied only by African states. The Soviet amendments were defeated and the Ceylon Tunisian resolution was adopted by the Council by eight votes to nil. It was supported both by the Soviet Union and the United States, while Britain, France and the Formosan representatives abstained.

But even the joint support of the United States and the Soviet Union for the resolution did not imply a common acceptable programme For Mr. Lodge hastened to explain, in a state ment, that although the United States had voted for the resolution it had serious doubts about the

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of the first operative paragraph which Katanga Government, from alled on Belgium to withdraw her troops from territory of the Congolese Republic. Mr. lodge added that the United States "expressly pterprets" the call for withdrawal "as being ontingent upon the successful carrying out by te United Nations of the second paragraph of he resolution" which provided for U.N. assisnce. In other words, the United States was not repared to see Belgian troops withdrawn from the longo until the U.N. troops had effectively taken wer the task of maintaining law and order. Mr. lodge explained that the United Nations "must not contribute to the perpetuation of public disorder by insisting upon the withdrawal of military units capable of assisting in the protecton of life and property without establishment of alternative methods." The United States "has confidence that the Government of Belgium will co-operate wholeheartedly with the United Nations along these lines."

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Mr. Sobolev, approached by correspondents, made it clear, on the other hand, that he interpreted the resolution in exactly the opposite sense. For him there was no connection between the first two paragraphs of the resolution and Belgian troops must be withdrawn at once and unconditionally.

Thus, at the end of the first meeting of the Security Council, which had sanctioned the immediate despatch of a U.N. Force to the Congo, the United States and the Soviet Union stood videly apart from each other as they had been since the May Summit. While the United States legarded Belgian armed intervention in Congo as an act purely in the interest of law and order and to ameliorate human suffering, to the Soviet Union it was nothing but naked imperialislic aggression.

The task of putting through the U.N. action the Congo fell upon Dr. Ralph Bunche, Ameri-Negro and Nobel Peace prize-winner, whom the Soviet Government had already attacked an agent of the American Government rather than of the world-organization. The first U.N. troops, Consisting of Tunisians and Moroccans, arrived American aircraft at Leopoldville on July 15; the same day emergency food supplies from the United States also began to arrive by air. Both Belgium and the provincial authorities in Katanga to only objected to United Nations intervention

the beginning, threatened complete non-co-operation with the United Nations. Mr. Tshombe began to Mr. Lumumba of entertaining pro-Communist sympathies. It was at this stage that the Soviet Government published the text of a message sent by Mr. Khrushchev in reply to a letter received by him from Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Lumumba on July 14.

The two Congolese leaders had asked Mr. Khrushchev to follow keenly, the developments in the Congo and said that they might be compelled to ask "for the Soviet Union's intervention unless the Western camp discontinues their aggression against the sovereignty of the Congo Republic." They declared that the territory of the Congo State was "occupied by Belgian troops lives of the President of the Republic Prime Minister are in danger."

Mr. Khrushchev, in his reply, promised keep a close eye on developments in the Congo and offered to interpret them for the two Congolese leaders. "It is not difficult to see that those who have undertaken armed intervention and those who have egged the Belgians on, want to deal a blow at all the African peoples and want to preserve imperialism and slavery. Your struggle is the struggle of millions upon millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America."

He reminded the Congolese leaders their enemy was no longer Belgium alone but also the big American, British and West German The Soviet Prime Minister monopolies. offered to come to the aid of the Congo State by unilateral action outside the United Nations if the United Nations failed to carry out its mandate. "If aggression were to continue the Soviet Government declares that the necessity would arise for more effective masures both by the United Nations and by the peace-loving states If the states that are directly involved in imperialist aggression against the Congo Republic and those that are egging them on this, continue their criminal actions, the Soviet Union will not hesitate to take the most resolute measures to cut short aggression. . . . The Congolese Government may rest assured that the Soviet Government will render the Congo Republic all the assistance which may be necessary for the triumph of their just cause."

testore the Congo's unity and intervention intervention as statement deploring Mr. Khrushchev's message.

It said, "the United States Government deplores the intemperate, misleading and irresponsible statements contained in Mr. Khrushchev's message. This is yet another example of the current Soviet attempt to inflame the international atmosphere."

Events moved swiftly in the next few days and with each, the situation in the Congo became hastened to explain that the American personnel more complex and confused. The Congo Govern- in the Congo were only technical people looking Belgian reinforcements began to pour into the the Congo. Congo and clashes between Belgian troops and Congolese soldiers continued. Reports began to his Government had decided to make "an immecirculate from Brussels and Katanga that the diate appeal for Russian troops or those of any Government headed by Mr. Lumumba had ready started getting arms supplies from the result of the second meeting of the Security Coun-Soviet Union or the East-European countries. cil which Mr. Hammarskjoeld had called to con-These reports were, however, denied by the sider his first report on the Congo situation. At United Nations. On July 17, Mr. Lumumba, none- a press conference in Leopoldville, the Congolese theless, sent a letter to Dr. Bunche declaring that Prime Minister complained that the U.N. Comthe Congolese Government would call for Soviet mand had done nothing to secure the withdrawal help unless the United Nations Command brought of the Belgian forces or to put an end to the about the withdrawal of Belgian forces within secessionist activities in Katanga. He explained seventy-two hours.

of the Congo Republic tried to play on the coldwar between the two major powers and even thought that it could frighten the United States by leaning towards the Soviet Union. But there was also some solid hope in Leopoldville the Soviet Union and the independent states of ineffective in carrying out its mandate.

strong disapproval of the United Nations Com- of extending U.N. cover for the restoration mand of any move to ask for Soviet troops. On Belgium's colonial role. In a resolution he asked July 18, the Congolese Senate adopted a resolution for the immediate ending of the armed intervention rejecting any eventual Resolution for the immediate ending of the armed intervention rejecting any eventual Resolution and resolution intervention rejecting any eventual Resolution and resolution and resolution rejecting any eventual Resolution and resolution rejecting any eventual Resolution and resolution rejecting any eventual Resolution rejecting and resolution rejecting any eventual Resolution rejecting and resolution rejecting and resolution rejecting and resolution rejecting rejection rejection rejection rejecting rejection rej tion rejecting any eventual Russian intervention tion against the in the country's internal affairs. While this por- within three days of all the aggressive forces from tion of the resolution was relevant to the resolution of the resolution was relevant to the resolution was relevant to the resolution to the resolution to the resolution was relevant to the resolution to tion of the resolution was played up in the the country, and respect by all United Nations Western Press, the other parties and it is the Country. Western Press, the other portion which equally members for the territorial integrity of the control of the with Jacobs. strongly demanded the withdrawal of Belgian State. Repeating the threat of unilateral intervent troops within twelve hours and the despatch of tion, the Soviet delegate said, "Should the aggreet" U.N. troops to Katanga was sither in the soviet delegate said, "Should the aggreet" will be said, "Should the aggreet will be said, "Should the aggreet" will be said, "Should the aggreet" will be said, "Should the aggreet will be said," and the said will be said, "Should the aggreet will be said, "Should the aggreet will be said," and the said will be said to said the said will be said to said the said th U.N. troops to Katanga, was either ignored or sion continue, then, naturally, the question

On July 19, the Soviet Government sent protest to Washington about the reported arrival in Leopoldville of twenty American servicemen The note of protest said that if these men were not withdrawn at once, the Soviet Union would be "compelled to draw the appropriate conclusions for its own actions". The State Department ment broke off diplomatic relations with Belgium, after U.S. aircraft which had been lent to the U.N. which the Belgians refused to accept, and the Command for the airlift of soldiers and essential Belgian Ambassador continued to stay on in Leo- supplies and that the Soviet note was a mere poldville even after formal severance of relations. attempt to confuse issues and to create a situation The Belgian Cabinet began to send men of posi- in which it could obstruct the United Nations tion to Katanga to advise the authorities there on action. Soviet aircraft also were being used at this political, economic and military re-organization. time for the despatch of food and U.N. troops to

On July 20, Mr. Lumumba announced that al- Afro-Asian nation" but he would wait for the that an eventual appeal to the U.S.S.R. would not It was evident that the infant Government imply any change in the Congo's foreign policy which continued to be one of strict neutrality and non-involvement in the cold-war; if the United States was "ready to help us in the way we wish, we should be grateful".

When the Security Council met for a second time, on July 20, to discuss the Congo, the Soviet Africa might intervene on behalf of the Central Union and the United States had fallen further Government, if the United Nations proved to be apart, if that were possible. The Soviet delegate pointed to the continued Belgian aggression Dr. Bunche conveyed to Mr. Lumumba the against the Congo and accused the United States Congo Republic, withdrawal CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukun Kangri Cothetique daridwarake more effective measures

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both by the United Nations and by the peaceloving states which sympathize with the Congo's cause."

the United States, Mr. Cabot Lodge defended the United Nations' action in the Congo and expressed America's readiness to help in that action as far as possible. He was less categorical in the withdrawal of the Belgian troops. "We can understand the fears of the Congo leaders when toops of the former administering power returned the Congo. We can understand equally well the anxieties of the people and Government of Belgium. . . . Truly the atrocities committed are deplorable." Mr. Lodge then went on reply to the Soviet charge and said that the American technical personnel were in the Congo at the specific request of the United Nations and they would stay there only as long as they were required to support the U.N. efforts.

If the Soviet Union chose to intervene States would not stand idly by to watch that inter- in the Katanga business circles which include tary force not requested by the United Nations."

called for the "speedy" withdrawal of the Belgian was restored. forces and authorized the Secretary-General to continue to take measures under the mandate given to him on July 14. The resolution asked all member-countries "to refrain from any action which might tend to impede the restoration and order and the exercise by the Government of the Congo of its authority, and also to refrain tom any action which might undermine the terriorial integrity and political independence of the Congo Republic."

During the debate Afro-Asian members repeatedly pointed to the danger of importing the heal, into the Congo crisis, but this earnest he had little apparent effect on the delegates of United States and Soviet representative, the Soviet Union. The lodge's speech, said the United States would be bemendously mistaken if it thought that it could congo". The Soviet Union "over the Congo". the Soviet Union over the Lodge retorted that his Government stood by the Warning it had issued against unilateral intertention by Russia.

On July 24, Mr. Lumumba arrived in New

When the Security Council was in Mr. Lumumba had asked for a postponement so that he could personally present his Government's case. This was rejected by the Chairman of the Council, a Latin-American delegate, on the plea that it would only delay the Council's proceedings. But Mr. Hammarskjoeld postponed departure for the Congo for an opportunity for talks with the Congolese Premier. Mr. Lumumba was, rather curiously, accompanied by a Ameribusinessman named Mr. Edgar Detwiler, with whom he had just signed a fifty-year contract for the economic development of the Congo. This was an interesting side-issue to the melancholy Congo story. Mr. Detwiler had gone to Leopoldville in the midst of the confusion and had offered to invest, in co-operation with other inter-Mr. Lodge then made a policy declaration: national organizations, 2,000 million dollars outside several economic development projects in the United Nations in the Congo, the United Congo. This offer created considerable disquiet vention. In that event, the United States "with number of world-wide American firms. It, howother U.N. members" would do "whatever may ever, transpired a few days later that "agreement" be necessary to prevent the intrusion of any mili- arrived at between Mr. Detwiler and Mr. Lumumba was only on "in principle"; in any case, it The Tunisian resolution which the Council could not be implemented unless it was approved adopted this time, after rejecting the Soviet one, by the Cabinet and Parliament and until peace

> Immediately after his arrival in New York, Mr. Lumumba went into conference with Hammarskjoeld. In the Congo at that time Mr. Tshombe had announced his decision to oppose with force any U.N. attempt to land troops in his province. While Mr. Hammarskjoeld left for Leopoldville, Mr. Lumumba arrived in Washington for talks with the Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, and officials of the World Bank.

> Belgian newspapers expressed the strongest indignation at the honour shown to Mr. Lumumba by the United States Government. One of them asked how the United States would react if the Belgian Foreign Minister were to organize a reception and a parade in honour of Fidel Castro. The Belgian anger was over the hospitality tended to Mr. Lumumba by the United States Government who was staying at Blair House, the official guest-house in Washington.

> After Mr. Lumumba's talks with officials of the State Department a communique was issued saying that the Congolese Prime Minister

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n will neasures emphasized the importance his constant Tshombe who had defied the authority of the of all Belgian troops in the Congo". He had also Central Government and thus flouted the first financial help.

pondents that from his talks with the American However, Mr. Lumumba strongly criticized A State Department spokesman, however, hastened Secretary-General of "manoeuvres" not come up during Mr. Lumumba's talks with vious day accompanied by 'white' troops only. the American Government. The United States, he said, hoped that the matter of Katanga could Hammarskjoeld was a turning point in the turbube "peaceably settled within the Congo itself".

Congo at this time hinged on one question: not only by Mr. Lumumba but also leaders of Whether U.N. troops were going to be sent into various Afro-Asian countries, and, of course, by Katanga. When Mr. Hammarskjoeld was having the Soviet Union, that he 'was colluding with delicate negotiations with the Katanga leaders Belgium and her "stooges" in the Congo. The and the apprehension arose in Leopoldville that rift went on widening as Mr. Tshombe sought he was not acting with sufficient determination, international recognition of Katanga's indepenthe Soviet Government intervened with another dence, and as relations between Mr. Lumumba statement on the Congo situation on July 31, re- and Mr. Kasavubu began to be strained. minding that Belgian aggression had not yet are acting with the encouragement of all the to interfere in the dispute between the colonialist N.A.T.O. powers."

cial spokesman of the State Department who des- created a very delicate situation affecting cribed the Soviet statement as another "recklessly dignity of the United Nations. He announced irresponsible" outburst and another "recklessly dignity of the United Nations. irresponsible" outburst whose only purpose was that he would welcome an advisory committee on to "add to the problems of those who are the Congo which should be formed from seriously trying to restore peace and order in the tries contributing to the U.N. Force. Congo".

the Congo arrived at an understanding with Mr. which the Secretary-General had handled Tshombe before the U.N. troops, consisting only Katanga situation. Mr. Kuznetsov, the Soviet reof the Swedish contingent, was despatched to presentative, said there were still more than Katanga on August 12, led to a serious led to presentative, said there were still more Katanga on August 12, led to a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and between Mr. Hammarskipeld and Mr. I was despatched to presentative, said there were still more and between Mr. Hammarskipeld and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three thousand Belgian troops in Katanga and Mr. I was a serious breach three between Mr. Hammarskjoeld and Mr. Lumumba. alleged that Mr. Hammarskjoeld was planning to Katanga to The Congolese Prime Minister's demand 1. 1 The Congolese Prime Minister's demand had been set up a sort of a "foreign legion" in Katanga that the United Nations should send its foreign legion of a "foreign legion" in Katanga

emphasized the importance his Government Katanga without regard to the sentiments of Mr. of all Belgian troops in the Congo. The stressed the Congo's urgent need for technical resolution of the Security Council upholding the and economic assistance. Mr. Herter, on his own unity and territorial integrity of the Congo. But and economic assistance. Mr. Herer, on the Mr. Tshombe, with Belgian support, had been part, had stressed on America's confidence in the Mr. Tshombe, with Belgian support, had been United Nations to deal with all these questions determined to oppose the entry of U.N. troops united Nations to dear with all diese questions and had assured the Prime Minister that the with force, and Mr. Hammarskjoeld was faced United States was prepared to make available to with a situation involving bloodshed and was the U.N. its share of the necessary technical and guided by that paragraph of the Council's resolution, which forbade the United Nations from inter-The Congolese Prime Minister told corres- fering in the Congo's internal affairs.

Government he understood that the United States Mr. Hammarskjoeld's handling of the Katanga would not support the "independence" of Katanga. situation, and on August 13, accused the UN to make it clear that the question of Katanga had Belgians since he had gone into Katanga the pre-

The rift between Mr. Lumumba and Mr. lent affairs of the Congo. Mr. Hammarskjoeld The success of the U.N. mission in the evidently resented the charges made against him

When the Security Council met again on stopped, that it was, in fact, continuing with all August 21, Mr. Hammarskjoeld reported on his its dangerous consequences, and repeating that differences with Mr. Lumumba and justified his "the Soviet Government will not hesitate to take interpretation of the Security Council's resoluresolute measures to rebuff the aggressors who tions, particularly, his refusal to use U.N. troops Government and Katanga. He said that the allega-The American reaction came from the offi- tions against him were unprecedented and

At this meeting of the Security Council, in The manner in which the U.N. Command in Soviet Union strongly denounced the manner in the Congo arrived at an understanding of the Security Countries in the congo arrived at an understanding of the Security Countries in the congo arrived at an understanding of the Security Countries in the congo arrived at an understanding of the Security Countries in the congo arrived at an understanding of the Security Countries in the congo arrived at an understanding of the Security Countries in the congo arrived at an understanding of the Security Countries in the congo arrived at an understanding of the congo arrived at a congo arrived that the United Nations should send its forces to made up of volunteers from the NATO countries CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Harriwar from the NATO

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The Soviet and Countries which had contributed powers of the President are not clearly defined." goops to the U.N. Force in the Congo should troops and safeguarding of the Congo's terriorial integrity and political independence. The resolution proposed that the Committee should consult with Mr. Lumumba's Government.

had been vehemently opposed by the United States and other Western powers. Mr. Cabot Lodge expressed full support for Mr. Hammarskjoeld's action and warmly congratulated Belgium on her "co-operation" with the United Nations Command. The Council did not pass any resolution because it had become quite clear that the Soviet Union would veto any proposal which did not strengthen the position of Mr. Lumumba's Government. Moreover, the Western powers had nothing new to offer at this stage. The meeting was adjourned after the majority of the members had given their full support to the Secretary-General for his policies in the Congo. For the first time, there was jubilation in Katanga as well as in Brussels over the deliberations of the Security Council since the Congo crisis had burst upon the international scene.

The situation in the Congo continued to worsen. Early in September, Mr. Kasavubu made a mysterious journey to Brazzaville, capital of the former French Congo, and upon his return to Leopoldville he suddenly issued a proclamation dismissing Mr. Lumumba from premiership and appointing Mr. Joseph Ileo, President of the Senate, as Prime Minister. Mr. Lumumba immediately reacted by dismissing President Kasavubu himself an action that was approved within twenty-four hours by the Cabinet and the Chamber of Representatives, although Western correspondents said that it did not have the required quorum. The BBC correspondent in Brazzaville said in a despatch on September 6, that in the initial stages of the quarrel between lumumba had the upper hand because he "conorganized and afraid.

The Soviet delegate formally proposed that re- Congo yet, only a Provisional Law . . . The

form a Committee to work with Mr. Hammar- in Leopoldville began to intervene in a manner kjoeld. The aim should be to ensure, without which had the effect of strengthening the hands delay, the execution of the Security Council's re- of Mr. Kasavubu. After the Prime Minister had solutions, including the withdrawal of Belgian made three broadcasts in a day, the U.N. Command suddenly took over Leopoldville Radio and prevented Mr. Lumumba from going to the microphone for a fourth time. The U.N. Command also took over all the airfields in the Congo, The Soviet resolution was rejected after it except those in Katanga. The BBC correspondent in the Congo capital reported that this move "is presumably to stop Mr. Lumumba using his fifteen Russian Ilyushins to move troops". The U.N. Command, however, allowed Mr. Kasavubu to use the broadcasting network.

The Soviet Government came out with a scathing attack on the U.N. steps. On September 8. Moscow Radio in a broadcast asked: "By taking over Leopoldville radio and eleven airfields in the Congo whose interests were Mr. Hammarskjoeld and his staff trying to protect?" The broadcast said, the Security Council had clearly stated that U.N. assistance should be given only to the legally constituted Government in Leopoldville. While the U.N. Command had prevented Mr. Lumumba from using the broadcasting station, "Kasavubu is free to broadcast his incendiary declarations". The Radio said, "The opponents of Congolese unity and independence are actually free to do as they please, thanks to the benevolent attitude of the United Nations staff."

In his moment of desperation Mr. Lumumba asked military assistance from sister African states and demanded the withdrawal of all U.N. forces from the Congo. The demand was made after he won a vote of confidence in the Senate by forty-two votes to two. He did not ask for Soviet intervention.

Mr. Hammarskjoeld called a meeting of the Security Council. Requests for an urgent meeting also came from Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. In a statement issued on September 9, before the Security Council met, the Soviet Government Prime Minister and the President, Mr. attacked Mr. Hammarskjoeld for making the United Nations work in the Congo to the tols the radio and probably most of the troops advantage of the colonial powers. The Soviet in Leopoldville The Opposition is dis-Government demanded that the Council should the legal position is take measures to end any form. There is no Constitution for the the Congo's internal affairs. U.N. troops should The legal position is take measures to end any form of intervention in

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be withdrawn from all Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri The Soviet request to the withdrawn from all airfields and the radio- the other delegates. The Soviet request to the be withdrawn from all airfields and the Congo Chairman of the Council on September 13, was station should be handed back to the Congo Chairman of the Council on September 13, was Government. If the United Nations failed in its couched in very strong language. It said the duty then individual states should render every U.N. Command and the Secretary-General personal violating the Command and the Secretary-General violating the Command and the Secretary-General violating the Command and the Command and the Secretary-General violating the Command and the Secretary-General violating the Command and the Secretary-General violating the Command and
Mr. Hammarskjoeld in his report proposed that ment. "There is a colonialist conspiracy against U.N. troops should be authorized to disarm the independence and integrity of the Congo clashing military forces in the Congo and asked directed by the Belgians, their NATO allies, in all states to stop giving assistance to these war- particular, the United States, and by the UN ring factions. He described the situation in the Congo as a threat to peace and security but supported the actions of the U.N. Command in closing the airfields and in preventing Mr. Lumumba from using the broadcasting station. Mr. Hammarskjoeld appeared to have taken the view President Kasavubu had the constitutional power to dismiss his Prime Minister and, therefore, Mr. Lumumba's status as head of government was now in question. In support of his contention he read a letter, Mr. Lumumba had earlier addressed to the Security Council, and said that he interpreted it as an admission that Mr. Lumumba could not legally depose the President. Lumumba had said that only the Congolese Parliament could depose either the President or the Prime Minister.

After a brief adjournment at the request of the Congolese Government who wanted to send a representative to take part in the debate, the Council met again on September 12. But by that time there were reports of Mr. Lumumba having been arrested, and the Council decided that the news from the Congo was changing so fast that it could not proceed with its debate on the situation there. An indefinite adjournment was proposed by the U.S. delegate and this was agreed to against the wishes of the Soviet Union. Actually, it was now quite evident that the Security Council could do nothing to arrest the course of events in the Congo. Any resolution sponsored by the Western powers faced the threat of a Soviet veto, whereas the gap between the respective positions of America and Russia was so wide that nothing done by the one could have the support of the

The Soviet Union, however, doggedly sought a resumption of the Security Council debate. Supported by Yugoslavia, it asked for resumption within twenty-four hours of the adjournments but gime in the move failed to gain sufficient support from Union,

assistance to the legal Government of the Congo. nally were openly violating the Council's resolu-On September 9, the Security Council held tions which had stipulated that help must be what correspondents described as a crucial session. given only in consultation with the Congo Govern-Command."

> In the Congo, it now transpired that Mr. Lumumba was still at large and even attended a ioint session of Parliament on September 13, to rally support. While armed troops stood in the lobbies, the members voted in Mr. Lumumba's favour. The joint session gave Mr. Lumumba full powers until a solution to the crisis was found. These full powers, however, were not defined.

> On the following day, the Congolese army seized power. The Chief of Staff, Col. Joseph Mobutu, took over the Government and suspended from office President Kasavubu, Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Ileo, who had been appointed by the President as "Prime Minister" in Mr. Lumumba's place. Col. Mobutu also suspended It was reported that the army coup had the support of the Western powers including the United States.

In New York, the Security Council decided not to allow a Congolese delegation sent by Mr. Lumumba to take part in the Congo debate. At the resumed session of the Council, the Soviet delegate again attacked Mr. Hammarskjoeld as well as Belgium, but it was now clear that the Western powers, particularly the United States. had come to a final break with Mr. Lumumba and were ready to give a trial to the military government in the Congo. The U.S. delegate who described the Soviet representative's speech 25 one of the most arrogant and critical Russian statements he had ever heard, said that the Government was standing firmly by Mr. Hammarskjoeld He also attacked the Soviet action in sending military supplies and personnel to the Congo as contrary to the letter and spirit of the Security Council's resolutions.

Almost the first thing that the military rewas to ask the Soviet the Congo did Communist CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar and other

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procious in its attacks on Mr. Hammarskjoeld. Congo situation. 14, the Soviet delegate to the Secuty Council described the U.N. Secretary-General a "conscious tool of imperialism". Mr. Hammargoeld, flushed with anger, made an immediate, rief and acid reply. He said, the people of Africa new his record and could form their own opiion, and asked the Soviet delegate what colonialm meant in the modern language.

As Mr. Lumumba was under house-arrest Leopoldville, the American delegate delivered witriolic attack on the Soviet Union when the Security Council resumed its debate on the Congo on September 15. He accused the Soviet Union of trying to set up a "satellite state" in the Congo. The Soviet Union, he said, had tried to disrupt and subvert the United Nations. If the U.N. effort in the Congo failed there would be no alternative to unilateral action by many parties. Giving details of his charges against the Soviet Union, the American delegate said that Russia had sent a stream of material and personnel into the Congo to develop Soviet influence. supposed to be sent for peaceful purposes were, n fact, meant for military use outside the control of the U.N., and technicians sent ostensibly help restore the shattered economy were to used in the fighting between the Congolese factions because that suited the Soviet aim. American delegate said, "What we are witnessing the Congo today is a text-book illustration of Soviet tactic of using legitimate nationalist movehents for purposes of Soviet imperialism."

The United States introduced a resolution calling on all countries to desist from acting independently of the United Nations in the Congo and particularly to stop sending military personnel or supplies. It also asked member-nations to contribute financial aid to the Congo through the U.N. and urged Congolese leaders to settle their differences.

The Soviet Union put forward a separate re-Solution. It said, the United Nations should immethe C stop interfering in the domestic affairs of the Congo; the legal Government should be Wed to exercise its rights throughout the whole the country and financial aid should

to close their missions in Leopoldville ment. The Soviet representative categorically decwithin forty-eight hours and leave the country. lared that his Government could not accept the Confronted with this unforseen development American resolution which would give an open the Congo, the Soviet Union became even more hand to the Secretary-General to deal with the

> In Leopoldville, Col. Mobutu's men prevented a joint session of Parliament being held. When Deputies arrived at the Parliament building they found it heavily guarded by Congolese troops who refused to allow them in.

> At U.N. Headquarters it became clear that the Soviet Union would veto the American proposal. Ceylon and Tunisia, as once before, tried to work out a compromise, but even this was objected to by the Soviet delegate who proposed certain far-reaching amendments. When the compromise resolution was finally put to vote it was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The United States immediately proposed that the General Assembly hold an immediate emergency session to deal with the Congo situation. This came rather as a surprise because the fifteenth session of the Assembly itself was scheduled to begin only three days later, on September 20. The Soviet Union and Poland opposed the American proposal which was, however, carried by a majority vote. It was not subject to the veto.

Many members of the United Nations did not quite appreciate the wisdom of holding special session of the General Assembly on the eve of the regular session. However, when special session met on September 18, the American delegate, Mr. Wadsworth put up a four-point plan to "save the Congo from chaos". First, he said, the Assembly should confirm the mandate given to Mr. Hammarskjoeld, the United Nations must be the sole source of outside assistance for the Congo. Secondly, the Assembly should approve of funds for the Congo based on voluntary contributions from member-nations. Thirdly, the Assembly should call on all Congolese people to avoid recourse to violence. The threat of civil although there had been an war remained improvement in the situation. And, fourthly, unilateral action which could obstruct the U.N. effort in the Congo should be condemned.

Mr. Wadsworth blamed the Soviet Union for sending aircraft and other material to the Congo to promote bloodshed among Congolese factions. put at the disposal of the Congo Govern- is not made the scene of international conflict as efforts."

For the Soviet Union, Mr. Zorin accused the United States of working for the return of colonialism to the Congo. He held America responsible for the downfall of Mr. Lumumba and for heading a "conspiracy" against the young African State. In a bitter attack on Mr. Hammarskjoeld Mr. Zorin said, the Secretary-General and the U.N. Command had contributed to the disaster in the Congo.

As soon as the session started, the United States made a surprise proposal that the fourteen new African states of the French Community as well as Cyprus who would have been invited to take part at the regular session two days later, should be admitted now. After a detailed procedural wrangle, the U.S. proposal was carried. This was done in order to ensure votes for the American resolution.

On September 19, the representative of Ghana tabled a draft resolution on behalf fourteen Afro-Asian member-states. It was compromise resolution endorsing generally the Secretary-General's handling of the Congo problem, asking him to fulfil the mandate given by the Security Council and requesting memberstates not to send military supplies to the Congo except through the U.N. The immediate purpose of the Afro-Asian powers was to get something positive out of the emergency session and to gain time for exploring new avenues of settlement during the regular session of the General Assembly. Mr. Zorin submitted a number of amendments to the Afro-Asian resolution with a view to bringing it nearer to his own. These amendments, however, had no chance of being adopted, and Mr. Zorin did not press them to the vote at the request of the Ghana delegate. Mr. Wadsworth announced that he would vote for the Afro-Asian resolution as long as it was not adversely changed.

The Afro-Asian resolution was carried

the result of outside interference with U.N. September 19, by 70 votes to none. The Soviet Union and ten other countries did not vote, and western correspondents concluded that the emergency session's action meant a "notable defeat" for Soviet foreign policy, especially at a time when Mr. Khrushchev was arriving in New York

The Soviet Government undoubtedly failed to carry the U.N. with it. But this only made Mr. Khrushchev more aggressive. At the regular session, he mounted a bitter and sustained attack on Mr. Hammarskjoeld, demanded far-reaching changes in the executive and security structure of the United Nations, and persistently sought to wear the mantle of the most uncompromising champion of Africa's liberation from colonial rule.

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By taking the Congo to the General Assembly from the Security Council, the United States confessed to the inability of the world's leading powers to solve the problem. The Security Council, with its veto, is the exclusive domain of the major powers; in the Assembly, all are equal. From now on, the Congo became the problem of the U.N. as a whole.

As the 15th session of the General Assembly opened on September 20, it became clear that neither of the two power blocs could dictate the course of events in the Congo. Nor could the "third force" exercise any effective role because it lacked the instruments of power. The U.S. had called the emergency session under the Unite for Peace resolution adopted by the General Assembly during the early stage of the Korean war. But 50 different was the world of 1960, that the only thing America could do was to vote for an Afro-Asian resolution. It leaned heavly on the U.N., but always fearing that the world body might turn its back to it. The Soviet Union did not lean entirely on the U.N., was highly critical of it, but at the same time launched an earnest, if noisy, drive to make its growing economic and colossal military power felt on the world Organisation.



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DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

By JOGES C. BOSE

WITH four-fifths of Assam being occupied by be its only State language. Cachar and the hill districts continue to oppose it tooth and nail. All he same, Mr. Chaliha, Assam's Chief Minister, jielded, as he says, to the pressure of the Brahmaputra Valley, on the plea that, in a democracy one has to submit to 'public opinion'. It is difficult to understand how sublimely unconcerned could be then afford to be in riding rough-shod over the public opinion-rather the cherished sentiment of his own constituency, Cachar. The strike him, nor does the fact that such a crucial measure, so provoking in the attendant circumstances, was passed by 56 votes in a house, whose total strength is 105. Thus does Assam cast to the winds the very carefully thought-out recommendation of the States Reorganisation Committee: that no state should be declared milingual, unless the major language-group is at least 70 per cent of the people. It is worth reflecting if it constitutes a strain on the dignity of men, who hold self-respect intensely dear, to agree to devote their labours to the work of such commissions. It is as deserving of consideration, it also stands in the way-how so remotely of an objective, dispassionate study and findings.

Assam has had no scruples either to snap her finger in scorn at the Centre, which, Mr. Nehru tells us, 'strongly advised' the ruling oligarchy to postpone the Language Bill. The advice, is however stated, reached them a few hours after the Bill was introduced, as though a bill once footed cannot be deferred for further consideration sideration. It is the measure of the India Government's drift and procrastination and Covernment's progressive intransigence, over the scare raised, that power, if matters are pushed hard, would slip out of the hands of the Congress Party. The fact that the advice—why shy at a directive?—was given in the grim setting of the Prime Minister called 'grisly and that the Prime Minister called 'grisly and the Prime Minister cance grant which 'nothing could justify' did not index weight with them. Rather, it is an unerring index

of their penitence for 'the mob-violence, people who do not speak Assamese, it is allowed could not tackle and, worse still, which ran its malignant course by the action or inaction or both of some people in key positions. Were the Bramhaputra to roll back, it cannot wash out the indelible print that over fifty thousand people have been torn out from their homestead; quite a good number butchered; and yet a large number maimed and rendered unfit for life; and, in the top of all, the corrosive trail of bitterness that their womanhood has been defiled. The extent of the sudden, swift and ruthless deirony of this obvious contradiction does not predations can be gathered from the fact that, on the night of the 6th July alone, as Assam's Finance Minister, Mr. Fakruddin Ali stated in the Assembly on the 26th October, the houses of 42 families were burnt down, and those of another 32 families were looted in one single village in the sub-division of Barapeta. Only one woman, however, the Minister stated, had died on the occasion; and that too, because, she 'refused to come out of the house despite attempts to persuade her to come out'. What is the point of the parenthesis? Is it any extenuation that no life was aimed at but only the property? If so, it exposes the other side of the medal that it was no crime of impulse, the hooligans were guilty of, but a premeditated, preplanned affair; and is, straightaway, an answer to the plea, Mr. Chaliha has taken up in the Assembly on the 25th October, that he had 'no evidence of the existence of any plan behind the holocaust.' None but the perverse will now see the folly of putting off the promised probe. Quite naturally, the entire resources of the Assam Government will be there to sustain the Chief Minister's pivotal, 'no evidence.' If Mr. Chaliha had earned a name for holding the scales even and soft-pedalling the question of the State language, he has, by his weakness, indecisiveness and a complete lack of personality shattered what faith the non-Assamese had reposed in him. But he is in good company.

> If we have had an apology of respect for democracy and administrative integrity, the conduct of Mr. Pant, as the Central Home Minister,

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should call for greater attention and scrutiny. Leave alone his capacity and willingness to hasten to Assam to stand up to the malign forces, sleeplessly arrayed for months together against Law and Order, he did nothing worthwhile to save the minority. Inordinately shrewd and with his Intelligence Department in Assam, it is silly to suggest that he could have had no glimpse of the coming events, as they cast their shadow ahead. He spoke the bare truth, when he said in the Parliament that he was to blame for failing to stop the explosion of this anti-national, criminal parochialism-the Prime Minister all too chivalrously sharing a part of the guilt-and yet he did not resign. This is a complete denial of the A.B.C. of a democratic form of Government. Secondly, instead of telling the Assam Government that it was not and could not be suffered to be any time for taking up the Language Bill, and that the Central Government was within its rights to resort to Article 347 of The Constitution of India and impose upon Assam what languages it deemed expedient in the circumstances, he is suspected of attempts to smuggle Hindi into Assam. fact, if the Central Government so likes, it can have in twentyfour hours a working unanimity in Assam on lines laid down by the States Reorganisation Committee. But then this would block indefinitely the passage of Hindi. Is this the inward psychology of Mr. Pant's apathy for a firm, principled functioning? It is India's misfortune that Mr. Pant and his brothers-in-the-faith on the question of India's State language should have such a strong hold on Mr. Nehru; and they should be just marking time by a put-off, facing-bothways attitude. It needs, by now, nothing more than the brain of a cock at the barn door to realise how the blinkered fanatics of Hindi have proved a menace to our national solidarity.

The U.S.S.R., by the way, publishes her Laws in all the languages of her various constituent States-Republics as they are called. Though 50 per cent of her people speak Muscovite Russian, they have not imposed it on the minorities as the State language of the Soviet Union and it only enjoys the same status as the sixteen other regional languages. Where can, possibly, be the difficulty of adopting this system in India? In Canada the English, better still, the Anglophones number about 70 per cent of the people, but English is on a par with French; likewise, in Switzerland, French, German and Italian are regarded as equals even though the Germans cons. titute over 70 per cent, and the Italians less than 10 per cent of the people. In the face of such examples, a hard-boned insistence on Hindi as the State language of India, when it is the mothertongue of no more than 40 per cent of the people. all too readily lends colour to an impression that the Hindiwallas have just been contriving to steal a march over those who are not at home in Hindi. In fact, to place the vast 60 per cent of our people under what is manifestly a handicap in the struggle for existence and yet to argue that it is not an attack on national oneness is quixotic.

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We are, truly, at our wit's end to contemplate the turn of events in the last Assam disturbances. It is, primarily, a concern of the administration. But the Congress President is possibly, the first to have hurried to Assam for an on-the-spot study. It is likely that he thinks that since his Party rules the roost, he is beholden to the people of India to see to it that all is well with the Party. He had a bird's-eye-view of the devastated area. And as he came back, he made a statement at the Calcutta airport, Dum Dum. This he watered down on return to Delhi. The equivocation and window-dressing were of such arresting significance that he was the butt-end of ridicule. What, in the statement, struck even the casual and was severely commented upon was his sigh of relief that the houses burnt down belonged to the poor people, mostly, and, as such there would be no difficulty to rehabilitate them within a short time. It was particularly unfortunate that he sought to gloss over the fact that the poor Bengalis of the Bramhaputra Valley, who were the least vocal in the matter of Assam's along pliantly State language, and had all acquiesced in the decision of the Assamese on the such barbarities. question, were the victims of Was it to strike terror into the heart of people—the same old, 'moral impression' which General Dyer is associated—that they do Bengali, not gather round the protagonists of also, as one of the State languages?

It is not without a wrench that we have to accept the basic truth that the Indian National Congress has lost its old bearings. It has ceased to be the Nation, and is just as much a political party, revelling in the quagmire of party and individual individual interests. One cannot help recalling the picture Gandhiji was constrained to draw of CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Everybody in the Congress', he said, 'is running after power. Today politics has become corrupt and anybody who goes into it is contaminated. The picture in thirteen years, since then, is complete-remorselessly complete. And it is in the finess of things that the then Congress President Acharya Kripalani, to whom and through whom Gandhiji made the aforesaid statement to the Nation, pronounces the epitaph on Congress rule on the floor of our Parliament on the 29th November, 1960, so as to say in clear terms, This is Congress raj and no democracy.' But back to the point at issue: With Mr. Patel's death, and Mr. Tandon made to resign the Congress Presidentship under some shock tactics, brilliantly conceived by Mr. Nehru, and Mr. Nehru as President for four years, the Congress has become a monolithic organisation, unified soul to soul with the Government. And even if it sounds uncharitable, it is so true that each Congress President in succession-Mr. Dhebar, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Reddy—is a carbon copy of Mr. Nehru. Therefore, to all intents and purposes, the failure of the Congress Government in Assam is a reflex of Mr. Nehru's failure.

The sense of chagrin is well-nigh universal in India in respect of Mr. Nehru over Pakistan and China. We are having a series of rebuffs either way. The left-over Hindus of East Pakistan are being as meticulously squeezed out. In a whiff of nostalgia, it flashes zigzag in our mind that the late Mr. Patel issued a note of warning that was the process to continue, India would have no other alternative than to demand of Pakistan land for the rehabilitation of these relugees. India now feels something like a tremor in the knees even to indulge in a thought like his. With regard to China, it is enough to indicate which way the wind is blowing, as we recall that Mr. Koirala, as Prime Minister of Nepal, to the say sneeringly of India, and in mbellishment of his handling of the situation, Where is the country to whom China has shown greater respect?' China, in fact, has sized us up over Tibet. And there is nothing more pathetic than to hear Mr. Nehru confessing in the Parliahent, on the 28th November, that the talks, he square miles of Indian territory, which act aggression could not have been done overnight.

But all these happenings, so distressing as they are, do not tell upon us so heavily as Mr. Nehru's failure in Assam. Here it tends to be disconcerting, nay, suicidal, because, with it is bound up the question of our national solidarity. And national solidarity is the one largest possible factor to guarantee our survival as independent people. We seem to lose the Nehru we knew. His one-time creative leadership is stuck up in the maze and mire of Party interests; and he does not even disdain to be made the cat's paw of designing functionaries. We do not know to what extent is his title to the moral leadership of the world is being smirched, as recently demonstrated at the U.N.O., by his failure at home —the failure of democracy in his hands. Here, as there, he has failed to articulate his call to a national or international dedication.

Assam witnessed a holocaust such as it has not seen at any time. There is, by now, no room for doubt that the whole affair was planned in details and executed with a frigid cold precision. But Mr. Nehru, who never tires to trot out democracy, stood athwart an immediate Judicial Inquiry, because the shameful abdication of the Congress Government in Assam was in question. as much as the conduct of a good number of some tall poppies of his Party. And even when Assam was almost like a rick on fire, Mr. Nehru assured the Assamese of the validity of their demand on the issue of State language. This was in flagrant negation of the security of others, to which they had been lulled by the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Committee that Assam should have more than one State language. Its immediate effect, by the way, has been, to ignite the demand of the hill tribes for separation. He also mitigated the brute lawlessness the students by ascribing it to, what he called. their frustration for unemployment. The fact of unemployment, has, however, been categorically denied by the Minister of Planning and Industry. The frustration, whatever it is,-and it is pith and marrow of the whole tragedy-is due had initiated, were not likely to effect any notable doing things. His Government has lowered the thange in the attitude of China; and that the minimum qualification for Assamese 'sons of the allernative to talks was war. This is after so much soil' by discriminating against the Bengali 'sons, the pital large of Railways, Posts, of the pitch has been queered, and China is in of the soil' in the service of Railways, of about 12 thousand Telegraphs and other Central Government under-

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by reservation in the Indian Administrative Service. To state in still more explicit terms, they have been suffering from an insuperable complex that in Assam it is for them to have filled up the gap, created by the dislodgement of the English people as the ruling class.

There is no mistaking the fact that we are heading for a crisis. It is yet time for Mr. Nehru to pause to seriously consider if, in working Parliamentary Democracy-an exotic of tender growth in India-it is prudent to ignore any further the warning, Gandhiji gave to followers that they should separate the Indian National Congress from politics altogether, make it devote to our social and economic regeneration, leaving party politics to fend for it-

takings. But there is the agonising sense of frus- self. He hoped that the Congress, restored to its takings. But there is the agonisms sense or inabi-tration for Mr. Nehru's unwillingness or inabitration for Mr. Nenrus unwinningness of the compelling selflessness, be called upon to act as the moral warden of whatever party might be holding power. The major challenge, were Mr. Nehru at all to bestir himself to translate this wish of Gandhiji into action, is bound to come from the New Class, which the Congress Rule has brought into being. They have cut adrift from their old moorings and have, in fact, gone crazy over the spoils of victory. Further, they will have all the backing of a certain category of business people in refusing to yield an inch of ground. Unless Mr. Nehru takes his courage in both hands, and strives hard to work for a recovery, he will, it is dead certain, have the moral consciousness to leave the Country, divided into shambles of blood, anarchy and ruin.

E. M. FORSTER: A BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE

By V. A. SHAHANE, Ph.D. (LEEDS)

Reader in English, Osmania University

EDWARD Morgan Forster is eighty-three January 1, 1961.

I recall with pleasure my first meeting with Mr. Forster on November 14, 1957. I went to see him in his rooms at the King's College, Cambridge. It was one of the loveliest autumn mornings and the antique shape of Cambridge colleges and their charming backs were bathed in beautiful sunshine.

Mr. Forster, it seemed to me, was in a pleasant and communicative mood. He read extracts from the thesis which I had written on his work. It was a doctoral dissertation Forster's place in the tradition of the English novel. He freely commented upon my ideas and judgments. This experience of getting my inferences and conclusions confirmed and contradicted was registered as Henry Morgan Forster. by the venerable author himself was, of course, March, 1879, the baby was taken to the church unique and extremely velocible. It is the church unique and extremely valuable. He recalled many of Clapham Common. On the way to the church associations and events of the recalled many of Clapham Common. associations and events of the past which had a the old verger asked Mr. E. M. Forster

on fascinating scene of the philosophical and literary discussions of his student days at King's -scenes immortalised in The Longest Journey, 1907. I had rather severely criticised his treatment of and attitude to death in the novels. Mr. Forster generously responded to these criticisms which revealed his liberal approach and his readiness to understand the other man's point of view.

Christening: Commedy of Errors

E. M. Forster was born at 8, Melcombe Place, Dorset Square, London, on January 1879. The name Edward Morgan has its source in a true comedy of errors. In London the baby bearing on his novels and short stories. For novelist's father) what the name of the child instance he showed me the rooms which instance he showed me the rooms which were the would be and he, absent-mindedly, gave his own

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In the domestic biography of his great aunt Varianne Thornton Forster has presented a elightful and faithful picture of the illustrious hornton family at Battersea Rise Some of Forster's recollections of his childhood have a bearing on the making his mind. Marianne called her favourite great nephew "The Important One". This great aunt her eighties wrote letters to Morgan Forster, schild under eight. This correspondence is extraordinary since Morgan at that time "was probably crawling on the carpet" and the first letter was penned when Forster was only eighteen months old. Sometimes letters were exchanged in the same house: "Morgan Forster, Esq., Upstairs.

Forster vividly describes his childlike fancies and feeble republicanism in or about 1887. "Following the lead of my mother and others", he writes, "I was violently anti-jubilee." His mother had protested against contributing pennies to the Jubilee Fund. Yet, when the noment arrived, Forster, casting aside all antibilee feeling, waved and cheered the great

Marianne left to the "Important One" egacy of £8,000 which facilitated his education a Cambridge. It helped him to travel and gain the continental experience. This gift made "his career as a writer possible."

School Life

Young Forster became a day boy at Tonbidge school, which he detested. His unpleasant speriences of school life are passionately relected in his writings. The Longest Journey, 1907, depicts the working of Sawston School and lorster's adverse reaction to the whole system of the Public schools. Forster declares middle dasses to be the heart of England and the public the heart of England and the favourite Forster of personal relationships.

Forster entered King's College in 1897 and as pleasantly surprised by the cordiality,

christened Edward Morgan. intellectual open-air and playfulness of that enchanting place as Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson was in 1881. King's College, Cambridge, founded by Henry VI in 1440, is a 'peculiar' place and its rare charm has inspired Forster to write beautifully of Rickie's and Ansell's life in The Longest Journey, 1907. Forster's conception of Cambridge is enlightened and in keeping with the humane and liberal tradtion. He writes:

> "Cambridge still keeps her antique shape No idealistic millionaire has yet raped her O leave her where she is and as she is, leave her to her peculiar destiny! "

Forster's best comment on the "magic quality" of Cambridge is made in the form of his narration of Lowes Dickinson's experiences of the Cambridge circle of pleasent companions and dons :

"Body and spirit, reason and emotion, work and play, architecture and scenery, laughter and seriousness, life and art-these pairs which are elsewhere contrasted were there fused into one."

Sawston and Cambridge occupy an important position in Forster's scheme of values. Forster became Fellow of King's in 1925.

No account of Forster's life will be complete without a brief mention of his visits to India. He visited India in 1912, 1921 and 1945. He was charmed by the small state of Dewas, its ruler and the panoramic Indian scene. This amazing tiny state could have no parallel except "in a Gilbert and Sullivan opera." · Forster worked as the private secretary to Sir Tukoji, the Maharaja of Dewas in 1921. He dressed like a Hindu, participated in the Gokul Ashtami festival at Mau, which he has described in The Hill of Devi.

Forster's association with Sved Ross Masood. Sir Tukoji (to whom he has dedicated his Passage to India) and the state of Dewas "the oddest corner of the world" have brought to light a new facet of his personality. Forster describes a chance encounter with Indians in a railway train in 1945 when he was on his way to Jaipur to attend the P.E.N. Conference: "I like these chance encounters. I value far more the relationships of years, and if Indians had not spoken English, my own life would have been infinitely poorer"

Forster has achieved a rare distinction in the galaxy of men of letters of the twentieth

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century. He wrote his first novel, where and naked, will be a street, in 1905, chronologically in the for acceptance of "life", bare and naked, will be instinctive richness and emotion of the instinctive ri Edwardian period. His latest work, a domestic biography of his great aunt, Marianne Thornton was published on May 10, 1956. During this half century of literary pilgrimage, Forster has written twelve books which include his five novels.

Minor Classic

E. M. Forster is a minor classic in the history of the twentieth century English novel. He is not a novelist of the stature of Henry James, James Joyce or D. H. Lawrence. he is a novelist of great charm and distinction. His art has an enduring quality which ensures him a prominent place in English fiction.

The subject-matter of four of Forster's five novels is genuinely 'English' and he is opposed to the insular aspects of English character. His characters hold the mirror to us and his arena

of judgment includes his audience.

Our inadequacies are shown in terms of the heart's affection, tolerance, liberal imagination. Forster is predominantly a novelist of personal relations. He employs the instruments of wit and irony, charm and literary play in expounding his social comedy.

Intelligence is the supreme quality of Forster's novels, yet their message or underlying idea is to signify not merely the efficacy of passion, but the preponderance of passion over the mind and the intellect. But this zest for passion undermined by an odd inadequacy in his novels.

Forster derides the inner as well as the outer life of the phlegmatic English middle class. His targets are the emotionally immature, yet the social institutions are not ignored. school, he seems to say, produces philistines whose tastes are negative in their rejection of art and life, and positive in their blind pursuit of power. They distrust sensibility and lose the joy of living.

Forster lays great stress on what he calls "life" and champions social and international intercourse among men. He is more concerned with the inner than the outer life, though the

century. He wrote his first novel, Where Angels two streams mingle at various points. He is a all its instinctive richness and emotive fervour Though one of the most urbane and 'cosmopo litan' of our novelists, he is deeply attached to the countryside. His methods are as important as his themes. Manipulation and organisation of THE "I scenes is a significant quality of. Forster's pe the craft. His scene-making aims at developing, among mar), other things, the symbolic meaning of his the Fed fiction.

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In the sphere of the tradition of the English novel. Forster follows the path of the intelligent well-bred, sophisticated, critical, upper middle This element establishes a link class novel. between Forster and Jane Austen. Forster, though considerably influenced by the ideas of G. I. Moore, the Cambridge philosopher, is not a very conspicuous figure in the Bloomsbury Circle Though influenced by his literary forbears, like Jane Austen and Mefedith and contemporaries like Virginia Woolf, Forrest Reid and Sherwood Anderson, Forster's position in the novel tradition is almost a personal one. He stands apart from most of his contemporaries.

The intellectuals of the present age admir Forster not only for what he has written, but also for what he has not written. Forster is a writer of fastidious taste.

W. H. Auden in a tribute "to E. M. Forster gives a poetical expression to Trilling's idea that a "consideration of Forster's work is useful in time of war." Auden also admirably expresse the comic quality of Forster's art:

"Here though the bombs are real and dangerous.

And Italy and King's are far away, And we're afraid that you will speak to w You promise still the inner life shall pay. As we run down the slope of hate with

You trip us up like an unnoticed stone. And just as we are closeted with Madness You interrupt us like the telephone."

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BOOKS IN GERMANY

By DIETMAR ROTHERMUND, M.A., Ph.D.

isation of THE "Big Five" among book publishing nations Forsler's are the Soviet Union (about 35,000 titles per ng, among (ar), Japan (25,000), Great Britain of his re Federal Republic of Germany (20,000) and idia (17,000). However, if one compares the umber of titles published per year with the size of the population, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Benmark and the Netherlands are the "Big Five" e English while Great Britain occupies the tenth place, Germany the eleventh, Japan the sixteenth, the Soviet Union the twentieth and India the twentys a link fourth.—Germany and Great Britain are placed er, though at the intersection of these two standards of comparison. Both these countries combine a bookproduction of international significance with hirly high ratio of book-production per head of the population.

> In Germany where Johann Gutenberg inrented the art of printing with individual types some 500 years ago, the reading and owning of books has been part of an old tradition. Gutenberg broke the monopoly of monks and scribes the had guarded the store of learning which was reserved in voluminous manuscripts. ditions of the Greek and Latin classics put theories of the ancient philosophers within reach of every inquisitive mind. The translation the Bible into the vernacular language gave hise to a new national language of literary stature. The rise of science and technology depended on he free flow of information which was made possible through the publication of innumerable books and periodicals, and the establishment of steat libraries in many cities and towns.

> But in many ways it was the small library at home which played the most important part in the life of the nation. The members of the edumiddle-class were proud of their represenlibraries which Malus symbol. However, the library at home was by no means an empty showpiece, it was put to be read: The children inherited the books and he reading habits as well as a respect for educaon and learning from their parents. The local bookseller was a friend and adviser like the

Since books were not only read but also preserved—adorning the living room or the private library—their binding was usually done with great care. Leather, fine cloth and titles in gold were the distinctive features of a 19th century bookshelf. The restless 20th century with its social change, political upheavals and wars disturbed the peace of these dignified homes and their quiet ostentation. Books were burnt by dictators and by bombs. New strata of the society emerged. The pattern of the book-trade in the Germany of today reflects to a certain extent a new social structure. The conventional publisher and the traditional bookseller handle only abouthalf of the book-production and distribution. Less than 20 per cent of the total production is sold in the bookshop. The modern bookseller depends on his detailed mailing list and on advertising rather than on personal service in his shop. Many booksellers have found it convenient to specialize in certain subjects with a view to attract either the legal profession or the doctors, the clergymen, the business firms or the numerous students of foreign languages.

booksellers are highly people. Most of them are graduates who have served a three years apprenticeship in a bookshop. At the end of this apprenticeship many of them attend a special training course at the School of the German Book Trade in Cologne. This school, founded in 1946, has proved to be so well-attended that a second school of this kind is being established in Frankfurt on Main.

An average German bookshop stocks about 8,000 to 9,000 titles. The bookseller can on a turnover of about 21 times this stock per year. If a particular book which is wanted by a customer is not in his stock the bookseller can usually procure it within two days without any extra charges. Books are sold everywhere in Germany at the same fixed price without any surcharges for postage, etc.

In spite of this efficient service and the was a friend and adviser like the a great many readers prefer to the doctor, the clergyman and the teacher from the big book clubs which have become a ample choice of books in every German bookshop

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri on Yoga proved to be great success in Germany.

characteristic feature of the German book-trade after the war. These clubs handle about 50 per cent of the total sales of books in Germany, they offer to their members ten or more titles every month, and the members are bound to buy five or six books per year. These clubs can offer handsome royalties to the authors. They have opened an entirely new market. Their members are often housewives, businessmen, workers, technicians, clerks, and secretaries-people who are not in the habit of browsing in bookshops like the scholar and the student, the professional man and the "intellectual".

This new reading public belongs mostly to the lower middle-class or the working-class. The higher standard of living permits them to buy and own books while in former times their limited budget could only bear the small fees of the public libraries which exist in every town of Germany. The old middle-class prestige value of a shelf of well-bound books is also still of some importance—and no book club publishes books which do not look extremely well-bound.

The introduction of numerous pocketbook and paperback series is another attempt at broadening the base of the reading public. In Germany not only reprints but many first editions published in such series, and a well-known publisher has been very successful in publishing a non-fiction series which includes many original works on the arts and sciences written by standing authors. The booksellers subscribe these serieses and thus get automatically a certain number of copies of every title. Some publishers issue four or five of these paperbacks every month. The booksellers are sure of a quick turnover of these interesting and inexpensive books (about Rs. 2/- a copy). The publishers are able to print about 25,000 copies of each title. They can pay about Rs. 5,000/- in cash to the author while normally a cloth-bound non-fiction book is at best published in an edition of 3,000 copies which may be sold in about 2 or 3 years—the author getting 10 per cent-15 per cent of the remittances for the copies sold.

These inexpensive series appeal first of all to the students and to the educated people who often do not have a big budget for book purchases but are genuinely interested in serious literature and in new developments in the arts and sciences. Recently a paperback edition

In spite of these large-scale developments which affect the national book-trade as a whole there is still a scope for local traditions. Even in the Germany of today the statistics of the distribution of publishing houses and bookshops reflect important patterns of the cultural geography of the nation.

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There are about 1,500 publishing houses in the Federal Republic of Germany, and more than 4,000 bookshops in about 1,000 cities, towns and villages. The main centres of the publishing trade are Berlin, Munich, Stuttgart, Hamburg, Frankfurt on Main-and the cities with the greatest number of bookshops as compared to the population are Stuttgart, Heidelberg, and Munich.

Cultural decentralization and diversity have always been a feature of German life. The partition of Germany and the isolation of the old capital, Berlin, have obliterated the trends towards centralization which emerged during the late 19th and early 20th century. However, the decentralized cultural life of Germany has survived the blows of political misfortunes.

This cultural decentralization may have its advantages as well as its drawbacks. It definitely encourages a greater variety, an ample choice of different cultural atmospheres. The drawbacks would be the dangers of provincialism and isolation. Somehow books have helped to enhance the advantages and to overcome the drawbacks in herent in this situation, and the German book trade has combated the dangers of provincialism and isolation by efficient co-operation.

The great Frankfurt Book Fair which is held in the autumn of every year is a result of this co-operation. Initially this fair served as a meeting-ground for German booksellers and publishers from the different provinces of Germany However, it soon developed into an international meeting-ground and the German booksellers thus provided a common platform for their colleagues from other countries. The circle widened from national co-operation to international co-operation. Last year 2,000 publishers displayed their books in Francisco. books in Frankfurt on Main, 1,200 of them came from foreign countries including India.

As a fitting tribute to the better understand ing between nations the German Publishers the of Booksellers Association awards every year at the

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time of this book fair the Peace Prize of the German Book-trade to a writer or publisher who has served the cause of international goodwill. In 1958, the American writer Thornton Wilder was awarded this prize; in 1959, it was given to Prof. Theodor Heuss, former President of the German Federal Republik. In 1960, Victor Gollancz, the famous British publisher accepted this honour, and the Peace Prize, 1961 will be given to Dr. Radhakrishnan, India's philosopher-statesman, most of whose works have been translated into German.

German Publishers and Booksellers The Association (Boersenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels, Frankfurt on Main) reflects the cooperative spirit of its members. A periodical, a directory of the German-speaking book-trade, a bibliography, an information service which answers about 200 bibliographical questions every day, and a central library are maintained by this organization. The foreign department of the organization keeps in touch with booksellers and publishers in foreign countries and sends exhibitions of German books abroad. During the last ten years such exhibitions have been held in 80 cities of 24 countries.

At present one of these German book exhibitions is being shown in India. This is the first time that such a representative cross section of the current German book-production has come to India. The exhibition with its 2,200 titles looks ike the attractive display of a typical German bookshop. It invites the visitor to take a closer look at those books in which he is especially interested—to browse, to read a line here or there. The scientist, the engineer, the medical doctor, the Indologist will find hundreds of titles which are important to them. But there are also some volumes on art and artists which are so impressive that nobody can pass by without admiring their heauty. There is also a delightfun collection of children's books. Magnificent scores of the great work of German composers represent the field of music.

The 125 books on Indian topics which are a special feature of the exhibition include some new of Indology, but there are also many books on

modern India, novels, a charming edition of Indian legends, and beautifully illustrated volumes on Indian art. There is a very attractive new edition of the major works of Rabindranath Tagore. Some plays and poems of this great Indian writer have also been printed as tiny, well-bound pocket-books which can truly serve as a vade mecum. Tagore has meant much to German lovers of literature and these new and interesting editions have found a ready market.

The central feature of the exhibition, however, is the excellent collection of books in the fields of technology (507 titles) medicine (367) and the sciences (296). Like all the other books in this exhibition, the titles selected are the latest publications in their respective fields or new editions of important works. There are a great number of useful handbooks and indispensable reference works. Publications on the most advanced research topics and manuals and text-books for the technician and practical engineer are equally well represented.

Of particular interest is the great number of specialized periodicals. There are about 50 periodicals dealing with the various fields of technology, among them there are monthly reviews of such very modern subjects as plastics, automation and nuclear energy. The sciences are represented by 10 periodicals. There are 14 periodicals in the field of medicine, 7 in agriculture and forestry, 3 in the social science, 3 in theology, 2 in philology and linguistics, 1 in philosophy and 1 for orientalists. The exhibition is thus at once attractive and useful, pleasant to look at—but chiefly selected with a view to the practical needs of modern India.

At present many young Indians are going to Germany for technical training and higher studies. As they return to their home country they will swell the ranks of those who can put German books to good use while building the India of tomorrow. On the other hand German books have also told the story of India's glorious past. The respect for India's tradition is as much a part of Germany's interest in India as the new ventures of technical co-operation. The exhibition of German books is the best illustration of this fact.



Book Reviews



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Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati:

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia:

Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE EXCAVATIONS AT KAUSAMBI (1957-59): By G. R. Sharma. Institute of Archaeology, Allahabad University Publication No. 1. Allahabad, 1960. Pp. 225 and 55 plates. Rs. 35/-.

Kausambi, now represented by extensive ruins covering an area of some eight square miles and situated on the left bank of the Yamuna, 35 miles south-west of Allahabad, was one of the most renowned cities of Ancient India during and long after the age of the Buddha. Since the first systematic excavations were started by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1937-38, the History Department of the University of Allahabad has undertaken a series of excavations on the same extensive site from 1949 onwards.

The present work, containing a record of excavations done during the seasons 1957-59, consists of two parts. Part I, which is mainly archaeological, describes the excavations on some selected sites, viz., the city defences and a remarkable site "near the eastern gate at the foot of the defences on the outer side" which is identified by the learned author as the spot for erection of a fire-altar for the performance of a famous Vedic sacrifice (the Purushamedha). Part II, which is purely literary, contains a comprehensive and fully documented study of the rituals relating to this sacrifice. In both the above fields the author shows equal mastery of which the source is to be traced to two great teachers to whom he pays a handsome tribute in his Preface, viz., Dr. (now Sir) Mortimer Wheeler, and Pandit Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya.

The excavations (Chs. II-III) have been conducted on the most up-to-date lines, a detailed

account being given of the stratigraphy of the sites with excellent illustrative charts. The study of the stratification has led the author to distinguish four successive culture-periods marked by as many distinctive types of potteries. The author gives cogent reasons for his view that the people of the early Kausambi culture were probably a branch of the Indo-Aryans who were deeply influenced by the Harappans and whose advent marked the beginning of the Iron Age. The author further distinguishes three types of iron arrowheads marking the periods of successive invasions by the Greeks, the Saka-Kushans and the Hunas. The author, again working of the combined evidence of stratification as well as the inscribed coins, seals, terra-cotta figurines and arrowheads found on the city site, has developed a highly original and remarkable chronology for the twenty-five successive building periods last ing from the late Harappan to the post-Gupta age (c. 1100 B.C.—500 A.D., according to his reckoning). Further, from a detailed study of stratification of the city's defences, the author has traced the history of the fortifications through four successive periods.

Equal thoroughness is shown in the author's study of the archaeological finds, viz., the bricks (pp. 41-43), the tools and weapons (Ch. IV), pottery (Ch. V), terra-cotta figurines (Ch. VII) well as coins and seals (Ch. VII). Classified and well as coins and seals (Ch. VII). Classified and illustrated lists are given in this connection of the iron arrowheads (11 types), spears and javelins iron arrowheads (11 types), spears and javelins (5 types), pottery (5 types), terra-cotta figurines (3 types), coins (4 classes) and seals.

The above chapters are followed by haustive and detailed accounts (Ch. VIII) of excavations on the site of the fire-altar

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mentioned based upon comparison of the relevant ritual texts so as to lead to the conclusion that this was a site of the fire-altar piled up in the shape of a hawk (syenachiti) in connection with the performance of a purushamedha or human sacrifice. This particular sacrifice, the author argues on plausible grounds, was performed by Pushyamitra Sunga, who successfully defended the Ganga valley against the invasions of the Bactrian Greeks.

Part II consists of a comprehensive and detailed account of the ceremonies for building a syenachiti supported by extensive quotations of texts from the whole literature of the later Samhitas, the Brahmanas and the Srauta-sutras with their commentaries. It forms as such a most valuable contribution to the study of the Vedic sacrificial ritual.

To sum up, the present monograph is bound to remain an indispensable work of reference on ancient Indian archaeology and ritual literature for a long time to come.

The paper, print and the general get-up of the work are excellent. Its value is enhanced by the addition of a select bibliography, a good index and a series of 55 beautifully executed plates.

Upendra Nath Ghoshal

A CLUE TO THE INDUS VALLEY SCRIPT AND CIVILISATION: By R. M. Nath, B.E., Shillong. Price. Rs. 4/-.

In this pamphlet of about 50 pages the Engineer-scholar Sri R. M. Nath has attempted to unravel the mystery of the Indus Valley Script. The credit of first thesis to win a Doctor's degree on the subject went to Prof. Dr. Hunter, who started decipherment about 30 years ago.

With much less equipment and shorter time Sri Nath has tried his hand but also failed to convince us. For, the Tantric mythology of Akshara or letters is much later than the Vedic symbolism (c. 2000 B.C.). The Indus Script must be placed earlier and correlated with the Mesopotamian cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphicnone of which has been studied so far by any Indian scholar Rev. Heras and Sankarananda anticipated Nath in trying to solve (but failed) the Indus Script problems with the help only of Dravidian and Tantric forms and formulas. But the possible solution will wait till a Government of Indian Control of Indian Contro of India Commission on Indian and West-Asian paleography is sent to take back estampages relevant inscriptions and pronounce their verdict.

However, we appreciate the new speculations solution from the author who is a tested

worker on the field of Kamrup history and archaeology.

Kalidas Nag

IMMORTAL INDIA: Volume I. By J. H. Dave. Bhavan's Book University. No. 45. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Chaupatty, Bombay. Price. Rs. 2/-.

Tirthas or places of pilgrimage occupy a very important position in the religious and cultural life of India. Their number is a legion. Some of them are very old, others are comparatively of a later period. Some enjoy all-India or very wide popularity, others have only regional or limited reputation. Each has its own shrines with their peculiar rituals as sanctioned by mythology traditional usage. Mythological accounts, not always quite clear, are scattered over different Puranas and ritualistic details of several Tirthas are found in a number of Smriti digests dealing with the latter. It is a matter of regret that no work is available which gives a systematic and consolidated account of even the major Tirthas, save and except the Volume IV of Dr. P. V. Kane's History of Dharmasastra, where we incidentally have a scholarly and ideal treatment with regard to about a dozen of them. In these circumstances the work under review is a welcome publication. It gives popular descriptions of and historical, mythological and ritualistic informations about 24 places of pilgrimage. It is understood that three further volumes deal with many more of them. That the present volume has had a warm reception is shown by the necessity of the publication of a second edition within three years of its first appearance. The principle, if any, followed in the arrangement of the Tirthas in the volume is not indicated. A number of misprints and dubious statements have been noticed. Reference has been made to indecent sculptures of Khajuraho but not to those of Puri.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

NIKITA SERGUJEVICH KHRUSHCHEV: Pages 54. Price .20 nP.

It is a short biography of a maker of the USSR and an important figure working for World Peace.

HOW MATERIAL WEALTH IS DISTRIBUTED IN THE USSR: By G. V. Perov, pages 28. Price .20 nP.

In twelve short chapters the entire distribution system is described.

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION OF THE USSR WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE EAST: By V. Tolstikov, pages 43. Price .20 nP.

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In five chapters Soviet economy is depicted and its helping hands to underdeveloped Eastern countries are assured.

FOR THE GOOD OF MAN: By Y. Ioffe and P. Keylov, pages 57. Price .20 nP.

In eight chapters the authors discuss Labour, Income, Consumption, Housing, Education, Culture and Public Health of the USSR and state that the Communist Path is the only way which will bring material salvation to mankind.

TARGET FIGURES FOR THE ECONO-MIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR FROM 1959 TO 1965, (abridged):

This is an abridged publication in 83 pages giving Seven Years' Plan particulars of the USSR. This plan was approved by the 21st Congress of the CPSU on Feb. 5, 1959. This is not a priced book. All the above publications were issued by the USSR Embassy in India, 25, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi. Their publication for information are intented for the propaganda of the Soviet ideals as well.

A. B. Dutta

FRENCH

LA FORMATION DU CAPITAL DANS LES PAYS SOUS-DEVELOPPES L'ASSISTANCE FINANCIERE ETRAN-GERE. (Capital formation in under-developed countries and foreign financial aid): By H. Simonet, Institut de Sociologie Solvay, Universite Liber de Bruxelles, Brussels, 1959, 222 pages, bibliography price Belgian frs.210

Jenk's classic of pre-war vintage on the migration of capital was from the point of view of the lender and dealt mainly with mechanism of the international transfer capital and its monetary effects. Until 1914, the U.K. and Europe were the chief exporters of capital and the main stream went to the young temperate zone countries. A pattern of trade grew up which guaranteed economic growth in both sets of countries.

Today the whole framework of the international economy has changed. Capital is studied as in Dr. Simonet's book from the point of view of aid from the advanced economies to those countries where economic development has become a pressing political issue today. The economic problem of capital transfer has also become complex. The old pattern of trade which consisted mainly of imports of machinery, etc., from Europe for exchange against food and raw materials has broken down. Technological change has reduced the need for many raw

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri materials and one of the chief lenders, the USA does not require imports of agricultural produce

Although Dr. Simonet in his historical introduction emphasizes the eviction of the U.K. at the dominating factor in world economy and in the international capital market, another economist, A. R. Conan, has demonstrated very topically that Britain has regained her creditor status and today lends more than in the palmy days of the nineteenth century-some £4,000 million U.K. capital has flowed overseas between 1946 and 1958. Nevertheless, it is still valid to say that a new conception of investment on an international scale is necessary if the problem of growth in the under-developed countries is to be effectively solved. It is now agreed that their economic development cannot be left to the vagaries of their economic systems.

What then is under-development? It is low productivity, feeble propensity to invest and low purchasing power combined with a collection of social, political and psychological factors which are unfavourable to economic growth. According to Dr. Henri Simonet the vicious circle has to be broken before a country can "take off" to self-generated economic development. Accumulation of capital is not the sole cause of economic development; it is just as much a condition and even one aspect of the organic process of development. Acquisition of skills, desire to save and invest, enthusiasm for improving the environment, scientific and technical knowledge, utilisation of natural resources, particularly labour. The "take off" are just as much necessary. must come from internal impulses even exogenous factors touched it off in the first place There must be a capacity for absorption of capital.

The second point which Dr. Simone emphasizes is that there is now a consensus of opinion that deliberate effort is necessary to accelerate the rate of growth of per capita in the under-developed countries and further that in order to do this it is no longer sufficient to leave it to foreign investors to st up just those enterprises which are profitable to them. The economic development of the whole country must be planned through development programmes and data compiled which will enable an appraisal to be made of the economic advantages and live be made of the economic advantages. tages and disadvantages of any particular investment project ment project. A programme not only enables a selection to be selection to be made from various investment alternatives but by avoiding failure helps avoid a waste of avoid a waste of capital. It also ensures stability of the averting the system by

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helps to helps stabies stabirting the dangers of balance of payment crises and runaway inflation. The price of uncontrolled economic growth is very often an undue increase in imports and a diversion of the factors of production from capital goods industries.

An interesting aspect discussed in some detail by Dr. Simonet is the scope of industrialisation in an under-developed country. It is often not fully appreciated especially in "new countries" not at any rate publicly, that low levels of living in these countries do not arise from the fact that they are agricultural but from the fact that they suffer from low productivity. To start industries where inevitably there will be a relatively lower productivity than in agriculture would merely aggravate the low standard of living just as the neglect of agriculture may precipitate a strain on the foreign exchange resources of the country.

Where equilibrated growth is sought after should capital be supplied by private or public investment? The conclusion reached by Dr. Simonet is that in the first stage when it is necessary to build up the infrastructure and fixed overhead social capital, the need is for "gifts" and "soft loans" rather than for hard-headed investments with a strong predilection for profit. Dr. Simonet emphasizes that the scope of international investment is marginal from a qualitative point of view and that the role of international capital should be to move into an economy where internal savings are deficient for the needs of development. It must help to avoid inflation and the disequilibrium caused by an economy straining to do more than that which its own rate of savings would allow. One must not underrate the importance of foreign capital but equally one must not disregard the fact that it is at best only a palliative.

Margaret Basu

MANUSH KI KORE MANUSH HOLO: By Chandi Lahiri. General Printers and Publishers, Rs. 21. Dharmatala Street, Calcutta-13. Price

Sri Chandi Lahiri has earned some reputalion as an artist and cartoonist. His debut in the
literary field as the author of the book under
adept in the art of writing. He has made extenlimitive men and Prehistoric Civilisation and
of his laborious research in such an easy and
like a story-book.

The world which we live in is full of diversities. It is inhabited by innumerable races speaking different languages. In spite of divergences there is, however, a fundamental unity inasmuch as we all are human beings. It cannot be denied that an inseparable link exists between ourselves and the aboriginal peoples. But very little attempt has so far been made in Bengali literature to make the young readers acquainted with the various aspects of the cultural life of the aboriginal peoples. Sri Lahiri may be regarded as a pioneer in this field, because it is he who has first of all written a book on cultural Anthropology, suitable for our younger generation, which fills up a gap in our juvenile literature. After going through this book youthful readers will be familiar with the achievements of the prehistoric men who in some forgotten age first learnt the use of fire, made tools and weapons from stone and after strenuous efforts were successful in building houses, discovered iron-ores and proceeded step by step towards the altar of civilization. From the researches of Anthropologists and Archaeologists it becomes evident that the contributions of prehistoric men aborigines to the human civilization are not negligible. In fact, they laid the foundation on which the edifice of the present civilization stands. Even in the remotest past prehistoric people realized that man does not live by bread alone. So, they took to painting and the pictures drawn by them approximately 16,000 years ago in Altamira and other Caves of Spain testifies their artistic talents. These things and many other aspects of the cultural achievements of the prehistoric age of later period as well have been described in a nutshell in this book from which young readers will get a fair idea as to how men whose condition in the beginning was no better than beasts have become the civilized and tured men of today.

A good number of line-drawings by the artist-author has made the book more attractive.

Nalini Kumar Bhadra

HINDI

MERA DHARMA, Gandhiji: Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Navajivan Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad-14. November, 1960. Price. Rs. 2/-.

People may have wondered how far Mahatmaji represented the Hindus. It is on record that Rev. Stanley Jones really believed that Gandhi was at heart a Christian, only wanting courage to admit it. Gandhiji's prayer also roused comments, as it seemed to many to be a hotch-potch

of different religions. The Editor has tried to present a full picture of Gandhiji's religion, based on excerpts from his writings. The Editor's collection has been translated into Hindi by Ram-

narayan Chowdhury.

The whole work has been divided into eight chapters: (i) What do I mean by religion? (ii) The source of my religion; (iii) Respect for all religions; (iv) my faith in God; (v) The practical form of my religion; (vi) My religious observances; (vii) The expression of my religion; and (viii) My Hinduism.

This work is of perennial interest.

P. R. Sen

GUJARATI

BER ANE BADLO: Edited by Shri G. J. Patel, Gujrat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad-14, Nov. 1960. 45 nP.

This is a collection of 11 short stories from Buddhist Legends. It was awarded a Government reward as a book promoting social education and it was published on the eve of the 2500th year of Bhagwan Buddha Jayanti. The

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR MARCH, 1961

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitizer has tried to first one deals with non-violence war cannot be a super super Along with the Ramagan stopped by war. Along with the Ramayana at the Mahabharata the Jatakas played a prominer part in moulding public opinion and in bring ing about a healthy outlook in the minds of the people. The book is suitable both for adults at for children, the typescript is quite suitable for neo-literates.

PREMA PANTH: Part X, Edited by Shin D. V. Govindji, October 1960. 60 nP.

This is also a series of anecdotes from as he Gandhiji's writings, the section is labelled : The sty of perparation for the struggle, "Yudha Kanda Indian Purbaranga." This is a very readable present Delhi, tion of Gandhiji's life, divided into shor augura chapters, dealing with single topics, for example Dr. R. Santiniketan, and starting of the Ashran interna Sabarmati. Each chapter is short, and it is quit possible for anybody, however hard pressed for Quarte Dr. Pa time to read the book through in several sitting The shortness of the chapters is a great help and by with in Int the title of each chapter is convenient. conseq

P. R. Sen

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Indian Periodicals

Renunciation of Force in Inter-State Relations

d by Shr A seminar on 'Renunciation and preention of Force in the Relations of States' otes from as held under the auspices of the Univerelled: The sty of Calcutta in co-operation with the a Kanda Indian School of International Studies, e present Delhi, on the 16th February, 1959. The ininto shor augural address delivered on this occasion by Quarterly, a journal of international affairs. consequence and

> we still stand surviving the two world wars, we all feel that we are driven, by the lash of fear as well as by the incitement of tope, to a new task of enlarging the human ommunity. Indeed the economic interdependence of the world places us under an obligation and affords us the possibility of enlarging the human community so that the principle of order and justice will govern the international as well as the blind if we fail to see that the national state an instrument of national economy is in the process of extinction. As rational bengs, we should have been prepared for our futile efforts to maintain the old instrureason and ingenuity.

Indeed, what happened on this globe since the end of the War-to-End-War till state as an instrument of national economy

tional. We seem to have been caught in a tangle of cause and circumstances sweeping us towards something that nobody really wants.

Yet there still is left to us what is really the deepest, the most creative and the most reasonable force in the world—the urge to better our conditions of life. In spite of all the disheartening events happening on the globe we cannot overlook the fact that r example Dr. Radhabinod Pal, the veteran lawyer of there is yet enough reasonableness in the Ashran international reputation has been published world to sustain our faith in the cause of in the October-December issue of India world peace. The very events happening since the end of World War II, have also Dr. Pal has, in his address, dealt convincing provoked among the common people reacly with the problem of 'Renunciation of Force 'tions sufficiently indicating that there still in Inter-State Relations' which is of grave is the reasonable and strong desire of ordidemands immediate nary people everywhere for a chance to solution. In course of his address Dr. Pal live and grow in peace. There is the reasonable weariness of a generation that is tired of fears, tensions and destructions. In the crisis of world history in which There is yet that urge of men which is the strongest creative force in the world: and so long as there is any indication of this urge in the common people the world need not despair.

Throughout the world now a war is going on, a war of ideas and of ideological doctrines in which race and nationalism still play not a mean role. This war can only be won if we have constructive ideas, lational community. We must indeed be helping the real inner reconstruction. We are to see how these conflicting national or cultural ideas can best be attempting this we must avoid all insist-Peaceful adjustment; but, instead, in all logy. Such insistence is only apt to detract ence on the divergences in mind and ideothe ultimeter as of old, we have carried magnify the situation of a particular period magnify the ultimeter particular circumstances into the ultimate extreme the common per- arising under particular circumstances into

the end of the War-to-End-War till state as an instrument of national war world was brought to the Second World indeed came into being after centuries of and war and destructions. But from the time War, and what has been going on since the wars and destructions. But from the time of this of this state of the birth right up to its full development, the of this second cataclysm continuously of its birth right up to its full development, it was considered to be a liberating influence tragging us to a third disaster seem to hold it was considered to be a liberating influence in the economic field in some part of the out little prospect of any rational adjusting the prospect of the prospect of any rational adjusting the prospect of the pro hent in this respect. Indeed we seem to world. For nearly 300 years it served there in an arrangement in this respect. Indeed we seem to world. the in this respect. Indeed we seem to world. For nearly 300 years it serves an age of the triumph of the irra- as a more or less reasonably sufficient instru-

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ment for fostering the growth of industrially productive forces. The possibilities of a serious clash between the limits of nationstates and the requirements of the economic order, however, began to appear towards the end of the last century till productive power had far outstripped national economic structure of society. The consequent new need to enlarge the economic units of the world expressed itconflicts by self in the fatal inter-nation 1914. The war established that the world itself was the minimum unit of necessary change, and the needed change must be in the direction of a new kind of international

society.

There followed the time of the profound and almost universal turn to pacifism. This was translated at the higher levels of politics into the disarmament conferences, the gestures of the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the solemn efforts at world organization in the shape of the League of Nations. In varying ways, however, all these impulses and actions aborted. The needs of worldsociety were again relegated to the background—the national Powers choked off the growth of the much-needed world political economy. The decisive foreground was again occupied by all mutual fears, military preparations and manoeuvres, threats and counter-threats, weapons and counterweapons, struggles or spheres of influence and power over strategic materials territory.

Though nation-states had been brought into being by economic needs, their development, ultimately brought them curious relationship with imperialism. Nationalism existed as the enemy of imperialism among subject peoples. At the other extreme, among ruling peoples, and imperialism tended to nationalism appear as allies, and even to fuse, up to a point, into a mixed sentiment. Finally nationalism developed as a sentiment attached primarily to the idea of separateness and independence of the states.

This phenomenon also produced its effect. The period after the war was also one marked by great political upheavals in which people in the mass tried by one means or another to break new historic ground. In Asia, the end of World War I, touched off waiting impulses of gigantic force. Huge masses of poverty-ridden, dominated people entered the political

arena in search of independence; a billion people had to keep on struggling to win even a semblance of political freedom; a billion people had to thrash around in search of a way out. Human society unfortunately could offer men no manner of renewal except through death and destruction. Then came World War II, once again reminding humanity of the need of world-unity and at the same time vastly extending the geography of the international community, extending it from a reserve of the nations of European blood to a genuine world society.

We are at the threshold of an age, when science has brought whole nations and perhaps the entire globe itself within the sight of its new weapons, carrying to the ultimate extreme the common perversion of human and ingenuity, when science has reason already promised to place in the hands of mankind inter-continental ballistic missiles; intermediate-range ballistic missiles; interplanetary ballistic missiles; space-platforms unmanned and possibly manned; devices of mapping accurately the entire globe by means of infra-red photographic television and other contrivances in satellites used for Yet we are even reconnaissance missions. now witnessing struggles for things and matters which, from any rational point immense irrele view, have acquired an vance.

One of our troubles in the world at present obviously is that the subconscious emotional part of us has been called upon to make a very sudden adjustment to the new world which has been conjured up to a moment by the vast progress of technology. The subconscious part indeed take long to catch up with the rapid movement of the intellect which creates a new material situation.

At a time when everywhere in the world everybody feels not a little wildered at an immense increase in the sense of human power, the ignorance at the finiteness of human mind involves agreat danger facing the whole world, operates as a disintegrating malady world society. It is, indeed, a danger which world society. It is, indeed, a danger which at least we, the inheritors of the culture, should be able to escape.

end of World War I, It is, however, time to realize of poverty-ridden, longer a matter of the individual policies or interests of this or that country construction.

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but has become a matter requiring a complete reorganization of world society. We must try to grasp clearly and firmly that present-day problems are not merely the more complex old local problems with world significance, but wholly new world problems. Our environment is no longer the The possibility that the man of colour may sciously or unconsciously setting to itself to pass, the white man's ment of economic world unity.

But perhaps such a mental make-up is a challenge to human nature. Once, however, we choose to take up this challenge, it is only to be expected that we will arise and begin valiantly to wage the combat which we have thus provoked. By organizing the United Nations we have thrown down the gauntlet to human nature in this respect, and we must not retreat from the combat. If it is really a challenge to our nature, we cannot back out now; we cannot cease to combat on unless we are prepared to pass into the next descending curve of the historical spiral and resume the old cycle of self-defeating self-interest national terms.

The awakening of the hitherto dominated peoples, perhaps, has added to the difficulty in this respect. But the newly awakened peoples will have to take the leap from colonial slavery into world order. Certainly this is not going to be accomplished easily and swiftly. It is, in fact, one of the most difficult transitions history has ever imposed on people. Nevertheless It is the only way they can now start for-Ward. Only thus they are entitled to expect a world that will help them grow.

The Eastern nations would do well to realize that there are at least three elements In the situation created by the whilom Western aggression which go far towards accounting for the strength and virulence of Western race feeling:

1. The white people succeeded in estawhom they came into contact;

2. these white masters almost everywhere abused their power in some way and in some degree;

3. they are consequently haunted by a perpetual fear of the consequen-

ces of reversal:

world about us but rather is the world with eventually bring the white man's ascendall its aspects, as it comes into relation ancy to an end and may even establish an with our lives. Though a community which ascendancy of his own over the white man keeps up its economic life to the tension of haunts the white mind like a nightmare. the rhythm of industrialism will be con- His constant fear is that if it ever comes children must the ambition of making its country into a expect to have the sins of their fathers workshop of the world, none should forget visited on their heads. Indeed in the conthat one of the pre-suppositions of present- science of the under-dog the past is ever day industrialism is the eventual attain- present. In dealing with the Western fear or suspicion, therefore, the Eastern people would do better not to stick unnecessarily to any sense of prestige. Whatever might have been the origin of the fear, it is there and any reasonable and sincere approach to world organization must take into account such a fear and must try to dissolve it.

> It will, indeed, be in the interest of all new states to remember that, in the circumstances of the present day, nationalism as a basis for the state can survive only in its perverted imperialist form, the smaller states being driven to the position of satellites of big Powers.

Hitherto any approach to international relations proceeded on the assumption that there should be a number of separate political units whose authority as such units must not suffer any derogation.

A recent development in world politics, however, has yielded a phenomenon which may aptly be characterized as 'the peaceful surrender of sovereignty' giving birth to a quasi-colonial relationship between Powers of different orders of magnitude, a development which has introduced a sort of hierarchical stratification in international society while professedly we are in an era of equality.

However innocent and benevolent looking this little thing may now appear, it involves a threat to the whole fabric of equality.

One of the reasons for the political uneasiness which manifests itself in so many countries is the realization that even their blishing an ascendance over the day-to-day policy today is something which people of other complexions with largely has gone or is gradually going outside the control of their own govern-

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is only surrender to superior force and consequently is, in its very nature, temporary. But the worst surrender in a nation's life occurs when it is made to submit to a subordinate partnership in a grouping of nations in which the preponderant role is taken up by a powerful member. A surrender of this character may easily amount to inviting enslavement by the strong. Of course, the strong will always turn its conduct best side out, covering up a few spots, adding here and there an imaginative touch and ultimately will sing a hymn of its own praise, a hymn of devotion to itself. The strong always sees its own history as the flowering of all history and considers that all others' mission should be to contribute only to its fulfilment.

This peril perhaps can best be overcome by arming all nations, great and small, with constitutional power on an international basis.

Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennai and a Gangotti at the abortive past Even many of the If I have hinted at the abortive past European countries have been found want- efforts of the kind referred to above it is ing in adequate resistance against this new because it is time to seek diligently to development and have readily become its learn the true lesson of the past so that we may find the right point of view of the Surrender as the result of defeat in war present, the new pulsing life of the coming world community. If I have not concealed some sense of frustration in relation to such past efforts, it is because to shaken confidence now may only mean a greater measure of pretension to hide our perplexities behind our outward certainties.

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Yet loyalty to a truth requires confidence in the possibility of its attainment. Man, perhaps, is called upon today to organize beyond his moral and emotional means. Unless our precious technological 'know-how' cuts the story short, when the age in which it has been our lot to live has been left sufficiently far behind to be seen by future historians in a revealingly remote perspective, then only perhaps it would be clearly visible that we have to abolish force and abolish it now under pain, if we flinch or fail, of seeing it win a victory over man, which this time would be conclusive and definitive.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

What's Wrong With the Universities?

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he above caption, dealing with the German miversities, published in The Bulletin, January 24, 1961, issued by the Press and formation Office of the German Federal

The West German "Council of Arts and siences," composed of 39 leading scientis and set up in 1957 by agreement beween the Federal Government and the lander Governments, this winter published report on the situation of the German

After two-and-a-half years of thorough dudies, the Council recommends—

provision of better facilities to achieve a "more homogeneous" pre-university

an increase in the teaching and administrative staffs of the universities;

sending students with a common field of specialisation to the same universities;

establishment of three new universities and one technical institute in Federal Republic.

The Council's report came at a time hen more and more warnings were being wiced that the Federal Republic would be distanced in technological matters, and lose her position as one of the free wild's leading industrial powers.

First Problem: Overcrowding

Actually, the West German universities te overcrowded, and though they are becontinuously enlarged, they cannot keep with the rush of new students. Under the less than 689 students. ounting pressure, critics allege, the orderly of happier days have been swept The traditional university trinity of take that used to be the outstanding feature leaching, Research and Study" has gone of university life must necessarily go by discard, say the critics. They add that to being a scholastic forum where learned ofessors and eager students are supposed earch for the truth, the universities have eriorated in the direction of becoming ploma mills.

Despite the exaggeration in such allethat some aspects of the current name."

The is an iron satisfactory. Yet campus."

The is an iron satisfactory of the These are the is an ironical note in the plight of the resities of the residue of the r

some people say, they would hardly be We reproduce here an article under over-run, both by German young people and by students from abroad. These students put up with physical inconveniences because they, the "customers," obviously see some enduring qualities in their teeming universities.

Difficulty Is of Long Standing

In what one now tends to think of as those leisurely and spacious times before World War I, aggregate attendance at all of Germany's universities and technical institutions never exceeded 80,000. Between the wars, attendance had, on the average, grown to 111,000. The number of universities and technical institutes then remained practically unaltered, compared with the position before World War I, and the addition of some 30,000 students was already making things rather uncomfortable. Seminaries, clinics and laboratories were frequently crowded to capacity.

Nowadays the universities and technical institutes of the Federal Republic (26 in all, as compared with the pre-World War figure of 32) are attended by 200,000 students, including some 20,000 non-Germans. These 200,000 must gather their words of wisdom from the occupants of only 3,160 professorial chairs. In comparison, for the 111,000 pre-war students there were

3,050 professors.

The resultant overcrowding of lecture rooms is, perhaps, best illustrated by the fact that at Cologne University sometimes 250 have to share one professor; while at Munich University two professors reading on English language and literature have no

"Cold Routine"?

the board; and, just as necessarily, students find few opportunities to contribute viewpoints of their own. At the smaller universities the situation is, or until recently was, not quite so bad. But these schools, the exaggeration in such alle- critic complained: Cold routing the defenders of the universities admixture of smugness is replacing the that something that something the critic complained: even defenders of the universities admixture of smugness is replaced that some aspects of the current harmony that formerly reigned on the

Is an ironical note in the plight of the These and many other attitudes and set of they were as ineffectual as are painstakingly and circumspectly set

forth in the report of the Council. Although students with a it comprises over 500 pages, the document scientists and teachers of what is described as "a disquieting situation." They involve no fundamental renecessity held in abeyance, and will in time to be an institute of advanced studies. be reported on by a subcommittee appointed for the purpose. What is to be attempted practical lines.

to uneven pre-university training.

Many Not Ready for Study

is "rather heterogeneous". In consequence, the report goes on, many students need law faculties to 2,000 students. guidance and not a few even need elementary instruction in languages natural sciences. Such guidance, however, some of the students often find it difficult 240,000 or even 260,000. Such a to cope with the lectures.

not flatter itself that it might change human nature, but it does hold out the effect immediately. hope that improved facilities will bring about an immediate change for the better in the quality of the learning process. With that end in view, the Council recommends care of the increase. These new university courses for bridging intermediary courses for bridging gaps ties will in many essentials be patterned between secondary schooling and the standard to standard the standard the standard to standard the standard to standard the standard the standard to standard the standard to standard the standard to standard the standar between secondary schooling and the stand- after the older institutions; but at the same ards required for an intelligent assimilation ards required for an intelligent assimilation time they are to provide an experimential of university-level books and lectures. This of university-level books and lectures. This ground for evolving a new model. Natural recommendation, it is believed, will also be the second of the second recommendation, it is believed, will also ly, the entire project will require an enorgency benefit those non-German students who are benefit those non-German students who are mous outlay. Carrying out the emergence not infrequently puzzled at first by the innot infrequently puzzled at first by the in- measures alone, apart from tricacies of the German language, or who

Special attention is also to be paid to that sum.

"practical" vocation, the tomorrow. To it comprises over 500 pages, the document assist them towards their goals, it is prohas only a preliminary character, outlining assist them towards their goals, it is prohas only a preliminary character, outlining assist them towards their goals, it is prohas only a preliminary character, outfilling posed to concentrate them at certain univer in detail only those measures and methods gities where they can take up their in detail only those measures and methods which are considered urgent for remedying which are considered urgent for remedying studies. Furthermore, research continuous studies. central libraries serving all the universities are to be set up. And ultimately there is

To cope with all that, the Council immediately is to be done on the basis of recommends increases in personnel, both of the present structure, along clearly designed the administrative and the teaching staff. Another recommendation aims at an easing In effect, the report constitutes a sort of the present hierarchic structure of the of basic law of academic life. It opens with faculties, from Dean downward. In addition a brief survey of existing problems. One to full professors, associate professors, assistmajor trouble—the widely varying quality ants and instructors, there are to be scientiof incoming students—is chiefly attributed fic counsellors", with special tasks. In connection with the establishment of new chairs (including parallel chairs wherever At one time, it is pointed out, univer- necessary), the report suggests the subdivisity entrants had had a more or less homo- sion of some established disciplines and the geneous education. But not today. Since setting up of others, such as languages of the war, for a variety of reasons, including the developing countries. Faculties in the inadequate secondary schooling in some humanities are to have no more than 3,000 areas, the composition of the student body students, while the faculties of economics and science are to be limited to 2,500 and

In drafting these recommendations, the or Council acted on the assumption that the number of students will increase by a the university is at present not equipped to least 10,000 a year, and that at the threshold supply—and as a result of their deficiencies, of the next decade it will have reached What can be done? The Council does possibly handle even if all the Council does possibly handle even if all the recommendations were to be carried into

Coming: New Universities

universities and one technical institute are needed to take At least three new future grants to the universities, will the have other problems that can be solved with understanding and reassurance.

Special attention is also to be reid in the universities will require many times.

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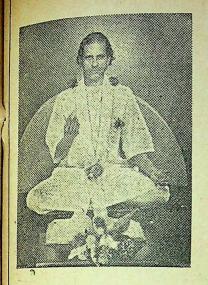
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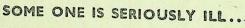
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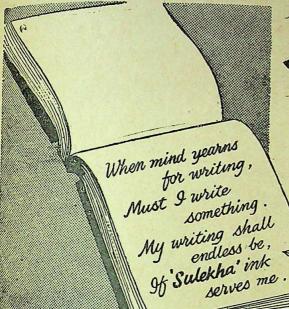
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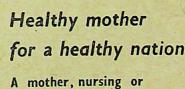
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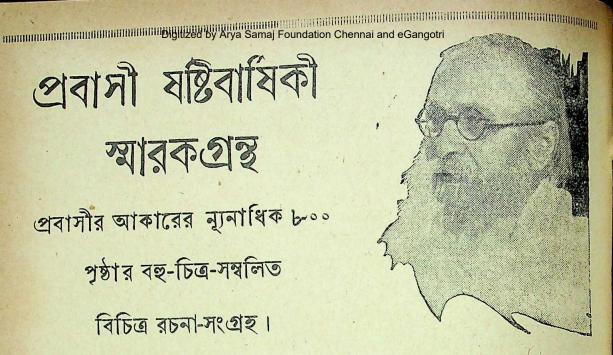
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প্রবাদী ষষ্টিবাষিকী স্থারকগ্রন্থ

প্রবাসীর আকারের ন্যুনাধিক ৮০০ পৃষ্ঠার বহু-চিত্র-সম্বলিত বিচিত্র রচনা-সংগ্রহ।



বাংলা সাহিত্যে স্প্রপ্রতিষ্ঠ লেষকদের গল্প, কবিতা, উপস্থাস, নাটক এবং বিভিন্ন বিষয়ক রচনা-সন্তারে সমৃদ্ধ, প্রব্যাত শিল্পীদের আঁকা অজপ্র উৎকৃষ্ট চিত্রশোভিত প্রবাসী ষষ্টিবার্ষিকী স্মারক-গ্রন্থখানি বাংলা সাহিত্যে একটি অভিনব এবং সার্থক সাহিত্য-প্রচেষ্টা বলে স্বীকৃতি লাভ করবে। ইতিপূর্ব্বে বিচিত্র বিষয়-সময়িত এ ধরণের গ্রন্থ গুধু বাংলা ভাষা কেন, ভারতীয় কোন ভাষায়ই প্রকাশিত হয় নি।

গ্রন্থানির একটি প্রধান বিশেষত্ব হ'ল এই যে, এতে প্রবাসীর জন্মকাল থেকে আরম্ভ করে এ পর্য্যন্ত অর্থাৎ গত বাট বৎসরের মধ্যে সাহিত্য, দর্শন, বিজ্ঞান, ইতিহাস, রাজনীতি, অর্থনীতি, শিল্পকলা, সঙ্গীত ইত্যাদি সংস্কৃতির নানা ক্ষেত্রে বিভিন্নমুখী প্রগতির ধারা বিশেষজ্ঞদের রচিত · প্রবন্ধের মাধ্যমে অহুসরণ করবার চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। গত ষাট বৎসরের বাংলার সাংস্কৃতিক জীবনের দিগ্দর্শন হিসাবে এই গ্রন্থানির স্থায়ী মূল্যের কথা সুধীজন কর্তৃক একবাক্যে স্বীকৃত रद्व।

এই সারকগ্রন্থানি শিক্ষিত বাঙালীকে বিংশ শতাব্দীর বরণীয় বাঙালীদের বিভিন্ন ক্বতি সম্বৰ্ষে নৃতন ক'রে সচেতন ক'রে তুলবে। এতে সনিবিষ্ট প্রবন্ধসমূহ অনুধাবন করলে বাংলার ছেলে-

বহু-প্রতীক্ষিত, সুযুদ্রিত এবং বিরাটায়তন স্মারকগ্রন্থখানির প্রকাশের আয়োজন দ্রুত এগিয়ে চলেছে সমাপ্তির পথে।

युन्ता :

> ই টাকা ৫০ নয়া পয়সা। ভাকমান্তৰ আলাদা।

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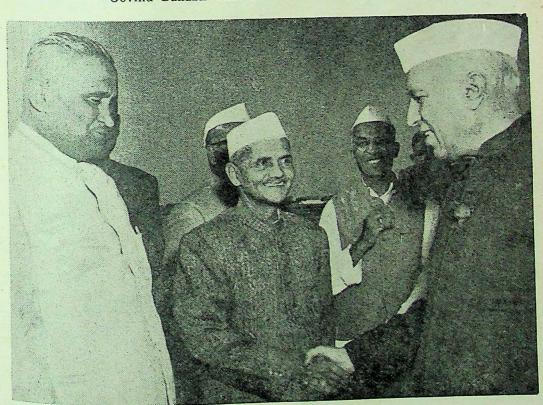
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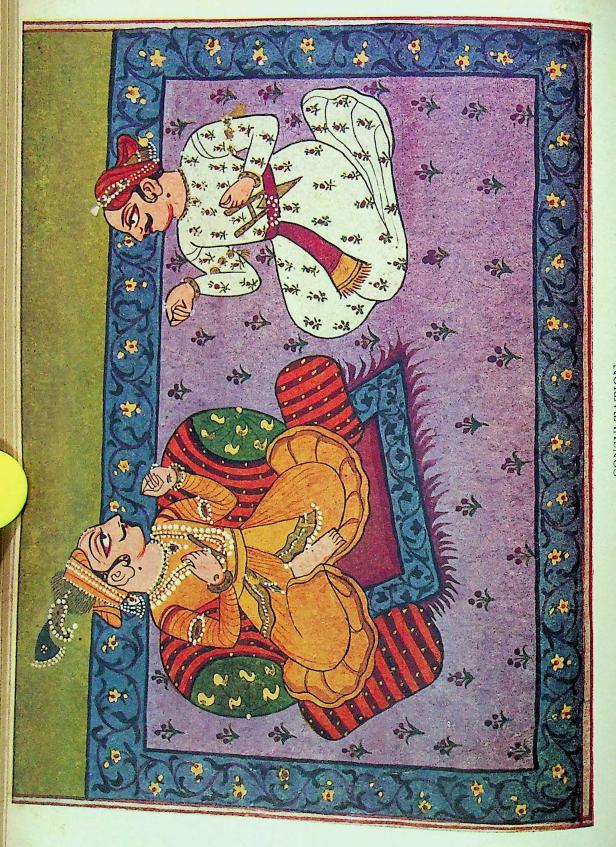
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Earl of Home, United Kingdom Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant at the latter's residence



Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru with Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister for Commerce and Industry at the Palam airport

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The World

The world situation is still in a critical state, although at the time of writing these, there are some faint glimmering lights of generated by the jousting for political power by Russia and the United States over the control of Laos. Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Neutralist Premier of Laos, on whom the U.S. had relied to bring about an early settlement, for which he had come to an agreement with a delegation composed of pro-Western officials of the government about the beginning March, had evidently found that his hands were being tied by self-same Royalist goup. Further he found no response from ther Burma or Cambodia or Malaya in attempt to persuade them to supervise eease-fire in Laos. As a result of these obstacles being put in his way, he evidently found the situation too complicated and eft for a tour round the world, whether to seek aid or to find a solution to the tangle that started when the late John Foster Dulles had a brain-storm and in his hasty and blundering way decided to pull Laos way from the "immoral" path of neutralism, with cascades of dollar aid for building an army—that is a pro-Western army.

At the present moment U.S.A. and the Soviets are supplying the pposing forces who are trying to seize boolute power in that troubled area.

Laos itself is a puzzle to the rest of the World. The people are easy-going, to say

either side. In the "great battle" on the Plaine des Jarres, the Royal army under General Phoumi Nosovan-who is the nearest approach to a strong-man in Laos, hope regarding the easing of the tension. -surrounded a battalion of Pathet Lao (rebel) soldiers. But one dark night that entire battalion, with its women, children, cows and chickens, walked through the army cordon, without firing a shot.

There are several peace plans now being proposed and discussed, in order to bring about a cease-fire—or rather an arms supply halt-and to arrange for a stabilized and internally supported government. There are three factions as yet in the field trying to obtain control over the country. There are the Rightists with Prince Boun Oum as their nominated Premier and with General Phoumi Nosovan as their leader. The United States has been sending military aid and groups of military advisers and trainers to assist the armed forces and to step up their fighting capacity and morale. Then there is the faction which is Communist dominated, with the Pathet Lao as their military arm. They were being helped by guerilla warfare training and limited arms supply by Red China and North Vietnam. After they had been driven out from the Vientiane area Russia stepped in and, from last December, has been air-lifting massive which include armoured cars and artillery, and also technicians. This faction, Pathet Lao which is now taken over by The people are easy-going, to say the Communists, is under the least, and that includes the soldiers on leadership of Prince Souphanouvong, who

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CONSULTATION old Mss. Rajput, Bundi School

is established in the mountainous northeastern provinces of Sameneua and Phongsaly, the former touching Red China and the latter North Vietnam.

And, last of all, there are the neutralists, headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, who was ousted by the pro-Western Rightists and went to Cambodia. He was in touch with the Pathet Lao and wanted to form a nationalistic government, which would embrace all three factions. The Rightists were afraid that he might make a deal with the Pathet Lao and so he was turned out of power. Later on when the Russians stepped in, the Rightists saw that they had taken on more than they could tackle. Indeed, the Pathet Lao seemed to be growing in strength at a rapid rate. It was at this juncture that the U.S. realised that it was faced with two alternative courses of action. They could send military aid on a greater scale than the Russians are giving the Pathet Lao forces, by sending not only masses of weapons but also large numbers of "technicians". Or, else they could try and promote a political compromise, which would "neutralize" Laos and isolate it from the cold war zone. The latter course was preferred by the new Kennedy Administration, and General Phoumi Nosovan, the Rightist leader, was sent with U.S. encouragement to meet Prince Souvanna Phouma in Cambodia, in order to work out a plan for an agreed course of action for the neutralization of Laos. The talks took place at the beginning of March and an agreed "peace plan" was the outcome. The plan was for:

- (1) Establishment of a commission composed of Cambodia, Burma and Malaya or possibly India, to guard against foreign intervention in Laos. Such a commission has been proposed by the United States and rejected by both the Communists and the neutralists, who had refused to cooperate in any way with the Boun Oum regime.
- (2) A fourteen-nation international conference on Laos which presumably could produce a Big Power commitment to Laotian neutrality. Russia had proposed such a conference and the U.S. had opposed

it because it would include Communist China.

- (3) A series of conferences to be held by the three factions in Laos—the Boun Oum regime, the Pathet Lao and Souvanna Phouma's neutralists.
- (4) The neutralization of Laos and general elections for a new government.

This plan failed for reasons given at the beginning of this note, and Prince Souvanna Phouma has gone out of the picture for the time being. Now the U.S. is faced with the first alternative, which would most certainly involve the risk of enlarging the war on an international scale.

It is because of all this that Pandit Nehru was in such an apprehensive tone when he spoke in the Lok Sabha on March 24.

Referring to the British proposals on Laos, Mr. Nehru hoped that the efforts to find a solution to the Laotian situation would meet with success.

In the course of his extempore statement, the Prime Minister said the situation in Laos was "critical". He did not indicate the trend of his talks with Prince Souvanna Phouma apart from mentioning the fact that he met him and discussed with him, "problems relating to Laos".

He thought that the proposals made by the United Kingdom had the concurrence of the United States. The United Kingdom and the Soviet Union had particular place in the matter, he said, because they were the co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. India, which was the Chairman of the International Control Commission should get its instructions from the two co-Chairmen. If the two co-Chairmen asked India to do something, that constituted the authority under which it could function.

Mr. Nehru said: "The proposals that the United Kingdom has made appear to be very near the proposals made by the Soviet Union, although they are not the same. They have suggested the holding of meeting of the International Supervisory meeting of first and the conference that. All this depends on the immediate of early cease-fire.

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"The proposals have been communicated to the Soviet Government. If they also agree to this, then presumably, they also ask India to take action about convening of the Commission. We shall be glad to do so. Probably to begin with, the Commission will meet in Delhi itself and later the Commission will have to go to Laos".

Mr. Nehru continued, "Some time later, the international conference will meet

at some place".

Since then there have been several conferences, notably that at Bangkok, where the S.E.A.T.O. met to discuss the Laotian situation. The air, which was heated up to a considerable temperature—almost to the point of conflagration—has cooled somewhat now, particularly, because Russia seems to be willing to consider the British proposals. The Pravda, on March 27, indicated that subject to certain conditions, the Soviet Government would agree to negotiated settlement of the Laotian crisis on the general basis of the British proposals. The Pravda editorial has distinctly lowered tension and brought in a modicum of hope in what was regarded as an almost hopeless situation. The conditions mentioned by the Pravda are:

1. The United States and their allies, notably those belonging to S.E.A.T.O., should refrain from any intervention in Laos which might cause an extension of the conflict.

2. No further direct help should be given to General Phoumi Mosavan, who, in the Soviet view, is in a state of "open rebellion" against the legal Government of Prince Souvanna

Phouma.

Any action to guarantee Laotian neutrality, through a meeting in New Delhi of the three-power Commission for Laos with a later eventuality of 14-power conference, should be based on the recognition of the Souvanna Phouma Government as the only legitimate authority in Laos and upon the "national aspirations" personified by "patriotic forces" including

And that is the position in Laos at the time of writing these.

There is evidence of suspicion and resentment still persisting between the Soviets and the United States. At the Bangkok conference there were closed door meetings to settle differences that had been in evidence, particularly as between the representative of the U.S.A., Mr. Dean Rusk, and the French representatives. It was stated by Mr. Rusk that the Pravda editorial was merely an attempt to mask the realities of the situation as was evidenced by the virtual barrenness of the talks between the U.S.A. ambassador to Moscow and Mr. Khrushchev. It was further stated by the French conference sources that the U.S.A. wanted to go further than the French in invoking the Treaty clauses (of the S.E.A.T.O.) against the non-direct aggression taking place in Laoz. But the French thought it would do more harm than good if a too warlike resolution was issued now. Regarding the British proposals, Mr. John Russell, the British official spokesman at the S.E.A.T.O. talks, said that it was hoped that Russia would give a positive reply to the British note on Laos, because it contained proposals which, in the opinion of Mr. Russell, were acceptable to the Soviet Government. He added: "We see no reason, why if they want to bring hostilities to an end they should not accept".

Asked whether yesterday's *Pravda* article saying there was a real opportunity for a peaceful solution, had affected the course of the SEATO conference he replied, "In a very small way, yes."

He was addressing a Press conference shortly

after the end of the restricted session.

He was asked if the British position implied recognition of *de facto* hold by Communists on sections of Laos.

He replied: "Anyone who ignored this Communist presence would be unwise but *de facto* is the correct attitude."

Mr. Russell added "there are certain facts of life which have to be recognised in this position and that is one of them."

spon the "national aspirations" per- However, after prolonged talks, the sonified by "patriotic forces" including eight-nation meetings came to a near-the pro-Communist Pathet Lao agreement harmony on March 29. The final CC-0 in Public Domain. Gurukul Rangii Collection, Haridwar

Ministers is Council of S.E.A.T.O. follows:

1. Consulting together as provided in the Manila Pact, the SEATO Council has noted with grave concern the continued offensive by rebel elements in Laos who are continuing to be supplied and assisted by Communist powers in flagrant disregard of the Geneva Accords.

2. The Council once more makes it clear that SEATO is a defensive organization with no aggressive intentions and reiterates, in the words of the Treaty, its desire to live in peace with all

peoples and all Governments.

3. The Council desires a united independent and sovereign Laos, free to make its own choosing and not subordinate to any nation or group of nations.

4. It is believed that these results ought to be achieved through negotiations and cannot be hoped for if the present fighting continues.

5. The Council notes with approval the present efforts for a cessation of hostilities and for peaceful negotiations to achieve an unaligned and independent Laos.

6. If those efforts fail however, and there continues to be active military attempt to obtain control of Laos, members of SEATO are prepared, within the terms of the Treaty, to take whatever action may be appropriate in the circumstances.

7. The Council also noted concern the efforts of an armed minority, with support from outside in violation of the Geneva Accord, to destroy the South Vietnam Government and declared its firm resolve not to acquiesce in any such takeover.

8. Finally, the Council records its view that the Organization should continue to keep developments in Laos and Vietnam under urgent and constant view in the light of this resolution.

Congo

The situation in the Congo is still very complicated. The Soviet attack on Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjoeld and the structure of the U.N. and the veiled enmity of the Western group to Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, Hammarskjoeld's special representative in the Congo is resulting in complications that have almost resulted in an impasse. The Belgians and their tool, Mr. Tshombe, are cashing in on these tensions, which are not caused

text of the resolution adopted by the by any genuine considerations regarding the Congo and the Congolese, but are the bye-products of the Cold War. Belgium being a member of N.A.T.O, is shielded in a covert way, even by the U.S.A. Tshombe, whose troops are being even officered by the Belgians, who also form the nucleus of his technical troops and whose advisers are supplied by the Belgians, is openly defiant of the U.N. Katanga, which is the province under Tshombe, holds 90 per cent of the mineral wealth of the Congo, is a stronghold of the Belgian coterie that was exploiting the Congo and the Congolese for their own benefit, and it is not likely that they would leave that area unless they are expelled under compulsion.

> In Congo too, the U.S.A. has been bedevilled by the sins of its associates of the Western group. and has had to face the unpleasant task of cleaning the stinking cesspools created by the filthy methods of colonialism. It is to be seen whether Mr. Kennedy's administration takes a forthright view of the situation in the Congo. The alternative is to let down the U.N. and let the forces of disruption and greed take over the whole of the Congo.

At the beginning of March, there was a conference at Tananarive, the capital of the Malagasy Republic (the former French colony of Madagascar) where President Kasavubu, who has the backing of the Western group of powers, met of Secessionist "President" Moise Tshombe Katanga, "President" Albert Kalonji of Secessionist Kasai and other Congolese leaders, in an effort to come to an understanding regarding the future of the areas controlled by them in the Congo. The one result that was announced after the end of the Conference, was that of an agreement on a loose federal structure for the whole of the Congo. based on a reorganization of the present six provinces along lines more closely related to tribal and ethnic divisions. This meant a triumph for Mr. Tshombe and other Secessionists as their areas would become virtually independent, if this agreement finally materialized into a stable policonsiderable tical settlement. But there is very room for doubt as to whether the Tananariv results indicated any tangible progress towards ! Congo political settlement. For one thing, to quolit The New York To The New York Times, "the absence of Mr. Gizenga from the from the conference made any overall political settlement settlement impossible. His troops have penetraled Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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more than 30 per cent of the Congo." Mr. Gizenga is the Lumumhist leader, backed by Russia.

Meanwhile, the Congolese under Mobutu, Kasavubu's General, are stepping up their defiance, being confident of tacit support from the Western group. Their troops have seized the two ports of entrance in the Congo, Banana and Matadi, through which all the supplies for the U.N. troops are channelled into the interior, thereby jeopardizing the entire U.N. programme for the settlement of Congo affairs.

India has placed 4,700 combat troops at the disposal of the U.N., the majority of whom have to be taken by sea. The supply ports being in the hands of Kasavubu's troops, it is an open question as to whether they can be utilized at all. If "Global Considerations" still prevail with the U.S. then the situation in the Congo would worsen, bleak as it is now.

Speaking in the Lok Sabha on March 23, Pandit Nehru said that the forcible occupation of the Port of Matadi by Gen. Mobutu's troops was a serious matter for India as some of the Indian troops and their equipment was going to that Port. If it was not free by the time their ships arrived then there might be trouble and difficulty in landing. The Statesman's special report on Pandit Nehru's statement on the Congo, on that occasion says:

The Prime Minister reiterated that the only way to bring peace to the Congo was a complete withdrawal of all aliens, particularly the Belgians. He expressed surprise that certain Powers although members of the U.N., worked against it in the Congo.

He was of the view that if adequate pressure was brought on the Belgian Government by other NATO Powers, and the particularly the U.K. USA, withdrawal of Belgian mercenaries the Congo could be effected.

He was sure that factional leaders such as Gen. Mobutu and Mr. Tshombe, who had no popular backing, would not be able to stay in power for long if the Belgian advisers were withdrawn.

Earlier, replying to a question by Mrs. Maimoona Sultana (C), the Prime Minister described the Katanga President, Mr. Tshombe's threat of War against Indian troops as "a very irresponsible statement of a very irresponsible person."

representatives of some embassies against the U.N. and, to some extent, against the sending of Indian troops to the Congo as "rather unfortunate".

As things stand, the Congo situation, though not so serious as that in Laos, is extremely complicated. And the main cause is the attitude of the N.A.T.O. Powers. The attitude of the U.S.A., as reflected in some of the U.S.A. papers, shows a distinctly Micawher-like optimism regarding the action of its allies.

Algeria

It seems now that President Charles de Gaulle has decided to start the pourparlers regarding a settlement in Algeria. The talks will take place on a resort, on the blue and sparkling Lake Geneva. The place chosen lies on the French shore, and on the Swiss side is Montreux, where the F. L. N. "Premier" Ferhat Abbas has quarters. The two places are a short boat-ride from each other, so that the French can negotiate on their own soilwhich is a matter of prestige-and the F. L. N. delegates can live on Swiss territory, free from surveillance of the French police and other annoyances.

It is reported that the French delegation willbe led by the Algerian Affairs Minister, M. Louis Joxe, and the F. L. N. delegation by M. Belkacem Krim.

The outcome will be eagerly awaited, only by the French and the Algerian Arabs, but by the entire Arab World and indirectly by the rest of the world. The situation has now attained a new complexity due to the interest taken in Algerian affairs by the Soviets and Red China. both of them being now in touch with the Arab World, trying to replace France as the chief force in North Africa.

President de Gaulle has convinced the French people that France cannot attain the traditional status it had in international politics, until the Algerian affair is settled. The French army is now tied down in Algeria and the longer it remains there the more ruinous it would be to France, morally, materially and politically. Besides the army itself will lose its value as a fighting force of international standing.

Portuguese Africa

Portugal, under its authoritarian regime under Salazar, is still trying to carry on its ruthless ex-He described the propaganda carried on by ploitation of the unfortunate Africans under its CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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. Gizenga political enetraled colonial regime. Of course, the old and exploded myth about the colonies being part and parcel of Portugal is still being trotted out. Colonialism dies hard and Portugal being, like Belgium, a parasite drawing blood from the helpless body of its colonial subjects for its sustenance, it is extremely difficult to make it see reason.

There has been serious uprisings in Angola, where the news of a blood-bath have leaked out despite a rigid censorship. There has been a debate on Angola at the U.N. and there is a report that as a result of the U.S. showing an unsympathetic attitude towards the Portuguese attempts to smother the debate with the time-worn colonial arguments, the Portuguese authorities have been incensed. The reaction in Lisbon, as reported on March 27, has culminated in a vast mob, estimated at 100,000, stoning the U.S. Embassy in Lisbon, and throwing inkpots at its walls. The police fired in the air and used tear-gas-in breaking up the mob. This occurrence is very similar to what happened in Karachi as a "mark of protest" against India, and no doubt like that affair the Lisbon demonstration was officially inspired.

South Africa and the Commonwealth

South Africa has voluntarily withdrawn from the Commonwealth, with effect from May 31, when it becomes the independent Republic of South Africa. Mr. Macmillan, the British Premier, has reported his deep regret at the split. He had done his best to find a formula that would, at least temporarily, prevent an open breach, and for this purpose he had argued and pleaded with Dr. Verwoerd, the South African Premier. It was to no effect due to the fanatical and atavistic obsession that conditioned the South African Premier's reactions to Mr. Macmillan's approaches.

In the Union of South Africa, which will become the Republic of South Africa on May 31, there are 3,000,000 whites, of whom roughly 1,300,000 are of British stock and 1,700,000 are of primitive Dutch origin, whose spokesman is Dr. Verwoerd. This programme of Apartheid is supported by a majority of 80,000 amongst the voters, who are all of European stock. As opposed to them there are the 10,000,000 Africans of Bantu stock and 1,500,000 mulattoes and Asians, who have been deprived of all their birthrights, regarding the self-determination and the shaping

of their own destinies by the Afrikaners of Dr. Verwoerd's persuasion.

Fifty-one years ago, on another May 31, the Union of South Africa was formed 8 years after the Boer War, in which Dr. Verwoerd's predecessors and forbears were vanquished by the British forces under Lord Kitchener. It was the period of Imperial day-dreams of the British, and therefore, the British Government of the day, tried to form a strong base in the southern part of Africa by combining the British territories of Cape Colony and Natal with the Boer territories of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The experiment succeeded for quite a long period, chiefly due to the influence of the more progressive Boer leaders, like Jan Christian Smuts. But the reactionaries of the Old Dutch strain, gained predominance after the Second World War and with their narrow margin of superiority in votes they are now proceeding on their own way. And now the final step has been taken.

The British Premier, Mr. Macmillan told the House of Commons, after the Commonwealth Conference was over, that this policy of Apartheid "was a tragically misguided and perverse philosophy" and that it was "abhorrent to the ideals towards which mankind is struggling in this century". He said, the South African flag (The Afrikaans had discarded the British Union Jack as their flag in 1957) should now be flown at halfmast because of this stain on South Africa's honour.

The reaction in the British press has been mild. The Times observed that the Commonwealth was now secure on a multi-racial basis, and The Manchester Guardian declared bluntly "An unhealthy limb has been removed".

Corruption in High Places

Africa, which will beath Africa on May 31, walues is either evaded or dismissed with depresact on the power by us. Even the Congress has refused to take any real action on the plea that most of the charges were "not proved". We ourselves have repeatedly pointed out that proof of the type demanded by these sacrosanct Ministers and Congress leaders would be impossible for an ordinary man to produce and establish in the face of the valing in places where they are practised. But the CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Handwar

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body-politic and the public affairs show undoubted symptoms of the disease.

Mr. Morarji Desai recently (March 18,) deliyered a homily, aimed at Acharya Kripalani.

Referring to the question of national integration and unity, the Finance Minister said that Acharya Kripalani had said that moral standards were going down in the country. He would point out to him that moral standards were not built up by running down each other. It could be built only "if we have sympathy for each other and do not expose publicly to the world outside that we are quarrelling among ourselves". He spoke of the progress made under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in achieving social unity and said that the castes were already "crumbling", social barriers were breaking down and national cohesion was coming. The "vitality" of the nation had manifested itself during the peaceful reorganisation of

That is all very well, but would Mr. Desai explain as to how a highly-placed official dare to indulge in such criminal actions, as given below, unless he found the atmosphere congenial for his ventures? We give below the bare details of the news-report:

Mr. S. N. Bagchi, Judge, City Sessions Court, agreeing with the unanimous verdict of guilty returned by the jury, convicted and sentenced Lt.—Col. M. Sundaram alias Mahadevan Sundaram alias Mahalingam alias N. M. Sundaram, Traffic Engineer, Government of West Bengal, to eight years R.I. under Section 467 I.P.C. (forgery). He was also sentenced to eight years R.I. under Section 474 I.P.C. and to four years R.I. under Section 420 I.P.C. for possession of forged document and cheating respectively.

The sentences are to run concurrently.

The prosecution case was that in December, 1958, the accused made false representations to the complainant, Mr. P. Lakshman of Calcutta to the effect that his father, said to be a director of a motor-car manufacturing company of Madras, had booked a car of his company for one of his a Government servant, but the said friend had therefore, going out of hand.

The accused thus induced the complainant to agree to purchase the car and pay him Rs. 9,500

as half the price of the car falsely stating that the other half had already been deposited by his father with the Madras firm. But it was later ascertained that the car had never been booked with the Madras firm and that the accused had forged a receipt acknowledging the money.

In passing the sentences, the judge observed that the accused as Traffic Engineer, Government of West Bengal, began to "hobnob with the parties that had to come too often in the course of his official business".

"The people cheated were a member of the English Bar, an industrialist, an automobile dealer and a businessman", he said.

"If corruption runs rampant in the public office where would we run to"? Mr. Bagchi asked and said, "Our independence would be a doom. That is why in the case of a public servant, if he is found by the jury to have committed a heinous crime, a deterrent sentence is the only sentence that a court of law should administer in order that the people who are similarly minded, might have an object lesson in the deterrence sought to be administered by the punishment".

THE EDITOR

Games and Sports in India

There is no denying the fact that India has some remarkably talented men and women in the field of games and sports. India has very good hockey players, fairly good football, tennis and cricket players, fine long distance swimmers, able weightlifters, keen boxers, fast and tenacious runners, broad and high jumpers and wonderful wrestlers. The nation agrees that physical fitness is the basic requirement for all success in industry, soldiering and other fields of national work. But, the attitude of our Central and State Governments is that the nation will somehow acquire this fitness without much assistance from the governmental bodies. At best, they will unleash a few pedagogues upon the poor sportsmen of India who will look at all games and sports from a fundamental angle, whatever that is, and then make a hast of things by their interference. When we were young, half-acentury ago, we were punished by the predecessors of the same school masters for playing games. Today, they look at games CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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and their corrupt deeds are a scandal. India has an Association which arranges in international games and sports meets like Commonwealth the Olympics and the Games; but this body the I.O.A., is handicapped by reason of its rather rarified organisation. In other countries the athletes and players come up naturally to the top by a system of trials, tests and competitions, which makes the work of selection easy. Then, there is no dearth of funds for organising proper training, with diet, proper trainers and all the rest of it; in the leading athletic countries, like Great Britain, Russia, the U.S.A. and Japan. In India, things are quite different. There is no assistance from the States or the Centre at club level. This is where all games and sports begin. There are a large number of clubs; many thousands of them; all over India and, we doubt, if any of them receive financial assistance of a useful kind from Government or other public bodies. It is only after the youth of the country have been reduced to a state of worthlessness by bad training, want of proper fields and tracks, lack of equipment and undernourishment, that the "high level" bodies come into the arena to select out of these ill-trained and ill-fed young men and women, India's world beaters in the field of games and athletics. No wonder, we fail more often than not to earn any laurels for India. The Army and the Railways are the only national organisations which take some care of their sportsmen. Even there, naturally, the outlook is not for turning out great athletes or players; but if some outstanding persons happen to be in the Army or the Railways, they get some assistance and support in a manner which helps, but does not really search for talent and, then, develop and inspire the talented to achieve true greatness in the field of sports and

and sports as a necessary evil and arrange athletics. In no country, in fact, the Army for the same with ill-concealed distaste for or the Railways produce the best men and the job and with no feeling of shame for women in this field. It is the schools, univertheir utter ignorance of the subject. Those sities and the private clubs which give the who take charge of the diet side of the most effective assistance in the discovery thing, be that in schools or colleges or in the of talent and in developing the same. In camps where the youth of the country India, the schools and universities are quite receive military training; are even worse infructuous in picking out the best for games and sports and the private clubs do not get any assistance from the majority of to select and send up teams for participation the wealthy persons and somehow limp along and remain in existence. In the circumstances, in spite of various superior controlling bodies, good sportsmen cannot be found for the reason that there is no arrangement in the villages, towns and cities for the recognition and acceptance of sporting talent as a thing of value to the nation. In a country where writers and artists habitually starve, the creation of marvellous Akademies placed in palatial buildings will never make the country great in art and literature. In games and sports too, if the talented performers get no support from the beginning and have to join the Army as a jawan or the Railways as a ticket checker in order to live and to go to the international sports meets as India's best runners, boxers or wrestlers; one can say right away that India will not be able to earn fame; for, she has no real urge for sports and athletics.

On top of all this lack of arrangement and organisation, we have sports politics and sports cliques and coteries which try to function in a manner which creates an atmosphere of unreality and injurious cross currents from the angle of proper selection and generous and timely assistance. high level bodies which control and select our national representatives, fail to pick out the best men and women to represent India. This is due to ignorance mainly and, partly to cliques fluences". Not that these bodies can really stimulate the growth of athletics in India. But they can do some harm by acting in an unprincipled manner. It is, therefore, of advantage to India to form these bodies with an eye to quality. It is only when these bodies will be composed of persons who will inspire public confidence that there may be chances of approaching

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Dirtiest Cities of India discover which city in India was the poor and ignorant and trek in Allahabad, Kanpur, Lucknow, Delhi, Amrit- no doubt, exceptions. sar, Hyderabad, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Cuttack, and in fact, all other cities, towns filthy, dirty and a doctor's nightmare. and hidden treasures of thought achievement underneath. We Bombay wonderful from their point other cultural institutions and

general public for a wider and more we doubt, if he has visited all foreign cities general participation in games and sports in search of nightmares. We have seen a general Paris, India. Until that happens, India few in Paris, Rome, Naples, the East India all over achieve distinction in the world. will not achieve distinction in the world Docks, London and elsewhere outside India. We are told Shanghai and Peking are not over clean. On the other hand, we have Dr. D. P. Karmarkar who is the Union seen a good many homes in Calcutta, Health Minister, said the other day that Bombay, Delhi and Madras, which are the Calcutta was the dirtiest city in India and last words in cleanliness and spick and span was not fit to be presented to a foreigner perfection. It is the people who make a as a show-piece. Thinking, perhaps, that place A1 or C3 in point of sanitation. And the citizens of Calcutta might take offence it is very often education and material at his reference to their city as the dirtiest resources which help people to build sweet in India, Dr. Karmarkar then called cities dreams out of brick, cement and turmac. like Bombay and Calcutta nightmarish and Our Government do not trouble overmuch said, he preferred the countryside to the to educate the people and their idea of cities. While condemning the dirt of cities prosperity is fully expressed by public in general, we would like to say that Dr. buildings and the great factories and plants Karmarkar must have had a tough job to they are putting up. The people remain dirtiest. For, we have visited many cities thousands to Calcutta from the countryside in India and have found them, more or less, of Bihar, Orissa, M.P. and U.P. If they uniformly dirty and not much worth show- make the city dirty it is the fault of the ing to foreigners as show-pieces of sanita- government which keeps them poor and tion and hygiene. Banaras, Patna, Gaya, ignorant. The Burra Bazar millionaires are,

The World Peace Council

We have not quite understood why and large and small villages in India are Delhi organised the World Peace Council. It was organised by the Communists, we But, then, fortunately for these centres of were told, in the name of Rabindranath Indian civilisation, all men are not doctors, Tagore and, in spite of that Sri Humayun and, there are artists, tourists, philosophers, Kabir presided over it. The Chinese sent historians, social anthropologists and others a delegation which walked out and the who can look through the dirt of cities and Indian Marxists marched in and out and and around in a hardly peaceful manner. Was believe, Shri Kabir trying to rehabilitate the C.P.I. breigners do not come to India in search by this bold venture? Shri Kabir has cleanliness and sanitation. They come never been famous for low cunning. He mostly for money and they find Calcutta does all sorts of things with museums and of view. Mountaineers ignore the drains away with it. But the Communists are the of Kathmandu. Sightseers go to Banaras, exact opposite of things cultural. It is Ajanta, Ellora and Agra in spite of the rather risky to play with them even in the unwashed hwashed appearance of the local people. name of Tagore and World Peace. For the Politicians Politicians come to Delhi and rejoice in the Communists must have a revolution whattompany of our Congressmen, not all of ever may happen and no one has so far whom are whom are quite fit for display to foreigners. thought out a method of achieving world revolution. Of or Karmarkar, evidently, thinks much of peace through a world revolution. Of the igners are quite fit for display to foreigners. Thought out a method world revolution. Of the igners are good 100% revolution will revolve loreigners and of their ability to distinguish course, a good 100% revolution will revolve the evils of life and come back to the the evils of human society from the things on the axis of life and come back to the are such that ar are super-charged with goodness. But, starting point sometime. It will also en-

sive and mobile. It is never the same.

A. C.

What Is Public Interest?

The Prime Minister of India addressing the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce said on March 25 at New Delhi that people's lives and thinking had changed so much and so fast that both the classical had become outmoded and the debate on the role of the public and private sectors was no longer meaningful. He said that with the release of tremendous technological and social forces, the entire growth of modern society had to be socialistic and private enterprise must be governed by what is in the public interest.

We have never claimed to understand the inner meaning of Pandit Nehru's words, and, in this case too we do not know what he means by classical economic theories and Marxist doctrine becoming outmoded. We suppose, with the growth of newer types of economic institutions like planning all economic thinking has to accept the Bureaucrat as an economic factor of great potency. The Bureaucrat can call himself society and be a socialist; or he may call himself the public and prove his whims and desires to be in the very essence of public interest. For who knows what constitutes society or the public? Or even the people? The private sector no doubt has to obey the call of public interest if the Bureaucrat says so. But the Public Sector is above public interest and it can commit economic excesses which will be declared to be in public interest by the Bureaucrat and thereafter 'no dogs would dare bark'.

Pandit Nehru has a magnetic way of expressing his unfulfilled desires. He talks

counter peace here and there and, in that forces which are scattered over 600,000 sense, it is a move towards peace. But then villages which are cut off from one another: a Marxist is a Marxist above all and a are hadrly worth all the rhetoric that Congressman, similarly, is a Congressman. Pandit Nehru spends on them. He is giving And their definition of things is progres- employment to one man after spending Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 250,000 and in that manner his borrowing and spending do not keep pace with India's growth of population The people of India are as poor as ever and perhaps as ignorant. He has not been able to increase the total national income to any noticeable extent. His plans are lop-sided and are progressively dragging India down economic theories and the Marxist doctrine In a free world money market the rupee will be worth about a shilling, if so much Why Pandit Nehru wants to impress his unwisdom upon others, is not known to us Perhaps to give us our money's worth!

One India

At some stage of the Aryan conquest of India the ancestors of the Hindi-speaking peoples of India entered the Gangetic plain and fought the Aryans who had come before them in order to occupy that great fertile region. We do not know who the first Aryans were, nor who the second Aryans. But they fought a great deal and the Digvijay (conquest of the Earth) of Raghu (an ancestor of Ramchandra, the divine) described in Raghuvamsha tells us something about those wars of invasion and consolidation of the second Aryans. But later the two groups formed alliances and the first and second Aryans lived like friends and good neighbours for at least a thousand years before the wars of the Mahabharata started. First and second Aryans mixed their blood on the field of Kurukshetra and they gave their lives for one another without reference to ancestry, language, manners and custom. When Karna, the valiant, almost got Arjuna, the mighty Pandava, mercy, it was the Bangadhipa (King of Bengal) who threw himself in front of Karna and gave his life to save Arjuna, who was, perhaps, a resident of Delhi. So, that those wars were not fought on a regional basis, but on alliances and between friendly groups. Later on in history too the first of great technological forces and of great and second Aryans mixed freely and though the social forces which liquidate all perials social forces which liquidate all economic outer ring of Aryan races, speaking Panjabi, thoughts of all times, but the took of the took of the social forces which liquidate all economic outer ring of Aryan races, speaking thoughts of all times, but the took of the social forces which liquidate all economic outer ring of Aryan races, speaking thoughts of all times. thoughts of all times; but the technological Sindhi, Gujerati, Marathi, the Rajasthani languforces which he borrows from foreign ages, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, Nepalese countries in little packets and the social certain dialects; were theoretically of first Aryan

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only theoretically of second Aryan origin. There had been great deal of mixture between the two groups. Gour Saraswats had migrated from Bengal to other parts, caste men from Kanauj had manned the forces of Hindu revivalism at the time of Shri Sankaracharyya, and marriages had taken place on a caste basis, causing people to get brides and grooms from all over the country without reference to their language or sartorial habits. It was only during the period of the break up of the Moghul Empire that travelling became impossible due to banditry and other reasons, that India became divided into waterfight compartments. The British further stimulated this separatism for a fuller realisation of the principle of divide and rule. The Congress government, in order to create a very large number of V.I.Ps out of the fellow prisoners of Mahatma Candhi and Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru. emphasising these differences, and has consolidated the forces of separatism in the soralled states of India, to a degree undreamt of by anyone before. All Congress leaders of whom there are too many, are now ministers, deputy ministers, job-holders or dignitaries of one sort of another; and their one vital function appears be to keep the states separate and antagonistic one another like warring kingdoms. And the longress is now arranging to go into a further m of raj over India, with no ideology worth a Mia paisa and a large hoard of vices, evil praclices and unwholesome desires and designs. Their planning can be safely forgotten as far as the brerty-stricken people of India are concerned, they are gaining nothing by these plans, exthing a kind of wage slavery which private apital has always been able to provide at a lesser ^{lost to} the nation.

In this year of elections, we should think of great national leaders of the past and try to tompare our present rulers with them. Rammohun Debendranath Tagore, Ramkrishna, Dayahand Saraswati, Ranade, Gokhale, Lajpat Rai, Aravinda Chosh and all those others who have given their that the Plans, the

origin, the inner ring of Aryan races speaking those other petty diversions that the Congress findi or Hindi-like Prakrit languages, were also provide us with, are of no value when they come

Nehru's Logic

Pandit Nehru, in his speech delivered to the Federation of Indian Chambers Commerce had referred to a number things, forces, theories, doctrines and concepts. His purpose in doing this was, perhaps, to win over the capitalists to acceptance of the Nehru point of view, which is so beautifully vague and amorphous, as to mean nothing or everything. Anyone accepting the Nehru point of view, in fact, accepts Pandit Nehru as the sole dispenser of all rewards and punishments without reference to any economic, moral or intellectual principles. It is an unconditional surrender to Nehru and his everchanging outlook and fancies.

One of the things or forces referred to was "the compelling logic of a fast-changing world". We can see the compulsion and the change; but we cannot agree that there is much logic in it. As a matter of fact, human history has on many occasions recorded such compelling changes and has also discovered, at a later date, that the overpowering facts of the times, had rarely any logic in them. What Pandit Nehru is driving at is that his actions affecting the economy of India are the inevitable products of world forces, which he cannot side-The "logic" is just an attempt rationalisation of the whims and tactical moves which he indulges in.

Later in his speech he said that "classical economic theories and the Marxist doctrine had become outmoded and debate on the role of the public and private sectors was no longer meaningful". Yet he thought, private enterprise would have to be governed by what was in public interest. Pandit Nehru had the kindness to spare the post-Keynsian Keynsian and theories and the Stalinist doctrine, possibly because of his passion for planning and the building up of a self-contained structure of hes for India and not for jobs or high posts. We He did not also bring the public sector unhet remember that India is one and indivisible der the governing control of public interest. Rashtrabhashac and all Gutharkais, checthought that the public sector

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rules and principles guiding public interest. energy and wisdom, India has suffered a There could be no possibility of the public loss which is irreparable. He may rightly sector contractors and suppliers of plant, be ranked with our nation-builders and his etc., bribing the V.I.Ps in charge of the demise is, therefore, undoubtedly a national public sector. Nor of its products going into loss. the blackmarket. Nor of its managers acting becoming a very superior bore.

and squalor side by side in India. We think to Allahabad and addressed a public meetthat the "vulgar" display of large buildings, ing there. This event was a turning point neon lights, Hausmann style roads and super- in Govind Ballabh's career and he was class hotels together with banquets, parties, determined to dedicate his life for the unnecessarily showy conferences, expensive cause of the motherland and against the delegations, etc., etc., are the results of the wishes of his parents took recourse to legal megalomania of the British Imperialists and profession and began practising law as an the New-Rich exuberance of the self-deny- Advocate at Nainital from 1909. Gandhiji's ing members of the Nehru Club which is now sitting joyously astride this poverty- at Ahmedabad in 1921 striken sub-continent. The name of the impression on his mind and after coming public sector and Socialism has no such back to Nainital he gave up his lucrative magic that it can make evil, good or vulgar should learn to call a spade a spade first, before he can indulge in criticising others. its leader in the U.P. Legislative Council More ill-gotten wealth has come into the hands of social-criminals of the public and the private sectors during the last fourteen vears than ever before. More fools and knaves have been glorified by the Congress during the same period than at any other time in Indian history. A.C.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant

disease for more than two weeks passed he was imprisoned more than once. away on the 7th March, 1961, at his resi-New Delhi. In the death of this great patriot of Uttar Pradesh but CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Handwar

by its very nature would observe all the who was the embodiment of strength

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant was born in a manner prejudicial to the public on the 10th November, 1887, in a remote interest. Nor of there being any jobbery, village in the district of Almora. His father nepotism, underhand deals and general cor- Manorath Pant was a government servant. ruption in the heaven-born sector. Pandit Govind Ballabh was a brilliant student Nehru should learn to keep his eyes open from the very beginning of his school life. and see things for himself instead of living In the Intermediate examination he secured in a superman's paradise. He is slowly a scholarship. He then came to Allahabad for further studies and joined the Muir We are not capitalists nor have we any Central College wherefrom he graduated love for Marwari or other millionaires even and obtained later his LL.B. degree from to the extent that Pandit Nehru has. We the Allahabad University School of Law. feel that ostentation and poverty cannot In his college life Govind Ballabh was exist peacefully together. Pandit Nehru influenced by the lofty idealism and burnblames the private people for putting wealth ing patriotism of Gokhale who paid a visit speech at the momentous Congress session left an indelible legal practice. Later, the policy of Deshadisplay civilised. Pandit Nehru's government bandhu's Swarajya Party appealed to him and he joined the party in 1923 and became

The clarion call for the services of the nation was always irresistible to him and he actively participated in all the movements started under the auspices of the Congress. In 1928, while leading a demonsagainst tration along with. Nehru Simon Commission he was seriously in jured, the after-effect of which him till the end of his life. He was an influence Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Union fluential leader of the Civil Disobedience Home Minister, after a struggle with movement and for his political activities

From the very inception of Provincial dence at Moulana Abul Kalam Azad Road, Autonomy he became the Chief Minister New Delhi. In the death of this great nation, at his resiresigned

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membered for a long time by his country- capacity till his last days.

outstanding works, such as, the introduc- deep shock to his countrymen.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri to the decision of the Congress tion of broad-based scheme of agrarian re-Pandit Pant's strong personality played Boards and Municipalities, reorientation of Panult Panult in the Tripur. Congress. He the institution of the Board of Revenue, etc. a decisive property of the Congress Whenever his was a staunch follower of Gandhiji and a The welfare of his state was always before was a statute of the Congress. Whenever his mind and he left no stone unturned for torch-bearer of his political sagacity, he it is torch-beard and he tent no stone unturned for any crisis arose his political sagacity be- its all-round progress and prosperity. But any trible and prosperity. But due to clashes within the State Congress. In 1946, Pandit Pant became the Chief his mental peace was disturbed and in spite Minister of the Uttar Pradesh for the of Nehru's invitation to join the Cabinet second time. He was also elected to the he did not leave his own province, which Constituent Assembly and was a member was so dear to him. But when the second of the Central Parliamentary Board. His call came from Nehru he could not but resefficiency as a parliamentarian since the pond to it. In 1954, he left Lucknow for days when he was the Deputy Leader of Delhi and became the Home Minister of the Opposition in the Central Legislature the Indian Cabinet and in that capacity he till the last part of his life will be re- served the country to the utmost of his

We pay our tribute to the memory of As Chief Minister Sri Pant did some this great patiot whose death has come as a

> --:0:-C. F. ANDREWS

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

him. Now that he has left us, we and all episodes readily come to mind. the world are the poorer for his loss. But Mr. C. F. Andrews went in 1921 to and speak about him.

constant endeavour was to become one with gardens strike. the people of India—particularly with the constant travels wherever the cry of dis- emigrant Indian tress drawels wherever the cry of dis- emigrant Indian

Most men profess some religion or the Poor), given to him, was quite apposite. other, but the number of those who prac- It is not intended in this article to tell the tise what they profess is comparatively story of what he did for the disinherited small. C. F. Andrews was a man and a and the humiliated either exhaustively or brother who lived the faith which was in chronologically. But many occasions and

it is wrong to say, he has left us. His memory Chandpur, where oppressed refugees from and his example are undying and will the tea-gardens, who were denied transport continue to inspire all who knew him facilities, were dying in hundreds through intimately and all others who may be able a raging epidemic of cholera. He tried his to realize what he was by reading what he best to rouse the sympathy of the Railways wrote and knowing what others may write and Steamship companies on their behalf, but failed. Later, he wrote a book entitled, Mr. Andrews did not serve India and The Oppression of the Poor, in which he Indians from a height condescendingly. His told the story of the great Assam tea-

His and his friend W. W. Pearson's Por, the despised, the downtrodden. He visits to Figi and the agitation set on foot would be recommended to the aboliwould wear the people's clothes and eat in consequence led ultimately to the abolitheir food. This desire and its following tion of the indenture system and to much out, coupled with his ceaseless labours and improvement in the condition of the constant to with his ceaseless labours and improvement Indian labouring population labouring population tress drew him, for which the Norwegian there—particularly of the women, who had hadologiet him, for which the Norwegian there—particularly of the women, who had Indologist and Epigraphist, Dr. Sten Konow, been obliged to lead a life of shame. What used to call him the Wandering Christian, part he took in the Indian struggle in South constitution, never robust. Africa has been narrated by Mahatma The Indian name Dinabandhu (Friend of Gandhi and himself. He visited East Africa CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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cannot be forgotten. Some leading Indians University Matriculation on one occasion wanted to separate their There is a reference to Africans considering the latter inferior to also in a letter written by him themselves. Mr. Andrews condemned such an attitude and in consequence came to be looked upon for some time as an enemy of the South African Indians!

When the woes of Champaran peasants living under Planter Raj was at their height, he was at their side. When Bihar groaned under the unforgettable earthquake, he did his best to help the people. Orissa is a particularly poverty-stricken province liable to suffer time and again from devastating floods. He laboured hard to find a permanent remedy after making painstaking investigations on the spot and wrote much on the subject. He worked also for famine relief in Orissa. Before the Assam-Bengal Railway Strike he tried to dissuade the employees from striking. But when the strike actually began and numerous workers found themselves in a helpless condito their rescue.

two decades ago, he co-operated with the of the world." relief-workers. The particular step with their plough-cattle. Sj. Satish Chandra Das affluence. Gupta writes in the Bengali Rashtravani, getting his suggestion of a tractor accepted, no attachment to earthly belongings. again to Patisar another 7 miles without possessions. taking any refreshments.

and Indo-British problems, avoiding taking protested against this direct part in political movements, perhaps, same spirit. the only exception being the active part

and West Africa on his errand of service niketan in the stormy days of the Non-co. and west Africa of his critation of the connect and humanitarian mission. One episode operation movement in severing the connect and numanitarian mission. One of the school there with the Calcutta on one occasion wanted to separate movement from that of the aboriginal Rabindranath Tagore's article on him, as Andrews). But though he thus generally avoided Indian politics, he made it quite clear that he wanted India to be independent at the earliest possible opportunity.

Mr. Andrews wanted friendship between India and Britain as between equals. This he desired in the interest of Britain as well as of India because he was a great patriot. greater than any British Imperialist. He was one of the heralds of a new age, which is still a dream,—an age of international amity, human brotherhood, including Indo-British friendship.

In the course of the last message which he dictated to Dr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty after his second operation, which

proved fatal, he said:

"God has given me in my life the greatest of all gifts, namely, the gift of loving friends. At this moment when I am tion. he along with other noble souls came laving my life in His hands, I would like to acknowledge again what I have acknow-In consequence of the serious and ledged in my books—this supreme gift of widespread inundations in North Bengal friendship, both in India and in other parts

That he had so many loving friends was which his name is specially associated is a blessing, indeed, both to him and his the purchase and the use of a tractor for friends. But that he had so many of them was tilling extensive tracts in the inundated due mainly to his own wonderful capacity region, as the agriculturists there had lost for friendship and his inexhaustible heart

He had the genuine spirit of renunciahow one morning at 7 A.M., Mr. Andrews tion and detachment of true sannyasis, came from Patisar to the Atrai relief centre though he did not smear his body with walking the distance of 7 miles and, after ashes or wear ochre-coloured robes. He had talking all the while standing, trudged back riches of the spirit were his most precious The Poet once told me play fully in his presence, "Ramananda Babu, if Generally he concerned himself with you have anything which you wish to lose, the humanitaries are the humanitaries and the second with the second with the humanitaries and the second with th only the humanitarian aspects of Indian you may lend it to Andrews!" Mr. Andrews and Indo-British problems, arriving the suggestion in

His reverential affection for 'Baro Dada' he took with other professors of Santi- —Dwijendranath Tagore, the Poet's CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Handwar

hrother charact affection I will I day go old sag touchin do you sage W someth the Br respons Britishe would Andrev quietly. a minu Andrew inciden son, th Tagore,

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brother, was a most engaging feature of his to the Poet's or the Mahatma's suggestion character. I could tell much of how this or direction, not to his own initiative. affection found expression but space forbids. day going to have his usual tea with the old sage, Mr. Andrews bowed down to him touching his feet, and asked as usual: "How do you do, Baro Dada?" That day the old sage was in an excitable mood, having read something in the papers which went against the British Government or people. So his response was to the effect that unless all Britishers were driven from India there would be no peace in the country! Mr. Andrews was not at all upset but took it quietly. The sage regained his composure in a minute and went on chatting with Mr. Andrews as on other days. Relating this incident afterwards to Baro Dada's grandson, the famous musician Dinendranath Tagore, Mr. Andrews said: "I say, Dinoo, your grandfather is terrible!"

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Mr. Andrews came out to India as a missionary professor of a college and was for years known as the Rev. C. F. Andrews. But after some years he gave up the use of the word Reverend before his name. That showed that he was no longer creed-bound and orthodox. Moreover, he did not like a certain kind of Christian Missionary mentalby and some missionary methods, against which he wrote openly. But he preached the Christ Ideal by his life far better than numerous orthodox clergymen, and, hence, when a Hindu first suggested that his initials stood for "Christ's Faithful Apostle", If was at once generally accepted as a right Interpretation and has continued to be so. Mr. Andrews once wrote to me that he had ome to appreciate some of the late Pandit Mahesh Chandra Ghosh's criticisms of some Christian theological views.

Some of the ways in which he served India have been enumerated above. fredit for these services he would often give

It was not possible for British imperialwill mention only one small incident. One ists and Anglo-Indians (old style) to like and appreciate a man like Charles Freer Andrews. Hence, naturally very Britishers, except the requisite small number of clergymen, attended his funeral service in the Cathedral performed by that true and pious Christian, the Lord Bishop and Metropolitan, from St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, to the Lower Circular Road Cemetry, where Dinabandhu Andrews' mortal remains lie, the coffin was borne by clergymen, British and Indian. The Lord Bishop and a large procession following on foot. At the cemetry, the bier was shouldered by the pall-bearers to the graveside, seven Indians of whom six were non-Christians. At the cemetry also the large crowd consisted almost entirely of Indians of all communities. The Lord Bishop, a few clergymen and a very few lay Englishmen were present there and listened reverentially to the burial service.

It is a great privilege of men of independent countries that their minds are not always pre-occupied with their own wants and grievances—we are speaking of ordinary times of peace, not of these terrible days of war in Europe-but that they can have some real active sympathy with other people less fortunate than themselves, and they have also the freedom of movement all over the world including the British dominions and colonies, which we Indians have not. Mr. Andrews made the fullest use of this privilege in a spirit of fraternal service. In serving India he acted as if he was atoning for the misdeeds of his countrymen here. But whatever the spirit in which he acted, we should always gratefully remember our debt to him for what he was and what he did.

(Reprinted from The Modern Review, May, 1940.)



"BHARATA -BHASKARAM"

("The Sun of India")

By Dr. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI

Note.-No drama has yet been composed in any language, except a short work in Bengali on the sublime life of Rabindranath. However, it is but fit and proper that a drama on him should be written in Sanskrit, a universal language, not only of India, but also of the world at large. This is specially so because Rabindranath himself as well as his entire renowned family, were life-long protagonists of this "Deva-Bhasa" of India.

The series consists of two volumes—"Bharata-Bhaskaram" ("The Sun of India") and "Bhuvana- ress). Bhaskaram" ("The Sun of the world"). The first depicts some of the main incidents of the lives of Maharshi Debendranath and Rabindranath, the latter's participation in the Swadeshi Movement, (1855-1905); and the second, some of the main events, after that, when this Great Sun of India gradually became the Sun of the world. (1906-1941).

Vast, indeed, is the glorious life of Rabindranath; and it is very difficult to pick and choose amongst the numerous exhilarating incidents of this enchanting life. However, the few incidents chosen, will, it is hoped, be sufficient to give, at least, an inkling into the infinite beauty and majesty of this ever-luminous life, which, really like the Sun, spread its light in thousand beams, illuminating every nook and corner of this blessed land of ours-and also beyond.

The Dramas contain a large number of original verses and songs, besides quite a few Rabindra-poems and Rabindra-songs, rendered literally in Sanskrit in the very same metres and tunes.

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प्रणमामि धरादीप भारत-मास्कर कवोन्द्रक्लप्रतिमा-समुच्चय-सारम्। शान्तिनीड-विश्वभारती-स्थातारं साधनाविग्रह-धर-रवीन्द्रसुन्दरम् ॥

I salute the Sun of India, the Light of Universe whole; Of all great poets' minds, the Eternal Essence sole; The Founder of "Visva-Bharati", Abode of Peace benign; Spiritual Striving Incarnate, Rabindra, Handsome, fine!

Board, Government of India, Bengali New Year's Day, (1st Baisakh, 1368; 14th April, 1961), at the Mahajati Sadan Hall Calcutta. We give here only the author's introduction and the author's author and the author's author and the a tion and the Nandi portion to show the custom of Sanskrit dramas in ancient India.

Editor, The Modern Review.

^{*}In anticipation of the Birth Centenary of Sanskrit Rabindranath Tagore, which actually dates from the 25th Baisakh, 1368, (8th May, 1961) celebrations have already begun in India and elsewhere. In this connection a Sanskrit drama composed by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri will be staged before the President and the members of the Central

PANCHAYATI RAJ IN ANDHRA PRADESH

By V. LINGAMURTY,

Head of the Department of Political Science, M.R. College, Vizianagram

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PROMINENT writers on Political Science have waxed eloquent on the value of local self-Government. It is believed that the practice of local self-Government is "the best guarantee" for the success of democracy and "Political democracy flourishes best where its roots are planted deep in vital and vigorous conditions of local self-Government".2 Carrying democracy to the village well has a special significance in India, for the Village Panchayat is said to be the symbol of Indian tradition. Gandhiji always cherished the idea of the revival of Panchayat Raj in India. He remarked that "the nearest approach to civilisation based upon non-violence is the erstwhile village republic in India".3 Thus both political theory and tradition are in favour of the revival of Village Panchayats in the Indian Polity. Hence in the new constitution in Article 40 it is stated that "the state shall take steps to organise Village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-Government". It is in accordance with this provision hat several of the states in the Indian Union are now introducing the system of Panchayat Raj. Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh are the two states which are the pioneers in launching this democratic adventure.

The Andhra Pradesh Samithis and Zilla Parishads Act of 1959 is the result of Shri Balwantrai G. Mehta Report in which a threetier system—Panchayats at the Village level, Panchayat Samithis at the Block level and Zilla Parishads at the District level—is proposed. In the Report it is stated that "there should be a devolution of power and a decentralisation machinery and such a power be exercised and such a machinery controlled and directed popular representatives of the local area". The scheme of decentralisation of power proposed in the Mehta Report is not a completely new one. It is said that "the credit should go to Andhra Kesari T. Prakasam for the present scheme of decentralisation of power".4 In fact the system that is now introduced in Andhra Pradesh is largely based on the system of local self-Government introduced by the British under which the district was taken as a unit of administration. The significance of the present system, however, lies in the fact that the local bodies today are not merely administrative agencies but are also intimately associated with developmental programmes. It is to signify this difference that the phrase "Panchayati Raj" is used to describe the new system. "While Panchayat Raj devotes a greater role in civic affairs by the Village Panchayats, Panchayati Raj means the devolution of powers and responsibilities for all development works to statutory bodies of people's elected representatives from the village upwards, from the Gram Sabha to the Zilla Parishads".5 Moreover as Shri D. Sanji Vaiah, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, observed, "The most important feature of the whole scheme is that it puts an end to the dyarchical character in our local self-Government bodies. The official and nonofficial elements are now intimately linked up in the spheres of powers and execution".6

The aims and objectives of the new scheme of rural administration are highly fascinating. (i) The local governments are intended to be made active partners in changing the face of

^{1.} Lord Bryce: Modern Democracies. Vol.

^{2.} William Anderson & Others: Local Government in Europe.

^{3.} B. B. Majumdar (Ed.): Concept of State, p. 173.

^{4.} Decentralisation of power in Andhra: The Hindu, December 5, 1959.

^{5.} Gopalarao Ekobote's article on Panchayati Raj: Andhra Pradesh, November, 1960.

⁽Ed.): Gandhian 6. Panchayat Raj in Andhra Pradesh: The Hindu, July 13, 1960.

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rural India.. Their duty does not cease doing merely general functions; they must also associate themselves with developmental activities. (ii) The endeavour of every Panchayat Samithi should be "to wage the peace" and make the people in its area healthy, wealthy and strong. It should see that no one starved in its area. (iii) The aim of the Panchayati Raj is well-expressed at the very outset, as a preamble, in the Andhra Pradesh Panchayat Samithis and Zilla Parishad's Act. It is said that "the ideal is that ultimately it is the people who should work out their destiny". Thus the new constitutional experiment aims at carrying democracy to grass (iv) Its object is not merely to bring about administrative reform but also to create a new psychological climate. It is hoped that the scheme will check "Zeep mentality" and develop better understanding between the administrators and the people and make the former think that they are partners in a common enterprise. Identification of the people with the administration which is the sine qua non of democracy, is the ultimate goal of the new system of Panchavati Raj.

II

In Andhra Pradesh, the Samithis inaugurated on 1-11-1959, and the Parishads on 1-12-1959. The old nomenclature of taluks and districts has now given place to Samithis and Zillas. Agency areas, municipalities in the Andhra area and corporations in the Telengana area are excluded from the purview of Panchayat Samithis and Zilla Parishads. The Panchayat is at the basis of the three-tier hierarchical system and as such lays the foundation for the successful working of the other organisations. By the formation of Panchayats in all villages with a population of 1,000 and above, the 26,000 Revenue Villages in Andhra Pradesh have 1,400 Panchayats. The Village Panchayats Bill is now before the state legislature with a view to bring about uniformity among the Panchayats throughout Andhra Pradesh. The Panchayat council whose members are directly elected on adult suffrage (there is a criticism that the election is not by secret ballot) besides doing local functions like sanitation, public health. education and public work, has to promote agriculture, social

welfare, village industries, breeding and protecting cattle, etc. In the preparation and implementation of the Five-Year Plans, the Village Panchayat is assigned an important share. It must prepare a village plan based upon the local needs and resources and mobilise public support for the plan. Articulation of local wants, mobilisation of public support for the development programmes, dissemination of information about them and the preparation of village plans based on local requirements and resources, are now made the responsibilities of the Panchayats.

The Panchayat Samithis form the king-nin of the new scheme and occupy a dominant position. As they are in the middle of the three-tier system they are organically linked with the Village Panchayats below and the Zilla Parishads above. The significance of Panchayat Samithi lies in the fact that it is made co-extensive with a National Extension Service Block. The existence of a Block is a prerequisite to the formation of a Panchayat Samithi. A Block consists of members indirectly elected and nominated. The principle of co-option is also adopted for "co-option is rather a remarkable adoption to the technique of democracy and may one day prove to be its salvation".7 A Samithi consists of the Presidents Block the Panchayats in the the Revenue the M.L.A. of that constituency, Divisional Officer and five members co-opted by the Samithi-one woman, one representative of the Scheduled Castes and one of the Scheduled having administrative Tribes and two persons experience. The tenure of the Samithi is three years, a period which is considered to be hes suited for a local council. It is the functional aspect that makes the Panchayat Samithi a vila organ in the newly created structure of the Panchayati Raj. Besides conducting the general administration of the Block, the Samithi also discharges such of the developmental functions agriculture, animal husbandry, education and co operation. It performs its functions through fite Standing Committees representing: (1) Agriculture ture, Animal Husbandry, etc., (2) Co-operation Contage Indiana. (3) Education, Sanita (4) Communications Cottage Industries, etc., The important tion, Medical Relief, etc., and (5) Taxation and Finance.

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^{7.} Finer: English Local Government
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position given to committees in our local Governposition is in accordance with the modern ideas of administration. "The committee system with the cabinet and the modern Civil Service, as one of the fundamental English contributions the difficult art of self-Government".8 accutive matters, the Samithi is assisted by the B.D.O. who has to prepare the annual budget and also exercise general supervision and control over the administrative personnel. However, with the inauguration of the Panchayati Raj the B.D.O., has lost much of his independence and today he has largely to carry out the decisions of the Panchayat Samithi.

The Zilla Parishad which is at the apex in the structure of the local Governments, corresponds with the District Board of the past. But unlike the District Boards, the Zilla Parishads are formed by indirect election and nomination. A Zilla Parishad consists of the Presidents of the Panchayat Samithis in the district, the M.L.As of the district, an M.L.C. nominated by the state Government, M.Ps belonging to the district and the District Collector. Besides these members, one member is elected by the Presidents of Panchayats in a Block having no Panchayat Samithi. Members of the Zilla Parishad elect two women, one representative of the Scheduled Castes and one representative of the Scheduled Tribes. The Zilla Parishad is also formed for a term of three years. Like the Panchayat Samithi, the Zilla Parishad also performs functions through Standing Committees.

The chief function of the Zilla Parishad is of co-ordinating the activities Panchayat Samithis in the district. In financial mallers it has an important say, for it has to tramine and approve the budgets of the Samithis what is more important is that it has to disbibute grants given by the Government. his power given to the Zilla Parishads that is tesented most by the Panchayat Samithis. The Amin Parishad does the function of the Panchayat Samithi in Blocks where there are no Samithis. t consolidates plans for all the Blocks in the district and advises the Government on matters to development activities.

The Panchayati Raj is hailed as the life

blood of democracy, for it is based on an appreciation of the worth of the people and their sovereignty. Speaking on the resolution on Panchayat Raj at the recent session Congress held at Sardarnagar, Mr. observed that "it (Panchayat Raj) would end the era when rural and other people had to run to officials and other authorities, petitions in hand, begging for this or that to be done. They would now have the opportunity to do these things themselves".9 The composition of the Samithis and Zilla Parishads provides a special advantage in running the administration. The presence of the M.L.As and M.Ps is expected to provide an essential link between the local Government and the state and national Government. The Andhra Pradesh Panchayat Samithis and Zilla Parishads Act is praised for having taken democracy a step further than what is proposed by the While Committee. Mehta Balwantrai committee suggested that the Sub-divisional officer and the Collector may act as the presiding officers over the Samithis and Zilla Parishads respectively for a period of two years, the A. P. Act, has given the privilege to the members of the Samithis and the Zilla Parishads to elect the Presidents and Chairman respectively. This in accordance with democratic theory and experience has to prove the wisdom in it. The Andhra Pradesh Government has passed orders sanctioning a monthly honorarium of Rs. 300 to the Chairmen of the Zilla Parishads and Rs. 100 to the Presidents of Panchayat Samithis in the state".10 The A. P. Act it is said, "has solved the thorny problem. of executive in the local bodies by vesting the administrative power in the independent officials belonging to the state cadre". The local staff, such as the Deputy Inspector of Schools, the S.E.O. and others are under the control of the B.D.O. This method is expected to have the advantage of checking the interference of political executive with the permanent executive.

As the new experiment in Panchavati Raj is intended more for the development of selfreliance among the people and their association with developmental activities than for running the administrative machinery, its success has to

^{8.} H. J. Laski: A Century of Municipal progress, p. 97 The Hindu, January 8, 1961. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collecti Hindundrugust 10, 1960.

be judged from the progress action, ing Committees is described as taking away with etc. During the last one year (from November, 1959 to November, 1960) of its working 46,162 acres are said to be additionally irrigated about 46,500 acres reclaimed. About 10,792 cooperative societies were functioning in the Block areas by the end of March, 1960, thus covering 87 per cent of the villages. During the period under reference 1,779 adult literacy centres and 1,405 reading rooms were opened, 2,600 drinking water wells were constructed, and 5,660 old wells were repaired, 1,288 miles of Kacha Roads were formed and 1,180 miles of Kacha roads were repaired. Similar accounts are given in the fields of cottage industries, housing, etc. In this connection it is hazardous to draw any definite conclusions, for the period under survey is too very short and the statistical information that is given may prove to be a jugglery of figures.

The one year old infant Panchayat Raj in Andhra Pradesh has revealed some organic defects. The three-tier system has given rise problems of organic inter-relations ticklish between the three-tiers. The Panchayat Samithi is considered as the fifth wheel of a coach by both the Panchayats and the Zilla Parishads, a redundant intermediary. It is, however, argued by the apologists of Panchayat Samithis that the wide sphere of activities of the local Governments and the large size of the districts necessitate an intermediate organisation. The Committee on Plan Projects expressed the view that "the jurisdiction of the proposed local body should be neither so large as to defeat the very purpose for which it is created nor so small as to militate efficiency and economy". Panchayat against Samithis today have so much overshadowed the Panchayats that the phrase "Panchayathi Raj" has become a paradox. It is the Village Panchayat that should be the king-pin of local self-Government. The irresistible conclusion that follows is that if Panchayat Samithi is given wide powers, as is the case today, it proves dangerous to the ideal of village autonomy and if its powers are curtailed it becomes useless. Either way it does not fit in the system of local self-Government.

While the presence of an elected non-official as the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad is hailed as a democratic feature, the appoint pomain Gurbau Kanba. Collection Haridw organiser, October 20, 1961.

be judged from the progress achieved in the District Collector as the President of the Standthe left hand what is given by the right, But on a sober consideration it becomes clear that the greater the extent to which the services of experienced officials are utilized, the better it would be for the efficient and successful working of Referring to the demand local administration. that elected Chairmen should replace the District Collectors to preside over the Standing Committees, the Congress Parliamentary Party's Study Team on Panchayati Raj while recently toured Andhra Pradesh, remarked that it was somewhat "premature" to raise this issue at present.11 Moreover the old attitude towards the officials requires a thorough change. The officials today, unlike those under the British rule, are as much the responsible citizens of the country as the elected representatives. An elusive argument is, however, put forward that the former voices the will of the people. But one need not be lost in such high sounding phrases like "will of the people". Especially in matters with which local Governments are concerned such as sanitation education, public health, housing, road laying and digging of wells, there cannot be divergent What is required is honest and opinions. efficient administration.

The system of indirect election adopted for the formation of Samithis and Parishads is subjected to criticism by dogmatic democrats that our old At the same time it is argued Panchayat system has to be revised. "The traditional Panchayat was an assembly of five wis decided all local elders of the village, which But the Congress-concocted Panchayals are a model of what a Panchayat should not be Elections by majority vote scare away elders and wipe out smaller castes. And so the Panchayat becomes an arena for petty persons and caste politics".12

In this Age of the IV Estates where public emotions prevail in the garb of public opinion So elections elections have become a sham. adult franchise, referendum and similar other methods are used on a wider scale in dictator ships than in democracies. Voting and election are no doubt some of the methods to achieve identify the is erroneous to democracy but it

The Hindu, December 28, 1960.

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ideal with methods. Democracy stands for indi- way of progress in this democratic age".15 vidual freedom, freedom of the individual to open his mind freely and fearlessly. It is government by discussion. "The special characteristic of democracy is that it opens the discussion and extends the right of decision to everyone. It is this fact that everyone shares in the dialogue which enables us to speak of democracy as the rule of the people as a whole".13

Under the new scheme of Panchayat Raj besides the higher officers like the B.D.O. who are in the state service, there are the L. D. the V.L.Ws. and the Jeep clerks, teachers, drivers who are appointed by a District Selection Committee consisting of the chairman of the Zilla Parishad, the District Collector and one or two other members. Such right patronage vested in the local organisation whose outlook is coloured by narrow sectional and caste feelings, is often likely to be abused. would be better to constitute District Public Service Commissions on the model of the State Public Service Commission.

Even during the short period of its working the new system of Panchayati Raj has revealed certain dangerous attitudes on the part of the personnel in the local bodies which portend gloomy future for the new democratic experiment. Local autonomy is largely dependent on local finance. Hence the Panchayats are provided with various sources of revenue. "With a view to making the Panchayats economically viable and effective units of service, the Andhra Pradesh Government has constituted an 'Equalisation Fund' for the Panchayats at the state level. From out of this fund the Zilla Parishads and the Inspector General of Local Administration would be provided funds to be allotted to Panchayats".14 Dealing with the Local Boards of the past Mr. M. Venkatarangaiya remarked, "It is essential that there should be a change in the mental attitude of the people and of their re-Presentatives in favour of taxation which may assume the form of money or grain or labour. The primitive prejudice against taxation Public authorities is a persistent obstacle in the

on this matter hardly any change is found in the attitudes of people or local bodies. The Congress Parliamentary Party's Study Team on Panchayat Raj made no secret of the fact when it remarked that "neither the Samithis nor the Zilla Parishads had so far exercised their powers to levy any cess or tax or raise money by borrowings. They appear to be more keen on obtaining funds from the government and thus they had not yet given proof of self reliance".10

The canker which is eating away the very vitals of our rural democracy is casteism. It has made village autonomy farcical, nay dangerous. There is hardly a Panchayat where the president or majority of the members do not belong the majority caste in the village. Democracy has come to mean tyranny of the majority caste and casteism which was almost in its dying gasps has received a fresh and fairly long lease life as a result of our elections. Wherever members of the majority caste happen to be politically backward, local factions determine the nature of the Panchayati Raj. Giving evidence before the evaluating team of the Congress Parliamentary Party, Mr. Raghavaiah said that Panchayati Raj in Andhra has introduced "too many feuds, murders, group bickerings, political partisanship and caste prejudices. Is it an exaggreration to say that a caste-ridden democracy serves as a diabolic force and is the worst form of Government? Then what is the alternative"?17

III

To free the Panchayati Raj from the clutches of casteism, the principle of election has to be modified. As in the case of the union and state legislatures, some seats in the Panchayat Council must be reserved for elders and those who have attained distinction in serving society. Moreover, the President of the Panchayat as well as members of the different committees must be selected by the system of lot. Those who loudly proclaim that our traditional Panchayat system has to be revived may note that selection by lot was the most significant feature in the Chola of local administration. Two of system

^{13.} Maurice Cranston's broadcast talk from Maurice Cranston's broadcast.

B.B.C. on Characteristics of Democracy.

The Development of Local Boards, p. 222.

The Hindu, December 28, 1960. 14. The Hindu, February 1980 pomain Gurukul Kant Collection affection affection and the Representation of Democracy.

significant features in the choice of members to the different committees were, (1) The reservation of some seats to persons of advanced age and learning and (2) selection by lot.

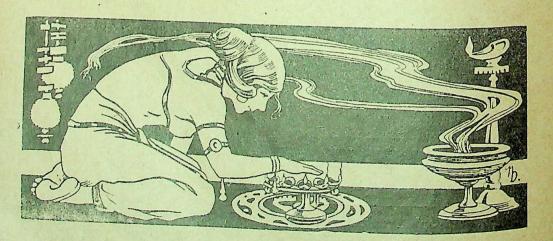
In a country like India where fissiparous forces based on linguism, casteism and regionalism are raging, political parties have become most injurious to national unity and democracy. But as they cannot be dispensed with at the state and national levels, they should at least be prevented from entering into the field of local self-Government. Speaking of the entry of party politics into local governments, Mr. H. J. Laski remarked that "there is no doubt a certain loss involved in this development".18 Will political parties voluntarily renounce participation in local politics? It is too alluring a temptation to resist. While the congress party in its draft resolution released in New Delhi had categorically stated that "as a rule the Panchayat elections have not been run on party lines", the resolution moved at Sardarnagar omitted the words, "as a rule" and used the modest expression "in many places".19 If, however, political parties take the wise decision not to participate in local elections it would be a happy augury for the Panchayati Raj. Even on grounds of political theory the participation of political parties in local administration has no justification for a two-fold reason. Firstly, there cannot be different programmes on matters of local administration. Many of the local problems are of a non party character.

Secondly, a party cannot have a single manif_{esto} applicable to all local areas for the needs of localities differ from region to region.

As the new system of Panchayati Raj stands not only for running local administration but also for the promotion of developmental activities, care should be taken in the delimitation of Blocks. As Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya pertinently remarked, "The only question is whether the Development Blocks have been properly demarcated and whether they do not themselves require some kind of readjustment". Physical factors like territory and population alone should not determine the area of a Block; material resources should also be taken into account.

When all is said and done, it has to be noted that the success of Panchayati Raj or any other democratic experiment depends ultimately not so much on the soundness of the constitutional structure but on the outlook and attitude of the people. A psychological revolution must always precede a material revolution and a populace having no vision can never prosper. It is social education that can create social conscience which is the prerequisite for any democratic experiment. As long as people are under clannish outlook and have caste feelings, personal prejudices and petty factions, Panchayati Raj strengthening the foundations will far from undermine the strength of our democracy. The crying need of the hour is the spread of social education and the development of civic among the people before making any more experiments in democracy.

18. A Century of Municipal Progress, p. 87.19. The Hindu, January 6, 1961.



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ON DISINTEGRATION OF JOINT-FAMILIES

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

JOINT-FAMILIES broken due have up natural causes, as when they became too big when a portion migrated elsewhere. But the units into which they broke up were small joint-families themselves. This has taken place during centuries. Now joint-families are breaking up at a faster rate. As soon as the parents die the brothers separate; sometime on the death of the father. brothers separate. It is now-a-days rare to find cousins living together with their wives and children. Single unit families are becoming common, though not as common as separation beiween the brothers after the death of the parents.

The Hindus live in joint-families. They like to live together. Its advantages are great; it acts as a sort of mutual insurance against early death, accident and unemployment. In case of death the children and widow of the deceased member will be cared for, educated and trained for employment, girls will be suitably married and the widow maintained. In case of accident he will be treated and nursed by loving members of the family. And in case of unemployment he and his family will not be thrown to wolves, but will get two square meals everyday. There is mutual protection; and there is religious sanction behind it.

A Hindu joint-family consists of all persons lineally descended from a common male ancestor and includes their wives and unmarried daughters. A daughter ceases to be a member of her father's family on marriage and becomes a member of her husband's family. The joint and undivided family is the normal condition Hindu society. It is joint not only in estate but in food and worship. Often there are poorer relations, wholly or partly dependent upon it. They may not have any share in the family property, but they are as well cared for as other members of the family.

This is very unlike family system prevailing in western countries, where it consists of husband, wife and unmarried parents, and cannot and does not care for

health and family cares of his father and mother, or welfare of his minor brothers and sisters. Hence, the necessity for Old Age Pension, Health Insurance and other 'welfare state' legislation and activities.

Until recently it was common to see the first cousins living together with their wives and children. Mr. O' Malley, the Census Superintendent of Bengal, in 1911, says that "some of the joint-familes are exceptionally large forming small colonies-there is a case on record of a joint-family with 500 members."

About a year or so ago an account appeared in the Sunday Statesman of the Nandis of Jaugram in the district of Hooghly. They are about 450 strong, run a High English School, and form about one-third of the population of the village.

The causes which lead to the break-up of joint and undivided Hindu families are usually said to be:

- (1) Some members of the family take advantage of their position to lead a life of idleness and become simply drones, living on the labour of their brothers. There is the case of an officer in government employ, who obtained a large increase of pay but was poorer than before, because his elder brother at once threw up his own post and ceased to contribute to the family come. Such extreme cases are rare no doubt, but there are drones without the incentive to work or to do useful service to the family.
- (2) Misappropriation or misuse of the joint property or joint income by the karta or the head of the family. Where the karta is not a drone such misappropriation or misuse is becoming rare. Further co-sharers often insist on looking into accounts periodically, and thus prevent misuse or misappropriation.
- (3) The family becomes too large, so that there is no longer room for all under the ancestral roof. To build an additional room or rooms in the rural area is not difficult, but to construct children. The adult son lives separately from the an additional pucca brick-built room is costly. the Further there is want of land in towns and in Cal-CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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s will The social sense more cutta, and construction of a room or two on the upper storey often interferes with the building rules.

Formerly, the proportion of brick-built houses to the thatched huts was small, less than 2 per cent. We give below certain data collected by Hunter.

	Jessore	Bankura
Brick-built houses	1,885	1,740
Thatched huts .	1,80,090	85,959

Now the proportion is at least 10 per cent in rural areas; and about 40 to 50 per cent in mofussil towns.

For the sake of convenience some of the members, especially the richer ones, move out to make homes for themselves. This division is often followed by a partition of the family property. The richer members prefer to build separate houses for themselves even by borrowing money; for they will be their own sixteen annas property, than to build additional rooms in the old family house even with contributions from the poorer members for in the latter case they will have a mere share only.

(4) Migration: Members of the family often leave their homes in search of employment, and do not return. Having to live apart from their relations, and finding no chance of returning home, they naturally do not see why they should go on contributing to the family fund and should not obtain a separate share of the property. They separate and build their houses elsewhere. Generally those who leave their homes in search of employment are better educated than those who stay at home. Their income is larger; and the tendency to separation is greater.

Now, that the mobility of population has increased and is increasing on account of many facilities of travel; and there is great dearth of suitable employment in rural areas, people are drifting towards towns and Calcutta. This cause is playing an increasingly important part in the break up of joint-families.

(5) Increase of individualism: Formerly people were more tolerant, with education and with the model of western individualism before their eyes, people have become less tolerant and more assertive and conscious of their rights,

real or supposed. Formerly disputes between the members of a joint-family were settled by the local chief men and the panchayet cheaply and quickly. Now they have recourse to law; and it is easy to begin a partition suit with a fixed court-fee.

- (6) Change in mode of life: Increase of individualism has led to the break-up of joint-families in another way. Modern tendencies, often the influence of education, such as abolition of purdah, dining in hotels and restaurants of food regarded as unorthodox, if not prohibited, throwing off of caste-ties, the desire to live in a more luxurious or laxer style, lead to the weakening of the family bond. With the passage of time, these lead to separation and break-up of family ties.
- (7) Increase in age of marriage, especially of females: The age at marriage was formerly 7, 8, 9 or 10. The bride was moulded to fit in with the traditions of the husband's family. Mr. Thompson calculated the age at marriage to be 12.03 years for females in 1921. Now the age at marriage is much higher—a rough estimate for West Bengal shows it to be about 19 years. A female of such age has her character developed, and cannot be moulded to fit in with the husband's family. Such women are frequently instrumental in producing the dismemberment of families. This is specially the case where the husbands marry girls from distant places and from families with which they have little or no past connections. Devoted solely to their husbands' interests, such wives are very jealous of their husbands' earnings being used by others, particularly by those who do not contribute to the family income. More petty feelings, less disinterested motives, such as the mutual jealousy between the brothers' wives, the quarrels of their children, etc., etc., also contribute their share to the break-up of the joint family. These grown-up wives justify one of the Sanskrit synonyms for wife, dara meaning to tear asunder'.
- (8) Disparity in incomes between members of the same family play a large part in the break up of families. Formerly the distribution of wealth was more equable. The parameter α of Pareto's Law of Distribution of Incomes was about 1.61. Si. Sailendra Nath Sen Gupta has shown in paper published in the journal of the Calculate CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Waring was more equable. The parameter α of Pareto's Si. Sailendra Nath Sen Gupta has shown in paper published in the journal of the Calculate CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Waring W

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parity in incomes is increasing.

To these causes we would like to add another—the increase in the rate of growth of population which accentuates the above factors and the motive for separation from the jointfamily is made stronger.

Before we describe and discuss it, we shall describe the various attempts to measure the rate of break-up of joint-families in Bengal; and offer our criticisms on them.

An attempt has been made to estimate the break-up of joint-families from the number of persons per house in Bengal. This seems an easy and plausible method. The number of persons per house at the different censuses has been :

1881 1891 1901 1911 1921 1931 1941 5.1 5.3 5.1 5.1

No conclusion can be and should be drawn from these figures. For the definition of a house has undergone change; formerly it was a structural house, now it is a commensal family. The average number as found is included by the indusion of urban areas, where there are immigrants and both one man census family and large tensus houses, consisting of residential messes, lostels, hotels, police barracks, hospitals, etc. Strange as it may sound the number of persons Per house in Calcutta is greater than that of ural areas. The figures are:

In 1931

Calcutta 5.68 No. of persons per Towns 4.67 occupied house. Rural Areas 5.18

Further it is partly dependent on the differates of growth during different decades. Thompson, the Bengal Census Superintendent lor 1921, says: "The rise in the average in so hany districts in 1911 was due to the fact that the population had increased fast in the decade herious to the census and the corresponding fall h 1921 was due to a corresponding decrease in its rate of growth."

He further says:

The size of the average family in Bengal is further analysis.

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steadily from 1921 to 1947. This means that dis-slightly larger than in India generally and is distinctly larger in Eastern than in Western Bengal. It will, however, be noticed that generally speaking there is a close correlation between the size of the family in each district and the rate of growth of the population of the district in recent years, which points to the conclusion that it is variation in the rate of natural fecundity and the number of children per family that is responsible for variations in its average size, rather than any definite tendency for families to break up more easily in Western than in Eastern Bengal." (italics ours).

> Another attempt has been made to correlate the number of houses with the number of married females aged 15 and over. Such married females try to set up a new household. If the number of occupied houses is less than the number of such married females, that is a measure of the number of joint-families. The argument seems to be plausible. Here again, it is complicated by the rise in age at marriage of both males and females, especially of females. For Bengal the analysis is further complicated by the presence of a large number of Muhammedans (54 per cent. of the total population) among whom polygamy, easy divorce and almost universal widow re-marriage are prevalent. Almost all widows of reproductive age-period amongst them re-marry; while amongst the Hindus if she is 'once a widow, she is always a widow'.

> The number of occupied houses for all Bengal and the number of married females aged 15 and over as in 1921 and in 1931 are given below:

93,42,819 99,33,075 No. of occupied houses 99,56,971 103,53,901 No. of married females aged 15 and over

1921

1931

No. of females who lived jointly with another

23,896 married female 10,11,082

It may seem that the number of joint-families are fast decreasing. At this rate there would not be a single joint-family now. But the analysis of the facts is not so simple. We choose the two rural districts of Mymensingh and Bankura for

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	Mymensingh	Bankura
No. of occupied	8,71,325	2,36,319
houses		
No. of married		
females, 15 & over	9,97,097	2,19,519
No. of females living		
jointly	25,772	16,800
No. of occupied	8,13,059	2,28,766
houses		
No. of married		
females, 15 & over	9,08,371	1,89,292
No. of females		
living jointly	95,312	38,474

1931

What does the negative figure in case of Bankura mean? If there has been decrease of joint-families in Mymensingh, in Bankura more people are trying to live jointly. Is that the explanation?

We think no safe conclusions can be drawn from such figures. The decrease or the increase may be due to other factors of which we have no knowledge.

We shall now try to show how the fastincreasing population has put a strain on the system of living together in joint-families.

Sundbarg observed certain empirical relationship between age-structure and the rate of population growth. He identifies three types of population: (a) Progressive, having a high proportion of children and a high rate of growth; (b) Stationary, having moderate proportions of children and aged persons with slow growth or stationary numbers; (c) Regressive, having a high proportion of aged persons and declining

He established the following model proportions of the various age groups in his three types of population:

	Per mile	Per mile of population—		
	Under 15 years	15-49 years	50 years and over	
Progressive Stationary Regressive	400 265 200	500 505 500	100 230	

It will be seen that those who are aged 15.50 are always about half the total population. His empirical observations hold good for all countries and for all times.

In an ordinary Hindu joint-family consist. ing of a male, his wife, sons and sons' wives and unmarried daughters, and the grand children he the karta would be ordinarily over 50 and so also his wife. His sons, their wives and daughters would be aged between 15 and 50; and the grandchildren below the age of 15. The age-structure and the number of persons of each age-category would be:

		0-15	15-50	50+
(a)	If the population is			
	fast increasing or			
	progressive	8	10	2
(b)	If the population is			
	stationary or slowly			
	increasing—stationary	2.30	4.39	2

The number in lower age-categories have been calculated by putting 2 in the third column of Sundbarg's age-categories for Progressive and Stationary types of population, and multiplying it by the different proportions for different ages.

The decimal point means that on an average the same number of persons would be found.

joint-families are The age-structures for illustrative, though it is not far from the actual truth.

of males and Almost an equal number females are born. Any masculinity at birth may be neglected for our purpose. Half the number of those who are between 15-50 are daughters; and on marriage they pass out of the family 10 their husbands' families. Sons would marry and their wives would replace the daughters. descendants; grand-children are all sons' they are taken to be below 15.

On the death of the father, the karta of the head of the family, the family property would descend to his sons according to the traditional Hindu law. 5 sons are to maintain 8 grandsons, if the population is progressive; 2,20 5005 would maintain 2.30 grandsons if it is station ary The result of the station are the station a ary. The burden in one case is 8/5=1.60; in The burden in the former case is 54 per cent more than in the latter.

Ord number divide th and the (b) 6:2

The elder son children: tion by a full-grow (a)

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(a) 2½; (a) 2·14 The elder son would be

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number of children than the younger ones. Let us nounced. divide the number of children between the elder (b) 6:2 and (c) 5:3.

elder son would be by himself, his wife and his children; and it would be (assuming the consumpfull-grown person) -

(a) $1+1+7\times\frac{1}{2}=5\frac{1}{2}$; (b) 5; and (c) $4\frac{1}{2}$;

if the population is Progressive; and

(a) $1+1+\frac{7}{8}\times 2\cdot 30\times \frac{1}{2}=3\cdot 01$; (b) 2.86; and (c) 2.72; if the population is Stationary.

The family of an younger son would consume (a) 2½; (b) 3; and (c) 3½; if Progressive; or (a) 2·14; (b) 2·29; and (c) 2·44; if Stationary. The disparity in consumption between elder son's family and an younger son's family would be-

(a) 3; (b) 2; and (c) 1; if Progressive or (a) 0.87; (b) 0.57; and (c) 0.27; if Stationary.

The ratio of the disparity in burdens would be-(a) 3.00/.87=3.45; (b) 2.00/.57=3.51; and (c) 1.00/.27 = 3.70.

The burden on an individual's share of property 0.2 in one case, and 0.45 in the other would an average be (3+2+1)/3=2 in one tase; and (0.87 + 0.57 + 0.27)/3 = 0.57the other. Relatively the burden would be in the latio of 2/·02=10: ·57/·45=1·27.

The motive for separation, when the populaton is Progressive or fast-increasing would be bety much stronger than when the population is Stationary.

The population of Bengal has increased from lakhs in 1881 to 510 lakhs in 1931. The aretage decennial rate of increase is 6.6 per cent. ow the population is increasing at the rate of population is increasing as the state times the decade, three times the lormer rate. All other factors being equal the han not separation is now very much greater what it was formerly.

case of industrial and professional pur- namines when the personal equation of the personal equation equation of the personal equation of the personal equation of the personal equation
Ordinarily the elder sons will have a larger portant, the individualistic tendency is more pro-

So long there was plenty of land to be had, and the younger groups in the ratio of (a) '7:1; an addition to the family was welcome. But now all available 'good' land is cultivated; and it can-The consumption of family income by an not be had easily. The price of land has gone up by leaps and bounds; and the profits of agriculture are less than that in other occupations. An the family is no longer as welcome as before.

> The additional hand goes to town to employment in non-agricultural pursuits. increasing urbanisation is both a cause and an effect of disruption of joint-families. The increasing tempo of industrialisation is also a factor.

> We know more or less accurately the several factors which tend to disrupt the jointfamily. But we are not aware of any method or measure by which either the amount of disruption or the rate of disruption can be suitably measured.

> Before any method or measure has been developed what is meant by disruption of jointfamilies should be properly described or defined. A joint-family consisting of first cousins their wives and children may disintegrate into several smaller joint-families consisting purely of brothers and their wives and children. A jointconsisting of brothers may disrupt into several families consisting of the father and his sons. Or it may so happen that brother, perhaps richer than the rest, separates himself from the rest of the family. Here the parent family consisting of several brothers, their wives and children split into a minor branch consisting of the father, mother and sons; and the major branch continues as before but with diminished strength.

> With increasing westernisation in our mode of living and thought, single unit families are developing at least in Calcutta. Such single unit families are not rare.

It has been observed as a fact that the joint in food, worship and estate. But there illy remaindered as a fact that the joint in food worship are separate in food but it A joint and undivided Hindu family is usually nas been observed as a fact that the joint in rood, worship and observed as a fact that the joint in rood, worship and estate in food but joint in the peasantry for a joint-families who are separate in food but joint in time than among the non-agricultural in worship and estate; or joint-families joint in time than among the non-agricultural in worship and estate, or just the reason being simply that the larger food and worship, but separate in estate and so the labour force, the easier it is to till the land. on. All the three elements are absent in many the case of the case of the easier it is to till the land. the case of industrial and professional pur- families which at the first sight may seem to

Then there are members, who are really separate in food, worship and estate are living together, and messing together on account of high and rising prices. They contribute to the expenses not in equal shares, but in shares proportional to the expenditure. A brother's son lives with them for prosecuting his studies; but his expenses are met by his father. Should we call such a group of persons members of a joint-family?

Sociologists should first frame a questionnaire to define what is meant by a joint and undivided Hindu family or a jont-family; what is meant by its disruption. The questionnaire should be answered not only by the sociologists but also by members of undivided and disrupted

After such answers have been scrutinised and

integrated, a further questionnaire should be prepared with a view to measure the disruption or the rate of disruption.

Such questions are to be answered by field investigators in purely rural areas, in small towns and in big cities after personal investigation,

The answers of members should be kept confidential. It is even now a matter of shame or social opprobrium if the brothers separate soon after the death of both the parents, not to speak of the stigma when they separate during the lifetime of the mother.

To the factors noticed above, another factor has been added by the Hindu Succession Act. 1956, by making the daughters equal heirs along with the sons. How far this is a factor should be ascertained separately.

TEA AND INDIA'S ECONOMY

-:O:-

BY PRODYOT KUMAR SEN GUPTA, M.Com.

Today tea is the most widely used beverage in years diluted his meals with the infusion of this the world. Jonas Hanway in the 17th century described tea as "pernicious to health, obstructing industry and impoverishing the nation". But facts have proved otherwise and in the present century there is, perhaps, no one in any part of the civilized world to support the view of the 17th century writer. Popularity of tea among the people of the modern world is on the ascent and that is evident by the increasing world demand for tea. The production and distribution of tea have "established a commercial 'industry' and 'trade' of considerable maturity". Tea business is now described as one which is "always conducted in a gentlemanly conservative manner, as unchanging as the ritual of tea-drinking Itself". In the civilized world of this century people are so accustomed to the taking of this beverage that most of them cannot even think of passing a single day without having at least a cup of tea. Tea-drinkers of today would, probably, not hesitate to describe themselves to be in the same category with Dr. Johnson who once wrote about himself that he was a "hardened and shameless tea-drinker, who has for twenty from 1951 to 1956 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Handwar

fascinating plant, whose kettle has scarcely time to cool, who with tea amuses the evening, with tea solaces the midnight and with tea welcomes the morning".

Tea now forms an important element in the Ceylon, India, economy: Pakistan and British East Africa and the major tea-producing countries of the world. however, also grown in other parts of Africa, Turkey, Iran, the U.S.S.R., Indo-China, Malaya, Argentina, Brazil. Peru and the biggest countries. China, which was once increasing its producer of tea, has now been production of tea at a greater speed and it is not unlikely that in the near future the country would emerge as the largest producer of tea. the matter of world production of tea and its ex port, India occupies a unique position. India is the largest producer of tea in the world. India's superiority in the production and trade of tea will be clearly understood from the following table which shows average total production, area under tea cultivation and exports for six years produc Countr

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Production Exports Export Area Producing (000 lbs.) (000 lbs.) as perunder Countries centage Tea of pro-(acres) duction 644,770 69.80 450,042 790,793 India 351,414 337,805 96.13 572,064 Ceylon 77,705 93,581 83.04 362,101 Indonesia 25,653 53,331 48.10 74,496 Pakistan British East 42,394 34,901 82.33 68,162 Africa

Our economy is inseparably linked up with this plantation industry. In the field of trade, both internal and external, tea plays a very important role in India. Tea industry which had its beginning in the first-half of the 19th century and had continued to grow rapidly since then, is now one of the largest industries of India. It now earns maximum amount of foreign exchange for our country. The rapid growth of tea can be seen from the following table:

Year		Production
		(Million lbs.
1860	V.	1.4
1870		13.2
1880		41
1890		112
1900		122
1930		391
1940		474
1950		613
1956		680
1957		665
1958		715
1959		718

India's position in respect of export of tea over the past few years can be understood from the table given below:

Year	Exports
1952	(Million lbs.)
1953	449
1954	500
1955	448 /
1956	367
1957	527
1958	447
-00	700

Tea industry now provides a means of livelihood to many hundreds of thousands our population. Moreover, this industry has given rise to a number of auxiliary industries. This industry has assumed even greater importance in view of the nation's stride for rapid economic development. This industry is the most important source of earning foreign exchange which is much needed for bringing about the speedy industrialisation in our country. The governour country also have realised the importance of this industry in the implementation of the development programmes which they have undertaken. Recently India's Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry, Shri Satish Chandra, said—"The Government are fully conscious of the importance of tea industry in our national economy. The export of primary commodities, specially tea, enables us to earn foreign currencies with which we acquire the tools of our industrial growth".

· Third Plan and Tea

Production target for tea industry has been fixed in the draft Third Five-Year Plan at 850 million lbs. So, our tea production after five years, i.e., by 1965 will be 132 millon lbs, more than the actual production in This traget is not, however, a very ambitious one. It is rather a modest target if we take into consideration the rapidly expanding production of tea by the other tea-producing countries of the modern world. Though we are still the greatest producer of tea in the world, our share in world production has dwindled considerably. our domestic consumption of tea Moreover. has been increasing at a great has been ascertained that the domestic consumption of tea has been increasing, on the average, by 15 million lbs. a year. The increase in the production of tea in the forthcoming years has been estimated at about 20 million lbs. a year. Hence there will be left a very small amount of exportable surplus (about 5 million lbs. a year) for augmenting the exports of this most important foreign exchange earner. It is also to be noted that the domestic consumption of tea may increase even at a greater rate with the improve-CC-0. In Public Bomain. Gurukul Kangir Collection, Handwar of living of our people resulting from increased per capita national income and so there will be available a still smaller quantity of exportable surplus.

Our export of tea increased by about 105 million lbs. during the period from 1950 to Export figure rose from 403 million 1958. lbs. in 1950 to 558 million lbs. in 1958. The export figure (527 million lbs.) in 1956 was the 1959-60, During so far reached. highest exported was million lbs. of tea 476.5 1,295 million. was valued at Rs. which An export target of 550 million lbs. by 1965 has been fixed in the Draft Third Five-Year Plan. It is to be noted that this target is only 32 million lbs. more than the quantity exported in 1958 and 23 million lbs. more than the exports of 1956.

It is evident that the exports during the years after 1956 were lesser than the quantity exported in 1956. The reasons for this dwindling exports are manifold. Indian tea, though still famous for its quality, is finding it increasingly difficult to compete wth teas of other countries mainly on acount of its high costs. In the principal markets of the world, India has been consistently facing severe competition from other tea-producing countries. In the markets of Europe, West Asia, Australia and the U.S.A., Ceylon's tea is gaining ground at an overwhelmingly fast rate. Africa with its cheap costs of production has emerged as a strong competitor of India in the world tea market. It is exporting increasing quantities of common teas to the U.K. and other countries of Europe. Indian common teas, which constitute more than 50 per cent of the total production of tea in India, are now in a

very unfavourable position in the world markets. "While quality teas of India are still in strong demand and are being sold at a premium, it is becoming increasingly difficult to sell India's common tea".

So, it is now high time for us to try earnestly for the expansion of production, reduction of costs, improvement of quality and promotion of exports of our tea instead of remaining complacent over the present level of production and exports. This industry constitutes the life-blood of India's economy. Much attention has, therefore, to be paid to the development and re-organisation of this industry, if we at all want to develop and rebuild our national economy. should be made to maintain the competitive capacity of our tea in the international tea market. The Union Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry has rightly said, "The price should. quality for quality, be competitive in an international market. Efforts should be made to improve the quality in each tea estate so the reputation which India enjoys as the home of quality teas is not jeopardised. Specifications and delivery schedule should be strictly adhered

In conclusion, it may be added that our tea industry is in a position to supply large quantities of tea of the choicest varieties. Potentiality for developing the market in foreign countries is also enormous. So our tea should be produced quantity so that an increased in increasing quantity of exportable surplus may be made available particularly when "the world demand during the past few years has been more than the world supply",



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A CENTURY SINCE ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Significance of Kennedy's Presidency

By ARGUS

function remarkable for its stern note of time to assume office. austerity. Even as Lincoln was driving along in a coach, he was so hemmed in by soldiers that hardly a bystander saw him pass and sharpshooters were placed on the Capitol roof on the lookout for trouble. This year, however, the inauguration day in America was one of the most celebrated in history, noted for all its traditions, parades and festivities. Political party lines were relaxed and the tensions of the election campaign were forgotten as the nation acclaimed the Chief Executive, chosen in November last year by the American voters. Washington was a crowded city in a holiday mood, to which visitors in millions had poured in by train, plane and automobile from all parts of the country.

Events making up the inauguration day have greatly developed since 1789, when the first President, George Washington, started the custom of the inaugural address. He was sworn in to the office on April 30, 1789, in New York City. The first inauguration to take place Washington was that of Thomas Jefferson, who tode along from his home in Manticelle, Virgihia, to the federal city, arriving there on March 4, 1801, in time to walk with a party of friends from his boarding house to the Capitol. Not until 1897, at President William McKinley's inauguration was there a change in the custom of having the Senate Committee arrange for the

THE inauguration of Mr. John F. Kennedy to Roosevelt made history by reading the inaugural the Presidency of the United States on January oath of office four times successively in 1933. 20. 1961, reminds a student of history of a 1937, 1941 and 1945. His second inauguration similar function exactly a hundred years ago, in 1937 was the first to be held on January 20. when Abraham Lincoln took his oath of office. The 20th amendment to the U.S. Constitution While Mr. Kennedy's inauguration was marked provides for this change which shortened the by intense drama, pomp and ceremony, Lincoln period between the time of election of the took his oath of office early in 1861 at a President and Members of Congress and the

Long Way from Log Cabin

Although the Presidential election comes once in four years, this year's event was historic in more than one sense, drawing comparisons with Lincoln's. While Lincoln rose from the log cabin to the White House in 1861, Mr. Kennedy, born with a silver spoon-nay a diamond one—in his mouth, bought the Presidency, in the language of a Time columnist, by his Papa's millions. There are strong resemblances, too, with Lincoln, for, like him, he won the election by a very narrow majority; as also Truman in 1948. According to the final count, Mr. Kennedy had secured 34,130,719 votes (49.753 per cent) as against his rival's 33,955,913 (49.498 per cent) votes. It is unlikely, however, that this hair-thin margin of votes, with the majority of only a quarter per cent, will make much of a difference in the way of the governance of the country by the President, as the doctrine of the mandate is a dubious one in any country. What matters is winning the game, not the margin.

Further, party differences have long ceased to have any reasonable validity in America unlike in other countries. For it has to be rememthe Senate Committee arrange for the pered that the local parties and log3 was President Coolidge's inauguration in wisdom, saw no need for political parties and log3 was previously for them. But the parties— 1923 was the first to be heard over the radio made no provision for them. But the parties—the Heart Heart and Democrat—came up as a natural the Hoover's inaugural speech in 1929 was the Republican and Democrat—came up as a natural first to be heard over the radio made no provision for the Hoover's inaugural speech in 1929 was the Republican and Democrat—came up as a natural first to be heard over the radio made no provision for the radio made no provisio first to be broadcast around the world on an development as anything also in society. They do international radio hook-up. President Franklin not, however, serve the purpose of being citadels CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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reased made emand e than of a conflicting dogma, policy or principle, as do the Conservative and Labour parties in Britain. Being as colourless as the Blue Faction and the Green Faction in ancient Byzantium, they served as a device for alternate Governments, which is democracy from after all what distinguishes dictatorship.

All newspapers were swift to point out that Mr. Kennedy is the youngest President to take office and the first President to be born in the Twentieth century. Stanley Baldwin, ex-British Premier, is reported to have once ruefully observed: "Half the mistakes from 1918 on have been the work of tired men". This seems to be true of the United States of the forties and fifties when Roosevelt in 1944 and Eisenhower their ill-health, stood for in 1956, despite another term and thus lost much of their stature and reputation. If Roosevelt had a Yalta to forget, Eisenhower had much to regret for his Paris and U-2 fiascos.

Price of Democracy

Now America has a youngman, who at 43, could be the son of any of the world's major aging leaders and this could well mark, in the words of the Daily Telegraph, "a turning point towards an era full of peril, but also of great promise". Another important factor in this year's event is that Mr. Kennedy is the first Roman Catholic to be elected President of nation, thus rejecting the long-established edicts of prejudice and bigotry, which somehow got rooted in the United States-a land of complete freedom and opportunity. But it is a land of paradoxes, too. For, despite its widespread education, universal suffrage, fabulous wealth and high standards of living, the great hopes of those pioneers who fought for them have not yet been fulfilled. Nowhere is there so much mediocrity in politics and banality in culture. But that is the high price that democracy has to pay for being ever suspicious of high standards, esoteric cults or elite tastes.

The old continents, Europe and Asia, are which, above all, generates but it is usually forgotten that they keep alive but it is worthwhile to enquire how all this the valuable standards of the

often missing in the American way of life "Privilege", as Thomas Griffith points out in "The Waist-High Culture", "was often selfishness secured, but it is best felt as an urge to uphold character and to acknowledge responsibility. Democracy of equals has not yet learned how to prize quality and distinguish merit" Thus has there been always a suspicion in this new world of the intelligentsia, vulgarly called the "egg-heads", which is evidently the reason why such a man of high I.Q. as Adlai Stevenson was twice rejected by the nation. intellectual serenity and oratorical resonance, Stevenson was a man who agonised on the deteriorating quality of American life and who spared no pains in revitalising the Democratic party by bringing it in line with the demands of the post-war world.

End of an Era

Growing to political maturity in Stevenson's shadow, Mr. Kennedy soon became a very articulate and well-informed Senator. Quite alive to the changes growing all round the world, particularly to the resurgence of nationalism in Asia and Africa and the emergence of Soviet Russia from Stalinist stagnation, Mr. Kennedy brought a fresh appeal to the nation and his victory, therefore, introduced a new impetus by putting an end to the rumbuctious American political legend. His inauguration is hailed as "a return to the politics of Franklin D. Roosevelt" and as the Spectator editorialised, "America under the Kennedy administration is going to be an exciting place. Europe will need monkey glands to keep up". This marks the end of an era, for America has all of a sudden grown 50 solemn under the increasing burden of its international responsibilities that it has no longer any room for its own "internal political bonanza and braggadacio". One is here reminded of what Walter Bagehot wrote when, nearly a century ago, Palmerston and Derby gave way to Gladstone and Disraeli—the products of a new age. said: "There has been a change of the soft other changes-a usually assailed for preserving age-long traditions change of generation. Kennedy, a product of privilege, prerogatives and resolutions change of generation. of privilege, prerogatives and prescriptive rights; this century, is thus a symbol of that change, but it is usually forgetten that the

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cultured elite, change came about". CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Just as the Civil War marked a turning noint in the development of the United States, the emergence of thirty new free nations in Africa naturally is an historic development which has not failed to leave its definite impress on the pattern of international relations. Just as the central issue of the Civil War was Negro Javery and the integration of America as a single nation, the main theme facing Mr. Kennedy seems to be a better appreciation of Afro-Asian problems towards the integration of world unity. His courage and dynamism has naturally endeared him to millions outside America, as is evident from world press reactions. It is stated that no U.S. President, not even Franklin Roosevelt, had such a favourable Press. Not only Mr. Kennedy's language is different, but his emphasis too, as is evident from this statement:

"We must, in collaboration with Western Europe and Japan, greatly increase the flow of capital to the under-developed areas of Asia. Africa and Latin America, enabling emerging nations to achieve economic as well as political independence—and closing the dangerous gap that is now widening between our living standards and theirs."

Here he is talking not of military consolidation or even of an armed Communist threat, but is more concerned with the economic battle that the people all over the world are faced with.

In this context, it is noteworthy that Mr. Kennedy's first cabinet appointment was the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, to which he nominated the Governor of Michigan (Mennon Williams). This post, as he declared, was an appointment second in importance to no other in the administration. It is significant that the President looks on Africa as the greatest of problems in the coming months and he seems determined to chalk-out a reasonable and consistent approach from Cape Town to Cairo that does to meet the basic aspirations of the emergent mations, which are indeed the wave of the future.

Common Will

A major point which Mr. Kennedy has build a foreign policy which would give up the

old cliches and simple equations, so long prevalent, namely, that democracy is good, totalitarianism is bad; free enterprise is good, socialism is suspect; two-party States are the most civilized; more than two parties is good, but fewer is bad, etc., etc. These formulae, however suitable in the highly developed nations of Europe, are completely out of date in Africa, which has its own traditions and aspirations, to recognise which one has to go back in history to the Europe of 200 years ago. For instance, an African chief is not a hereditary despot, but he rules only with the consent of his people. Although he is not elected and therefore cannot be voted out of office, he can be deposed sometimes by his hut being burnt down. This may not fall into the normal democratic pattern but none-the-less it agrees with what Rousseau called the Common Will. Whether it is Sekou Toure of Guinea, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria, Nkrumah of Ghana, Tubman of Liberia, Jomo Kenyatta or Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, is the head of a one-party State without any serious internal opposition. Mr. Kennedy seems willing to come to terms with these so-called "undemocratic" democracies, refusing to be tied down to strict bookish traditions of the West. He feels strongly, as is evident from his statement on Algeria and other allied subjects, found in his Strategy of Peace that it is high time that the Western nations began to realise that the future of Africa lies with the Africans; for colonial empire is dead and exploitation of the natives is dying.

Something must be done to lessen the tensions in Africa and America should try to free herself from the ties of her European allies, who are branded in Africa with the tar of colonialism. The New York Herald Tribune remarks:

"The United States has done nothing in the African view to lessen the tensions. It does not want to interfere. On the contrary in Algeria—where the sympathies of most African nationalist leaders are with the Arabs —it is closely allied to France and agrees with the U.N. that the rebellion is an internal French matter. When the U.N. complains because the Belgians are flooding back into the Congo (which they deserted at the first

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sign of trouble), the U.S. backs Belgians, its NATO ally. Africans do not like Belgians."

New Orchestration

Going back again to Lincoln's days, the years following the Civil War marked beginning of an industrial revolution, a period that Soviet Russia is just going through, namely, the setting up of the base for an industrial society. During the past century, America has forged ahead in all fields, industrial, scientific and cultural; till at last she came to hold the enviable position of undeniable world leadership at the end of the Second World War. But this high position was soon assailed by the revival of Soviet dynamism and America could not adapt herself fully and speedily to the various outside challenges. Although a highly affluent society, the nation presented a spectacle of a leisure-loving generation in danger of becoming a mediocre Hollywood fable. But the period of relaxation is now over and Mr. Kennedy's role in the coming years is to change this image and to restore the excitement of the idea of America as a vibrant nation, ready to meet her international obligations and play her traditional role as a friend of the weak rather than as a leader of an armed coalition.

The last 30 years have been full of activity in the United States; for the generation of the thirties led by Franklin D. Roosevelt was united in the great war against depression country took the soon which forties when the nation was organised for the war against Hitlerism. Then came the unleashing of individual pursuit of comfort and leisure with the Government playing the watching role of merely manning the levers of currency and credit. If this period of relaxation is compared to an orchestra playing all at once but with no particular melody, the brasses only dominating is it not high time one wonders, that the nation abandons its fiddles and commences the earnest task of orchestration once again under the new era vouchsafed by the inauguration of young President Kennedy.

ROTHAMSTED EXPERIMENTAL STATION The Achievement Of A Chemist

By Dr. S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.Sc., D.Phil. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor, Jhargram Raj College

Rothamsted Experimental Station of England, the oldest and probably the most reputed seat of agricultural research in the world, dates its foundation from 1843, when John Bennet Lawes began his long and fruitful investigations in collaboration with J. H. Gilbert; the famous experiment on the Broadbalk field was then laid down, which carried its 118th continuous wheat crop in 1960.

Lawes, however, had been experimenting on agriculture before this. He had come down from Oxford in 1834 in order to take over his estate at Harpenden (in Hertfordshire in England); he had returned from the university without a degree but with something more useful, and certainly more unusual for that time, an interest in chemistry. Lawes immediately equipped a room in his Manor House as a laboratory

and for a time satisfied his chemical curiosity by trying to extract the active principles of belladona, hemlock, poppies and other drug plants, after growing them in his Home farm. His practical bent of mind, however, soon found a channel in other projects such as trying to find out new methods for the preparation of calome and corrosive sublimate. All those attempts failed, but they left in him an experience that proved useful when he turned his attention to the preparation of agricultural chemicals.

This happened as a result of a neighbour informing him that bones proved a very useful manure for turnips in many fields but were useless in others. As he himself had spent some money on bones without any had spent some money on bones without any success, Lawes pondered over the matter and arrived at a new idea. He had a stock

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of charred bones for which he was trying to and he had also stored preparing chlorine. acid for sulphuric Now he mixed these two to get the fertilizer which to phosphate soluble he gave the name "Super Phosphate of Lime". Tests of growing plants and crops in pots and small plots using this super phosphate gave striking response, particularly with turnips; Lawes confirmed is value through larger field trials in 1841 and patented this process of decomposing substances "phosphatic" with sulphuric acid, thus starting a fertilizer business. Gardener's Chronicle for July 1, 1843, contained the first advertisement for this product.

With the appointment of Gilbert in 1843, a series of systematic field experiments was started by these two pioneers in order to establish the nutritional requirements of different crops; wheat and turnips were taken up first and to these were soon added barley, clover and meadow hay. In many experiments one crop was grown continuously on the same field, with the different plots each receiving its own treatment repeated year after year. Other experiments conformed more to normal agricultural practice, with different crops grown on totation. The crops, soils, manures, rainand drainage water were all regularly and systematically analysed in order to get as good a balance-sheet as possible of the materials added to the soil and their fate,whether they were removed by the crops, lost in the drainage water or left in the soil iself. The same general pattern of treatments, viz., no manure, nitrogen only, minerals only, nitrogen and minerals, farm-Jard manure, was followed in all the experiments. This pattern was, in part, dictated by a controversy of Lawes and Gilbert with the famous German chemist, Justus Von Liebig. Liebig maintaining that plants could get all the nitrogen they needed from the ammonia present in the air. Lawes and Gilbert challenged this idea and soon established from their experiments that the atmospheric supplies of nitrogen were totally inadequate for plants. Some of the experihents started by Lawes and Gilbert are still

continuing; they demonstrate vividly the effects of long-term differences in manuring and provide a series of soils unique in the length of their known history and in the information they carry about the processes of building up and exhausting plant nutrients in soils.

Although best known for their work of manuring of crops, Lawes and Gilbert studied other subjects of interest as diverse as the purification of sewage, effect of malting on the nutrient quality of barley, comparison of white with wholemeal flour, and the advantages and disadvantages of the ensilage process as compared to hay making. Their animal-feeding experiments were specially noteworthy; they established the value of different constituents of the food stuff, proved that the composition of animal bodies changes during growth and fattening, and destroyed the belief that animal fats were formed only from vegetable fat.

For the first twelve years the Rothamsted laboratory was housed in a converted barn; but the practical value of work of Lawes for agriculture was soon appreciated and a new laboratory was built in 1855 from the testimonial fund subscribed by grateful farmers. This remained in use till 1912 when the present new building replaced it. The staff of the station went up by 50 per cent in 1877 with the appointment of R. Warrington who introduced agriculturalists to the importance of soil microbes by establishing that the change of ammonia to nitrate in soils depends on the activities of microorganisms.

The first glorious chapter of Rothamsted ended with Lawes and Gilbert at the end of the 19th century; Lawes died in 1900 and Gilbert followed in 1901. The station, however, got all the inspiration it needed from A.D. Hall, who was appointed Director in 1902; he brought with him a soil chemist, E. J. Russell, who was the Director from 1912 to 1943. After Russell, W. G. Ogg became the Director who again has been succeeded by F. C. Bawden in 1958.

The activities of the station grew and widened under Hall and Russell from the mainly chemical work of the 19th century. With the help of the Government grants,

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made available since 1911, in addition to the funds of the Lawes Agricultural Trust, the staff increased further and in 1914, the departments of Botany, Physics and Soil Microbiology were separated from the original Chemistry Department. The departments of Entomology, Fungicides, Insecticides, Mycology and Statistics were started soon after the First World War. The aims and achievements of the station during this period of development are described in the early editions of Russell's new classic book, Soil Conditions and Plant Growth. The study of bees and of plant viruses and virus diseases were added to the list of the station's activities a few years later. Most of the departments grew in size with the Second World War, and new ones were formed for Pedology (1945), Biochemistry (1947) and Nematology (1947). Rothamsted was chosen as the headquarters of the Soil Survey of England and Wales in 1947, and the station now houses the Commonwealth Bureau of Soils and also accommodates many visiting workers mostly from overseas. The staff of Rothamsted increased from 28 in 1912 to 140 in 1943 and 470 in 1958.

For long the experimental fields of the station amounted to only 50 acres, but the area owned at Rothamsted now totals 600 acres, of which about a half are suitable for experiments. At present there are 3,000 plots at Rothamsted, many others Weburn in Bedford for duplicating on light soils the experiments made on the heavy soils of Rothamsted and others again at the Dunholme Field Station, Lincoln, which is the centre for work on sugar-beet problems. In addition to all these, some experiments are made on other farms in different parts of the country in order to relate the results of field trials to different soil types and climates. Lastly, the nurseries of the U.K. Forestry Commission managed by Rothamsted Experimental Station study nutrient requirements of conifer seedlings and transplantations.

Field experiments constitute the final tests of principles suggested by laboratory or glass house studies, moreover, problems presented by field crops both stimulate

these investigations and keep them relevant to the needs of agriculture. Many of the experiments are still concerned with problems arising out of the use of manures and fertilizers in different kinds of crop; they compare the values of different organic and inorganic manures, test different methods of application, seek the optimum rate and time of application, and study the cumulative residual effects in addition to the immediate responses of the crops to which they are applied. The job of the Statistics Department is to develop experimental designs so that smaller plots can be used, smaller differences measured, validity of results assessed, more treatments compared in one experiment and interactions between treatments measured in addition to their main effects.

Besides crop nutrition, field experiments now extend to a wide variety of problems like the effects of different types of cultivation and rotation on soil structure, crop yields, tilth, weed populations and increasingly. responses to irrigation, and with pests and diseases. Other field trials again assess the economic importance of find their individual pests and diseases, sources and define the conditions of their dangerous development, so that preventive be effectively measures and cures can sought for.

Inside the laboratories of the station more than 200 graduates study problems ranging from X-Ray investigations of clay minerals through variations in the nitrogen-fixing abilities of strains of the clover nodule bacteria, the movement of nematodes in soil, the botanical factors that determine the differences in yield between varieties of plants to the nature of viruses and the various ways these are transmitted by different arthropods. Almost every problem relevant to the growth of healthy crops, except the breeding of new varieties is now studied at the station.

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Yet soil conditions and plant growth fail
to indicate adequately the range of current
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Microbiology and Statistics and the collaboration between workers of different departments. At Rothamsted, physicists, botanists and plant pathologists are working together to study the influence of weather on crop growth and disease outbreaks, biochemists are co-operating with the nematologists to study the nature of the eelworm 'hatching factor' exuded by plant roots, members of the Bees and Insecticides departments are joining hands to determine how current sprays affect pollinating insects, and lastly, statisticians are helping the workers in the other departments through the design and analysis of their experiments. Often the names of the departments fail to fully cover their activities, the Entomology Department, example, studies more than insect pests, the Biochemistry Department tries to produce proteins suitable for human consumption directly from plant leaves and the Statistics Department does more than work on the stations problems,-it helps the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries, National Agricultural Advisory Service and other re:earch stations in the United Kingdom and also many Commonwealth and overseas countries in their work.

Since its birth 118 years ago Rothamsted is ever growing, growing in consistence with progress and efficiency. Scientists in every corner of the world who are interested in the theory and practice of agriculture look forward to Rothamsted for new ideas and inspiration and, thousands of visitors from overseas countries pay their visit of agricultural pilgrimage to the fields, farms and laboratories of Rothamsted. On the occasion of its completing 100 years of existence in 1943 outstanding scientists like S. A. Waksman Paid their tribute to the achievements and W. P. Kelley of Rothamsted and its contribution to the different aspects of agriculture.

station has trained a large number of Indian students like J. K. Bose, P. K. De, M. O. Ghani, S. P. Ray Choudhuri, A. T. Sen, R. V. Tamhane, in the fields of agriculture and soil science. Contributions of the agriculture authorities of Rothamsted like Sir E. J. Russell to agricultural development in India are enormous. In a personal letter to the writer E. J. Russell wrote, "You will have great opportunities for doing work of importance to your countrymen and of interest to yourself. India is by far the most important country in Asia, more advanced than any except, perhaps, Japan, but also confronted with greater difficulties because of its large and increasing population, and its lack of adequate water supply over much of the land. These difficulties present a challenge to the trained and educated section of India's young people. They can be overcome by hard work and enthusiasm, and I trust you may have health and strength to play your part to the utmost of your ability in trying to improve the conditions of life of those of your fellow countrymen who are less fortunately situated than yourself.

"Satisfaction in life comes from what you give rather than what you receive . . . Think of us as friends who wish you well, and always hope that your country may overcome its difficulties and be able to offer a full and happy life to all its people."

Yours very sincerely,

E. John Russell.

The activities and spirit of ceaseless service of Rothamsted Experimental Station now find best expression in the words of its present Director, Mr. F. C. Bawden, "It is idle to look for any panacea or for any permanent solution; the price of healthy crops is eternal vigilance".



THE CRISIS IN LAOS

By R. K. VASIL, MA., Ph.D.

Coexistence was the underlying principle of the Geneva Agreements. And its value depended "on the spirit in which the agreements are carried out by the parties to them "1 Unfortunately in Laos things turned out badly. The Royal government made many concessions and fulfilled all its obligations under the agreements. But the leaders of the Pathet Lao, which is an instrument of world Communist movement, were not willing to accept any settlement which would jeopardize its long term and real interests Laos.

The International Commissions were constituted in the middle of August, 1954 and the one for Laos headed by Dr. J. N. Khosla of India arrived in Vientiane soon afterwards and set itself to the implementation of the accord reached at Geneva. In its first interim report issued on January 15, 1955, the Commission complained that initially transport, language and climatic difficulties hindered its work and later more serious problems arose because of the "vagueness of some of the provisions of the Geneva Agreement".2

the meantime one other important element had entered the Laotian picture though in an indirect way. The "fear of Communist subversion in Laos, Cambodia and Malaya, following the partition of Indo-China" led to the signing of the Manila Pact on September 8, 1954.3 The Pact, establishing the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, was signed by the United States, England, France, Australia, New Zealand. and the Asian signatories, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines. Article 4.1 of the Treaty stated:

"Each party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the Parties or against any State or territory which the Parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would danger its own peace and safety, and agrees that will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes."4

The Treaty further stipulated that:

"In case any of the stipulated areas is threatened in any way other than by armed attack or is affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the Parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defence."5

Then an attached Protocol to the Treaty extended the Treaty area. It stated: "The Parties to the Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty unanimously designate for the purposes of Article 4 of the Treaty the States of Cambodia and Laos and the free territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Vietnam".6 Thus Laos was brought under the protective umbrella of SEATO and the United States with its allies could, when required, step into the Laotian crisis.

In Laos, under the terms of the Geneva Agreement, all French and Vietminh troops were evacuated by November 19, 1954. However, 5,000 French troops were allowed to remain as provided by the Agreement. As a result on February 15, 1955, the Joint Commission, consisting of the representatives of the military commands of the Royal Laotian government, Pathet Lac, the French and the Vietminh, was dissolved and a liaison mission of representatives of the Royal government and the Pathet Lao with the International Commission was established.

However, a political settlement between the Royal Laotian government and the Pathet Lao proved to be a very difficult problem. It took nearly two years of negotiations to arrive at a political settlement, and that too did not prove to be a lasting one. In September negotiations were opened in Vientiane and in these the Royal government was represented by Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma and Defence Minister Varavone P CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Handwar vong l a few cause Vientia also re 25, aft Sasorit

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vong himself came down to Vientiane. But in a few days the negotiations were suspended because of the murder of Kon Varavong in Vientiane. The Souvanna Phouma government also resigned on October 19. And on November 25, after several unsuccessful attempts M. Katay Sasorith formed a coalition government.

From the very start of the negotiations, the two sides stuck to different interpretations of the Geneva Agreement and of an agreement signed at Khang Khay between the two parties towards the end of August, 1954. The Geneva Agreement had provided for twelve assembly areas, one in each province, for the assembly of Palhet Lao units before evacuation. But in the Khang Khay agreement no mention had been made of any assembly areas for the two provinces of Sam Neua and Phongsaly. The Pathet Lao argued that as a result of the later agreement the military and administrative control of these two provinces vested in the hands of the Pathet Lao which already had de facto control over these. As a result they demanded that all Royal troops should be withdrawn from these provinces. On the other hand the Royal government maintained that in these two provinces also the Pathet Lao forces should be withdrawn to assembly areas and the Royal government being in possession of sovereign rights over the whole of Laos could as a right move its troops anywhere in these two provinces.

The situation was a little eased when on November 4, 1954, the Pathet Lao announced that they "recognize the Royal Government and that in principle the administration of 'Pathet Lao' in the two provinces of Sam Neua and Phongsaly is classified under the Supreme Authority of the Royal Government".7 This meant that the Pathet Lao were willing to let the Royal government lake over the administration of the two provinces. But despite this hopeful sign negotiations could not take place because of differences regarding a meeting place. As a consequence, conditions in the provinces worsened and clashes between the Royal troops and the Pathet Lao units Occurred during December, 1954 and March, 1955. Negotiations were finally reopened in January, 1955 and on March 9, an agreement was signed by the two parties under which both called upon their respective forces to stop hostilities.

Negotiations were resumed in April and the Royal government maintained that (i) the provinces of Sam Neua and Phongsaly be placed under the Royal administration, (ii) that in these two provinces also assembly areas be constituted and the Pathet Lao forces be withdrawn thereto, and (iii) that until the general elections in the country were held the Pathet Lao could be given some representation in the administration of the two provinces. However, this was not acceptable to the Pathet Lao at this time. They put forward their own proposals and the talks broke down. The resultant uncertainty once again led to clashes between the forces of the two sides.

In spite of the difficulties at home participated in the Afro-Asian Conference held April, 1955. in Indonesia in During the Conference, it has been reported, at Pandit Nehru's urging Chou En-lai joined him in an informal private meeting with the representatives of Laos, Cambodia and North Vietnam.8 At this meeting both Chou En-lai and Pham Van Dong, Foreign Minister of North Vietnam, gave assurances that they would not interfere in Laos and Cambodia. And the Foreign Minister North Vietnam signed an agreement with the Laotian delegation which declared that:

"The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam considers that the settlement which is due to take place between the Royal Government of Laos and the 'Pathet Lao', by virtue of the Geneva Agreements, is a question of internal order which the Royal Government of Laos and 'Pathet Lao' are entirely free to solve in the best way possible in the higher interests of the country and people of Laos".9

But in spite of this agreement the Vietminh have continued to aid the Pathet Lao both in men and material.

In Laos, after several months of intermittent fighting and talks, negotiations were once again started. These were held in Rangoon, the Burmese capital, under the auspices of the International Commission. The Royal delegation was led by Prime Minister Katay Sasorith and the Pathet Lao delegation by Souphanouvong. On October 11, a cease-fire was concluded and it was

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decided that negotiations regarding the transfer of the two provinces to Royal administration and the arrangements for the elections to be held throughout the country be continued Vientiane. The talks were duly resumed in Vientiane and during the talks the Pathet Lao delegation maintained that the integration of the two provinces in the Royal administration should be effected only after a political settlement. At the same time it proposed certain changes in the electoral system. These proposals were rejected by the Royal government which maintained that it was not possible to make any changes in the electoral system as that would mean a change in the electoral law which the National Assembly only was competent to effect. Thus, on Novemmer 9, the talks came to an end. And the Royal government informed the International Commission that the Royal government would go ahead with the elections without the participation the Pathet Lao.

The general elections were held on the Christmas day of 1955 in the ten provinces under the control of the Royal government and in certain areas of the two provinces of Sam Neua and Phongsaly which were controlled by the Royal troops. The elections were on the whole peaceful and the Royal government claimed that despite the Pathet Lao call for a boycott of the elections some 80 per cent of the people had participated. In the elections for the 39 seats of the National Assembly the final party position emerged as follows: National Progressive Party, 21; Independent Party, Democrats, 3; National Union Party, 2; and non-party candidates, 5. Following the elections, on February 13, 1956, the new National Assembly was convened and the government of M. Katay Sasorith resigned. After several attempts both by M. Katay Sasorith and Prince Souvanna Phouma, the latter was able to form a government on March 21, 1956.

Prince Souvanna Phouma, after assuming the Prime Ministership, arranged resumption of negotiations. On August 1, Prince Souphanouvong arrived in Vientiane for talks with the new Prime Minister. And on August 5, an agreement between the two leaders was signed. It is interesting to note the rapidity with which this agreement was concluded. Here it

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the transfer could further be noticed that the Pathet Lao leadership was willing to reach a settlement only when the neutralist Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma was in power. So far, as well as later, concluded when Prince all agreements were Souvanna Phouma was the Prime Minister.

August 5, agreement was the most important one after the Geneva Agreement, Besides other provisions the agreement provided that the provinces of Sam Neua and Phongsalv would be brought under the Royal administration: the Pathet Lao forces would be integrated in the Royal army and pending their integration the troops of the two sides would retain their present positions and would not increase their strength in men or armaments; two mixed commissions, civil and military, would work out detailed arrangements for the transfer of Sam Neua and Phongsaly to governmental control and the integration of Pathet Lao in army and civilian life; elections would be held on the basis of adult suffrage and secret ballot to increase the number of seats in the National Assembly from 39 to 60; a government of National Union would be formed in which the Pathet Lao would have representation. Further it was decided that in foreign affairs the Laotian government would pursue a policy of neutrality, adhere to the "Five Principles of Co-Existence", and maintain good relations with all countries. And Laos would not join any military alliance, nor authorize any military bases on Laotian territory except those provided for in the Geneva Agreement.

Soon after the conclusion of the agreement Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Prime Minister, catisfied with his achievement and eager to impress upon others the genuineness of his neutrality, visited Peking, where he signed an agreement with the Chinese government realfirm ing Laotian neutrality. On his return journey he stopped at Hanoi and signed a similar declar ation with Ho Chi Minh.

Negotiations to implement the August 5. agreement were started in September. Initially there was disagreement over the question if the government of National Union should be formed elections, were before the on December 31, 1956, in a National Assembly held. However. Prime joint statement issued by

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Souvanna Phouma and Prince Souphanouvong, it was announced that shortly a government of National Union would be formed and the transfer of the two provinces to Royal administration and the integration of the Pathet Lao into the national community would be effected. However, in March, 1957, there was trouble over the implementation of the 31st December agreement. The Pathet Lao had been pressing the Royal government to accept a \$70,000,000 aid from China and it was believed that the Pathet Lao had made its acceptance a condition for the implementation of the earlier agreement. this aid offer was rejected by the Royal government on the grounds that acceptance would, firstly, strengthen the position of the Pathet Lao and, secondly, it would bring into the country a large number of Chinese technicians which might create serious difficulties.

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During this time the position of the neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma was weakening within the country. The pressure of the right wing elements was mounting. These must have been getting fed up of the prolonged negotiations with Pathet Lao. On May 29, the National Assembly passed a vote of no confidence against the Souvanna Phouma government and as a result the government resigned on May 30. Before passing the no confidence motion the National Assembly had, however, approved the December, 31, agreement.

Though the right wing elements were able to oust Prince Souvanna Phouma they were not united enough to form a government of their own. A cabinet crisis continued for over two months. And on August 9, Prince Souvanna Phouma once again formed a government. Now, with his strengthened position, Souvanna Phouma was willing to concede more to the Pathet Lao than it had been possible for him earlier. Negotiations were renewed and on October 23, and Souphanouvong. The more important prosions of the agreement were as follows:

1. The Pathet Lao units would be taken in the Royal Army as far as finances would permit.

- 2. Pathet Lao "civil servants" would be absorbed in the Kingdom's administrative service as far as possible.
- 3. The Royal government recognized the Neo Lao Haksat party, the political wing of Pathet Lao, as a legal party and agreed to its participation in the elections.
- 4. It accepted the formation of a government of National Union in which representatives of the Pathet Lao would be included.
- 5. The Royal government agreed to accept foreign aid from any source provided it did not commit the Royal government politically or militarily.
- 6. The Pathet Lao agreed to place the two provinces of Sam Neua and Phongsaly under Royal government's administration.

The Agreement was approved by the National Assembly on November 2, and on November 18, the administration of the two provinces was formally handed over by the Pathet Lao to the Royal government. On the same day Souvanna Phouma presented a new ten-member cabinet including two representatives of the Pathet Lao, to the National Assembly. The leader of the Pathet Lao, Souphanouvong, was given the Planning portfolio in the new cabinet. The National Union cabinet was immediately given a vote of confidence by the National Assembly. This government remained in office until July 22, 1958, and during this time it was able to hold the elections for the National Assembly.

The elections, to fill twenty seats in the National Assembly (earlier it had been decided to expand the Assembly in order to make it more important proper as follows:

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The elections, to fill twenty seats in the National Assembly (earlier it had been decided to expand the Assembly in order to make it more representative) and to elect another member in place of one who had recently died, were held in early May, 1958. The Neo Lao Haksat (Patriotic Front of Laos) won 9 out of the 21 seats. Out of the remaining 12 seats, 8 were captured by the "National Unity Front" of CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

and 4 seats went to the Santiphab Party, now a neutralist group inclined towards the left.11

Soon after the elections, on May 24, the Prime Minister informed the Chairman of the International Commission that the elections having been completed, he felt that the Commission's work had been finished. He maintained that the Royal government had fulfilled its obligations under the Geneva Agreement and therefore there was nothing more for the International Commission to do in the country. Under these circumstances on July 19, the Commission decided by a majority vote of the Canadian and Indian members to adjourn the Commission for an member of the indefinite period. The Polish against this Commission formally protested decision. The Commission, with its staff, left Laos towards the end of July, 1958.

Comments by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden in the British House of Commons. Quoted in Conflict in Indo-China and International Repercussions, A Documentary History, p. 186.

2. Quoted in Russell H. Fifield, The Diplomacy of Southeast Asia, p. 347. Prime

Minister Nehru stated in the Lok Sabha on March 31, 1955: "In Laos there are difficulties over the Geneva Agreement, which is interpreted in various ways. It was drafted in such a hurry that it can be interpreted in various ways." Ouoted in Conflict in Indo-China, p. 235.

3. Ralph Braibanti, "The Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty", Pacific Affairs, Vol.

XXX, No. 4, p. 323.

Quoted in Conflict in Indo-China, p. 178.

5. Ibid., p. 179. 6. Ibid., p. 180.

Fifield, op. cit., p. 349.

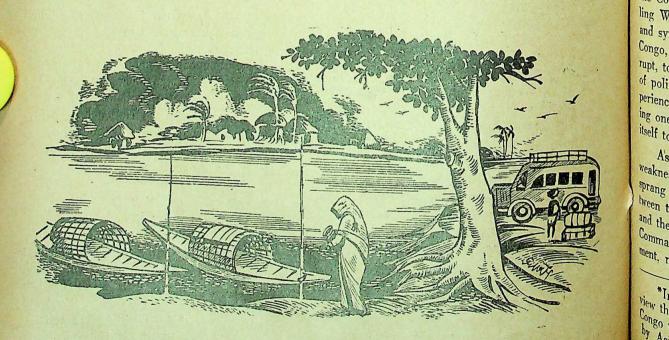
8. George McTurnan Kahin, The Asian-African Conference, p. 26.

9. Quoted in Ibid., p. 27.

10. National Liberty Front was a loose organisation of some of the right wing and centre parties usually supporting the policies of Souvanna Phouma. The following parties were associated with the Front: the Independents, a right wing party led by M. Phoui Sananikone; the Democrats led by M. Katay Sasorith, a strong opponent of the Pathet Lao; and the Nationalists, the party of Souvanna Phouma.

11. The party already held 8 seats in the National Assembly and earlier had collaborated

with the Neo Lao Haksat.



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5. Where the U.N. Failed

By CHANAKYA' SEN

In the history of the United Nations nothing has proved to be more controversial than the role the world organization has been playing in the Congo. The intervention began on familiar lines and the Security Council, by deciding to send a force to help the constitutionally established Government of the Congo to restore law and order and secure the withdrawal of Belgian troops, acted in the light of experience already gained and assignments already fulfilled.

have been averted. Gone also was the time when the United Nations could be employed, despite Soviet opposition, as an instrument of the international policies of the Western camp. The role which the United Nations could play in Korea could not be repeated in the Congo. But the principal weakness of the world organization emanated from the unpreparedness of a majority of its members to see it develop into an effective international situ-

But as the tragic drama in the Congo unfolded with bewildering rapidity it became apparent that the intervention contemplated in the early days of July was far from equal to the tasks involved. If these tasks were to be accomplished, the U.N. Command and the U.N. force were to be invested with an entirely new role and with powers which the world organization had not exercised anywhere in its fifteen years of existence. It would amount to a departure from conventions not only well-established but deeply valued by member-states. In the triangular conflict that was going on in the Congo, the parties being Belgium backed by the West with its extensive financial and strategic interests in the Congo, the Soviet Union bent upon dismantling Western interests and securing the support and sympathy of the African population, and the Congo, administratively and economically bankrupt, torn by civil strife and by a quarrelling set of politicians, the United Nations found by experience that it could hardly act without offending one or more of the parties and thus exposing itself to serious attacks and weaknesses.

As we have already noted, one of the basic weaknesses of the United Nations in the Congo sprang from the total lack of co-operation between the two Great Powers. If the United States Command in the accomplishment of its assignment, many of the tragedies in the Congo might

United Nations could be employed, despite Soviet opposition, as an instrument of the international policies of the Western camp. The role which the United Nations could play in Korea could not be repeated in the Congo. But the principal weakness of the world organization emanated from the unpreparedness of a majority of its members to see it develop into an effective international force which could operate in given international situations even in supercession of national eignty and prerogatives carefully reserved sovereign states. One basic question was about civil strife. Could the United Nations intervene in civil war in a country which is essentially an internal matter? In the Congo, Mr. Hammarskjoeld began by attempting to make a difference between law and order and internal political or constitutional quarrels. He failed. He was reluctant to admit (and in this he was strongly supported by the Western countries) that internal troubles of the Congo were an integral part of the diabolical designs of Belgium to keep the country under its thraldom even after independence. Mr. Hammarskjoeld refused to help the Central Government of the Congo in July to establish its authority over the dissident province of Katanga. He was legalistically correct. But was a fatal decision which immediately weakened the authority of the Central Government, compelled the United Nations to establish relations with the separatist regime in Katanga, thwarted every move to restore the Congo's integrity and safeguard its independence.

Similarly, Mr. Hammarskjoeld strove to keep clear of the constitutional controversies within the Congo. Here again, he was legally correct and most member-countries of the U.N. shared his feeling that the United Nations should be no party to constitutional and political conflicts within a country. But in the Congo, the frontiers between external and internal problems had disappeared and constitutional and political quarrels were only different aspects of a larger and more complicated problem. The very fact that the United Nations had ultimately to arrive

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In his next article Chanakya Sen will re-Congo with particular reference to the role played by Asian-African countries.—Editor, M. R.

at costly and painful decisions to intervene with force to stop civil strife in the Congo and to exercise its influence to put an end to political controversies showed that the problems it had to face in the Congo had no precedent whatever. But these decisions were reached too late, after mauled badly had been Congo decapitated, after its nationalism suffered a disastrous calamity in the murder of Mr. Lumumba and after it had reached complete political and economic bankruptcy. When these decisions were taken it became quite apparent that for many years to come the Congo would need the prosuccour of the United Nations tection and although it was by no means certain whether the world body was in a position to extend effective remedies without itself facing grave problems of organization, ideology and finance.

As we have seen, the appeal for U.N. help was made by President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba in a joint cable to Mr. Hammarskjoeld on the 12th of July, 1960, after Belgium had intervened with force following the outbreak of the mutiny in the Congolese army. The appeal for U.N. help coincided with another important development—the declaration of "independence" by the Government of Katanga, with full Belgian consent, though not open support. In fact, the very idea of Katanga's independence originated either in Brussels or with the powerful Belgian business interests in Elisabethville, and Mr. Tshombe, with his record of faithful service to Belgian vested interests, merely acted as a mirror of the truncated political aspirations of Belgian colonialists financial magnates. As the Security Council held its first meeting on July 14, at Mr. Hammarskjoeld's request to consider his own proposal to send a force to the Congo, the Katanga conspiracy gathered strength and developed into full-throated challenge to the United Nations. Thus the character of the Congo crisis took shape from the very beginning of U.N. action, and as months passed, the U.N. was destined to face defiance of its authority from various sources, notably from Katanga and Brussels. It had also to face the growing disappointment of the Government at whose request it intervened in the Congo.

There was no opposition from any quarter to Mr. Hammarskjoeld's proposal to send troops

to the Congo or to the manner in which he decided to organize the force. By suggesting that the force should consist entirely of troops from independent African countries in the first instance he showed remarkable statesmanship and was able to win the admiration and co-operation of the newly independent African states that were watching the developments in the Congo with serious concern. The resolution that was adopted on July 14, called upon Belgium to withdraw its troops from the Congo and authorized Mr. Hammar. skioeld to set up a U.N. military force to deal with the crisis. The U.N. assistance was to be given to the Congolese Government in Leopoldville. The integrity and sovereignty of the Congo were to be upheld and no member of the United Nations should do anything which might weaken either. Nor was any member to give assistance to the Congo outside the United Nations.

The resolution adopted had been put forward by Tunisia. The Soviet Union had asked for condemnation of Belgium for armed aggression against the Congo Republic and had demanded the immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops. The Soviet Union had also stipulated that military assistance should be supplied by the states alone. The Soviet amendments to the main resolution were rejected and when the vote was taken, there was none against the Tunisian draft Eight countries voted in favour and three abstained-Britain, France and 'Nationalist' China voted for the The Soviet Union and Poland So did the United States. resolution.

Mr. Hammarskjoeld who was highly pleased at the decision of the Council had a more or less clear mandate. The Council did not call for an immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops in view of the chaotic conditions prevailing in the Congo There was general agreement that Belgian troops could not withdraw without leaving the European population to grave risks until they were replaced effectively The by U.N. troops. General's mandate was to take steps in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo, to provide it with military help. to secure the withdrawal of Belgian troops and to safeguard the independence and integrity of the country.

As Mr. Hammarskjoeld began to organize the first units of the U.N. force, opposition to

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Security Council's resolution came from Katanga and Brussels. Mr. Tshombe immediately declared that he would not allow the U.N. troops to enter his province. The Belgian military commander in Katanga, Col. Weber, announced that he was ready to carry out Mr. Tshombe's orders. The Belgian Government also criticized the Security Council for ignoring the "independence" Katanga province.

Mr. Hammarskjoeld got his first soldiers from Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Tunisia. U.N. Command in the Congo was to be under a Swedish General, Van Horn, who had experience of a similar assignment in Palestine. But the very fact that the troops were coming from within the African continent was a recognition of the growing importance of Africa in world affairs and of what Mr. Hammarskjoeld described a few months later as "the well-established

reality of African solidarity". By the time Mr. Hammarskjoeld made his first report to the Security Council he had, however, decided to accept troops from outside Africa. This was one of his acts which invited a forceful volley of Soviet criticism in the later months. In his report the Secretary-General said, the U.N. force was being rapidly built up; he had asked twenty-seven countries for assistance and the response had been generous. He attached little importance to the opposition to the United Nations that was building up in Katanga and of troop reinforcements from Belgium even after the passage of the Security Council resolution. The Congo Government, and especially Mr. Lumumba, were pressing for the quickest possible withdrawal of the Belgian troops, leaving no doubt that this was the main lask they expected the United Nations to perform. Mr. Lumumba was not prepared to depend entirely upon the United Nations unless it was able to give a demonstration of its capacity to act quickly. In the next few days the U.N. Command under Mr. Hammarskjoeld's guidance evolved a phased programme to carry out its mandate. The first priority was given to Occupation by U.N. troops of all major towns in Leopoldville and other provinces except Katanga. This Would be followed up by securing Belgian withdrawal, and then would come the question of the political status of Katanga.

The build-up of the U.N. force was rather slow at the beginning. Till July 26, only nine thousand troops had joined it, an obviously inadequate number for the fulfilment of the tasks Difficulties in the matter of transportation of troops were given as the main reason for the slow build-up, but many people thought, there was scope for more energetic efforts in the first crucial days.

The Security Council held its second meeting on July 20, again at Mr. Hammarskjoeld's request. A week had passed since the first meeting and not only Belgium had not withdrawn its troops but it had sent considerable reinforcements to Katanga, where the situation was far from reassuring from the U.N. point of view. Council met to the background of Mr. Lumumba's, persistent demand, backed by the Soviet Union, and the Afro-Asian powers, for the immediate withdrawal of all Belgian personnel. The question of Katanga also loomed large. Mr. Hammarskioeld made a categorical statement that in his view U.N. troops were entitled to go anywhere in the Congo, including the province of Katanga, and he added, "We are at the turn of the road to Africa and in the present circumsances Africa may well mean the world".

this time adopted a joint The Council Ceylon-Tunisian resolution which called "speedy" withdrawal of the Belgian troops, reiterated the Congo's independence and territorial integrity and repeated its appeal to all countries not to intervene in the Congo situation outside Western correspondents the United Nations. immediately pointed out that the Council's resolution left the Congo situation unchanged, it set no limit for the withdrawal of the Belgian troops and it amounted to leaving the Secretary-General free to measure the developments and take proper steps.

Mr. Lumumba had expressed his desire to take part in the Council's debate. At first his request for a postponement of the discussion was ignored. It was explained that in any case he would be in New York before the Council ended its debate. However, transport difficulties arose and the Prime Minister of the Congo was unable to get a plane to take him to New York. By the time he was able to arrive at U.N. Headquarters, debate was over. He conferred with

State Department in Washington.

Mr. Hammarskjoeld the meantime, announced his decision to visit the Congo for a personal stock-taking. He, however, travelled to the Congo by way of Brussels where he attended several meetings of the Belgian Cabinet and discussed the Congo situation with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Belgium. At this time the Finance Minister of the Katanga Government, Mr. Kibwe, was one of the senior Katanga politicians basking in Brussels, while other Katanga representatives went to Paris to The crucial cultivate the French Government. question at the time was whether Mr. Hammarskjoeld would send U.N. troops to Katanga on the authority of the Central Government and the Security Council, ignoring Katangese opposition and bellicosity. Even before the Secretary-General arrived in Brussels, Mr. Tshombe was able to announce on July 26, that he had "received guarantee that U.N. troops would not enter his province"; he declined to say who had given him the undertaking.

Mr. Hammarskjoeld arrived in Leopoldville on July 27. The situation in the Congo was at this time rather hopeful. The first phase of the U.N. emergency operation had been completed. The main cities had been occupied by the U.N. troops and the ground was now prepared for the evacuation of Belgian soldiers. Mr. Lumumba was away and Mr. Hammarskjoeld conferred with President Kasavubu and other Congolese leaders. As a result of these talks certain decisions were reached about Katanga obviously based on U.N. entry into the province. The situation was electric all over the Congo. On July 29, was announced the decision to withdraw fifteen hundred Belgian troops from the Congo immediately, still leaving more than eight thousand of them in that country. There was a great deal of nervousness in Katanga, which increased almost to fever pitch when, two days later, Mr. Hammarskjoeld announced that agreement with the Central Government had been reached on a programme for U.N. penetration into Katanga. A Congolese commission was set up to carry out the resolution of the Security Council; it would have six members and it would be presided over by Mr. Lumumba or his nominee. The Congo

Secretary-General and later with officials of the Information Minister told newsmen on July 30 that in their discussions with Mr. Hammarskjoeld the Congolese leaders had insisted on the des. patch of U.N. troops to Katanga and he recalled already stated that Mr. Hammarskjoeld had categorically that he regarded Katanga as an integral part of the Congo Republic.

On August 1, Mr. Hammarskjoeld announced that U.N. troops would fly into Katanga "within this week". The Belgian Government immediately issued a warning that the United Nations would have to face the consequences of its own action, Mr. Hammarskjoeld postponed his departure for South Africa and announced over Leopoldville Radio that U.N. troops would enter Katanga by the end of the week and in the meantime his Special Assistant, Dr. Ralph Bunche, would begin negotiations about the withdrawal troops to their bases as the first step towards complete implementation of the Security Council's resolutions about Katanga.

In Katanga, Mr. Tshombe ordered general mobilization and threatened to oppose the entry of U.N. troop by force. Western correspondents reported that Mr. Hammarskioeld's announcement "shocked the European and alarmed" population in Katanga. Tension arose in the province. In spite of Mr. Tshombe's threats, however, it was quite apparent at this stage that he was in no position to offer any resistance to U.N. troops. A British pondent reported from Elisabethville "although Mr. Tshombe and his Ministers are in a tough and angry mood and apparently mean business, they have slender means to fight with Mr. Tshombe's troops—remnants Publique which mutinied three weeks numbered only a few hundred men and their military efficiency is open to question, if not their loyalty".

Hectic diplomatic activity was going on in Mr. Kibwe, the Katanga Minister, put forward a suggestion in Brussels that Mr. Hammarskjoeld should on August 4, mission to Katanga to discuss lead a civilian with Mr. government the Tshombe's question of U.N. "presence" in the province Before making this announcement telephone talk with Mr. Tshombe. The plan had obvious Belgian approval. It provided for the

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Central Government; permission for Belgian goops to remain in the service of the Katanga authorities, and lastly U.N.'s recognition to Katanga's claim to "independence". It was at this crucial moment that Mr.

Manmarskjoeld changed his mind. What exactly afluenced the reversal of his earlier decision las not been told. He must have been well aware hat Mr. Tshombe had no effective means of pposing the entrance of U.N. troops. Most prohably he was just bluffing and the U.N. could asily have called his bluff. A show of force by the U.N. at this stage would have had an electric ffect on the whole Congo situation. It might have compelled Mr. Tshombe to surrender. bastened the withdrawal of Belgians, established he integrity of the Congo Republic, and satisfied Mrican sentiments in and outside the Congo.

Mr. Hammarskjoeld had already sent the first units of the U.N. force to Kasai from where bey were to go into Katanga. Dr. Ralph Bunche was despatched to Elisabethville for talks with he Katanga authorities about deployment of U.N. Toops. Mr. Tshombe made a demonstration of bree by closing the airfield. Dr. Bunche was ulmately able to land and the talks he had with Ir. Tshombe apparently changed the entire tourse of U.N. operation in the Congo. He remed to Leopoldville to confer with Mr. Hammar-Goeld. The Secretary-General, a few hours before M. force were to land at Elisabethville, called the operation and referred the whole matter to the Security Council. Mr. Lumumba was that time in Accra on his way back to Leopoldhe from visits to a number of Western and African countries.

When the Security Council met on August 6, Hammarskjoeld asked for fresh instructions allow him to carry out the Council's earlier re-Mulion. He said, it was not possible to send U.N. toops into Katanga without the use of force and hlout bloodshed. The Katanga situation was an political problem and it was not possible thin to go beyond the U.N. principle of neuby in such an essentially domestic matter. For troops to take the military initiative and Katanga, the Council must either change the hands by breaking and CC-0. In Public Bomain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

despatch of a purely "symbolic" U.N. force to character of the U.N. or resort to other methods. despatch of the U.N. or resort to other methods. complete U.N. non-interference in Mr. Hammarskjoeld sought to make a difference lations between the province and the between the between the province and the between the political relations between the province and the between the presence of U.N. troops in Katanga and U.N. interference in the Congo's domestic political quarrels. He said, the Council must devise a method by which there could be a U.N. force in Katanga without constituting an intervention by the world body in the Congo's internal putes.

> The significance of Mr. Hammarskjoeld's report has to be noted. The idea that there should be U.N. "presence" in Katanga without interfering in the dispute over the province's independence had originated in Brussels and was already acceptable to Mr. Tshombe. It was Katanga's threat to break away from the Congo and to defy the authority of the Central Government that had complicated the Congolese problem and it was doubtful if the dispute was an entirely domestic one. It was clear to everybody that Katanga's "independence" would not last a day without Belgian support; Mr. Tshombe's political ambitions had been manufactured in Brussels and in conference rooms of the foreign business mansions in Elisabethville. His only strength lay in the backing he got from Belgium. His political and military advisers were Belgian and his army was officered by Belgians. Mr. Hammarskjoeld apparently ignored this most important aspect of Katanga's so-called independence and he regarded it as a purely internal problem while it was actually a part of the bigger Belgian design against the Congo. As President Nkrumah commented even while the Security Council was in session. Mr. Tshombe would not last one minute if Belgian troops left the province; Mr. Tshombe's utterances had about as much validity as those of the former King of the Belgians under the Nazi occupation.

On August 8, Mr. Hammarskjoeld complained before the Security Council that he had not received adequate co-operation in the fulfilment of his mission either from Belgium or from the Central Government of the Congo or from the Katanga authorities. He blamed Mr. Tshombe for refusing entry of U.N. troops and the Central Government for showing impatience and distrust. He admonished various governments who threatened to take the matter into their hands by breaking away from the U.N. force and

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vince. ad a B had or the pursuing their own policies. This was a reference to Ghana and Guinea who had threatened to send troops to fight their way into Katanga and had been supported by the Soviet Union.

In the Security Council the Soviet Union attacked Mr. Hammarskjoeld forcefully for his decision about Katanga and held that it was in clear violation of the letter and spirit of the Council's resolutions. After an acrimonious debate the Council adopted a joint Ceylon-Tunisian resolution which offered a compromise. For the first time it called for the immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops, a concession to African and Soviet demands; at the same time, it upheld Mr. Hammarskjoeld's interpretation of the Council resolutions and asked the U.N. force not to interfere in the Congo's constitutional and internal problems. "

The immediate repercussion in the Congo was, perhaps, the most eloquent comment on Mr. Hammarskjoeld's decision. Mr. Tshombe was in a triumphant mood and Western correspondents said that this man who had almost given up hope of maintaining Katanga's independence, now realized that in order to get what he wanted, he had only to appear "tough". From now on it was Mr. Tshombe who counted in the manner of U.N. operation in Katanga, and not Mr. Lumumba who expressed in vain his disappointment and indignation at Mr. Hammarskjoeld's action. Not only in Katanga but also in Leopoldville, separatist elements got a fillip as soon as the Security Council virtually recognized Katanga's right to self-determination. The Abako party of Mr. Kasavubu held a demonstration in Leopoldville demanding a confederation and when Mr. Lumumba returned to the capital on August 10, he was surrounded by hostile Congolese, one of whom struck him in his face. Separatist movements gathered strength in Kasai and in other provinces. Differences grew between Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Lumumba, differences which proved to be disastrous for the Congo a few weeks later. Thus Mr. Hammarskjoeld's single action on a fateful Saturday dealt a blow to the integrating forces in the Congo.

Two days after the passage of the Security Council resolution Mr. Tshombe was declared "head of state" of the Katanga province. An element of blackmail entered the Congolese situa-

Eyskens, told correspondents that Belgium's military position in N.A.T.O. would have to be entirely reviewed. His country, he said, had spen about twenty-five million pounds on N.A.T.0. bases in the Congo which would now have to be abandoned. The loss of these bases would also gravely threaten the future of Ruanda-Urundi, the trust territories bordering the Congo which Belgium administered.

When U.N. troops were sent to Katanga towards the middle of August, another concession was made to Mr. Tshombe. He had refused to accept troops from several African countries and had specifically asked for European soldiers, Mr. Hammarskjoeld decided to pick his first unit for Katanga from Swedish troops. On August 11, Mr. Tshombe was able to declare that he was "willing" to accept the arrival of two companies of U.N. soldiers whom he would regard as Mr. Hammarskjoeld's "bodyguard". "If we accept U.N. troops it is because we feel we have received satisfaction."

Mr. Lumumba had not given up hope. He had still a tremendous hold on the rest of the Congo and was confident that he could restore order in Kasai and march his own Congolese troops into Katanga. He received assurances of support from Ghana and Guinea. Mr. Hammarattitude skjoeld adopted a neutral Lumumba's moves. In a report to the Security Council on August 12, he said, it was not the job of the U.N. force to interfere in the dispute be tween Mr. Tshombe and the Central Government The U.N. force must not be used on behalf of the Central Government against the Katanga author rities. It could not transport any Central Govern ment troops or representatives to Katanga, nor would offer them any protection. But the U.N. could not stop the Central Government from do ing anything on its own about Katanga as long as it was in accordance with the United National Charter. This limitation on the duties of the U.N. force applied equally to the Katanga Government in its relations with Mr. Lumumba. If either Mr. Tshombe or Mr. Lumumba challenged this interpretation of the Security Council he would refer the matter back to the Council for a ruling. Secretary-General took a neutral attitude between the Katanga Government, backed fully by tion. In Brussels, the Belgian Prime Minister, Mr. gium, and the Central Government headed by

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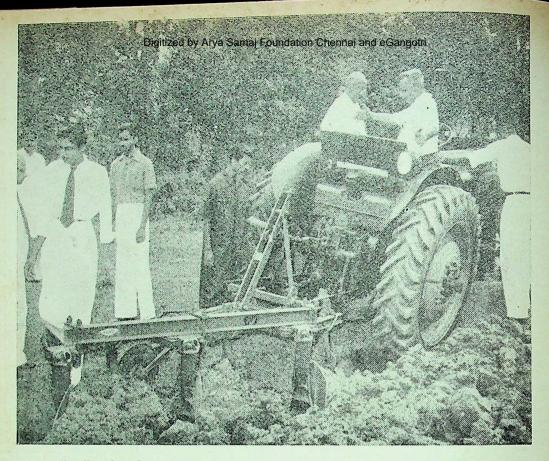
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Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II visiting the West Bengal Pavilion at the National Agriculture Fair in Calcutta



Lady Carrington discusses ome painting kan frame Ntiro Helio Tanganyika, at the opening of the joint Commonwealth Societies' Art Exhibition in London



Dr. R. Ahmed inspecting the work of a Soviet Tractor at Belghoria



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were already on a breaking point. In subsequent weeks when Mr. Lumumba was

about to succeed in sending troops into Katanga, be not only did not receive any U.N. backing, but he failed in the face of a huge conspiracy in which Belgium, several foreign countries and "federalist" Congolese leaders played a joint role.

The deployment of U.N. troops in Katanga and the corresponding withdrawal of Belgian soldiers were now decided by the U.N. Command in Elisabethville in consultation with Mr. Tshombe. The Belgians agreed to withdraw their soldiers into the two vast military bases in Katanga and they expected the Security Council to be satisfied with this. Mr. Lumumba offended Mr. Hammarskjoeld at this stage by describing him as a "puppet" of the Belgians. From now for a little over a month his efforts were concentrated on sending his own troops into Katanga.

A Katanga newspaper reported on August 13, that Mr. Tshombe was entirely satisfied with the results of his negotiations with Mr. Hammarskjoeld. The Katanga leader himself told a reporter of the newspaper that except for technical details all his conditions for accepting the presence of U.N. troops had been acknowledged. He said, the Katanga soldiers and police would retain their arms and the Katanga security forces would carry out all police tasks. Katanga's authority in security matters remained total and conditional and the U.N. troops were there only to assure security of lives and property. Tshombe added that there was no need for Belgians or other Europeans to leave Katanga. Western correspondents reported that the come of Mr. Hammarskjoeld's discussions Mr. Tshombe was something of a triumph for the Katanga leader. "The U.N. troops will not interlere in the internal affairs of the province Mr. Tshombe's own troops are controlling entry points into Katanga, which means they can keep Mr. Lumumba's men out".

Relations between Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Hammarskjoeld fast deteriorated. The Secretary-General was now in direct correspondence with Mr. Kasavubu. He received two letters from Mr. lumumba which made him angry. Mr. Lumumba said in his letters that the Secretary-General had interpreted his mandate in a unilateral and equimanner. He had ignored the Congo Govern- changed between the CC-0. In Public Bomain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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Lumumba with whom his own personal relations ment and had acted in collusion with Belgium. "You have made yourself a party to the conflict and the Government and people of Congo have lost confidence in you." Mr. Lumumba said, he would ask the Security Council to send a team of neutral Afro-Asian observers to ensure that the Council's resolutions were carried out.

> Mr. Hammarskjoeld in his reply for the first time publicly hinted at a difference within the Congolese Cabinet. "I suppose your letters have been approved by your Council of Ministers and that you have told them of my replies. I have nothing further to add."

Back in New York, U.N. diplomats watched the Congo situation with growing dismay. Gone was the basis on which the U.N. operation had begun. The U.N. had sent a force in response to an urgent call by the Central Government of the Congo. With that Government the Secretary-General's relations had almost broken down. The Prime Minister who had asked for U.N. assistance had now expressed no-confidence in Secretary-General. Could he demand withdrawal of the U.N. force? U.N. "pundits" came forward to explain that he could not. Once the Security Council had taken over the Congo mission it was not responsible to the Congo Government but only to itself and to the U.N. General Assembly. Mr. Hammarskjoeld was on his way to New York to report afresh to the Security Council. British newspapers said that it was now realized that the entire U.N. operation in the Congo was jeopardized.

Hammarskjoeld turned down Lumumba's request to postpone his departure for twenty-four hours so that a Congolese delegation could accompany him to the Security Council.

Arriving in New York Mr. Hammarskjoeld conferred with various delegates, while clashes broke out in Leopoldville between Congolese troops and white soldiers of the U.N. force. The U.N. reacted with exemplary decision. It took over the Leopoldville airfield. The meaning of this measure became clear in the weeks immediately following.

Mr. Lumumba accused Mr. Hammarskjoeld of deliberately exaggerating the clash and for using it as a pretext to deny him the use of the airfield. From now on several protests were to be exchanged between the Congolese Prime Minister

two unequals. Mr. Hammarskjoeld also took exception to the behaviour of Ghanaian troops in the Congo, but it was no longer possible for him to maintain Dr. Ralph Bunche as his special representative in the Congo. He was replaced by Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal, of India.

The Security Council met again on August 21. Mr. Hammarskjoeld in his address dealt with the differences between him and Mr. Lumumba. He justified his interpretation of the Council's resolution and particularly his refusal to use U.N. troops to interfere in the dispute between the He said, the Central Government and Katanga. allegations made against him by Mr. Lumumba were unprecedented. They created a most delicate situation in which the very dignity of the United Nations had sometimes been put in question. He had been forced to act with great firmness but he believed that he had never failed courtesy. He asked for co-operation from quarters and announced that he would welcome an Advisory Committee on the Congo to formed by countries that were contributing to the U.N. force. Mr. Hammarskjoeld said, he expected that in less than a week the last Belgian troops would have left the Congo.

A bitter debate raged in the Security Council. Mr. Hammarskjoeld was the target of attack by the Soviet Union and also by the Congolese delegation. He was sharply criticized by Ghana, Guinea and several other countries who were permitted to speak in the debate as interested parties. Intervening in the debate, Mr. Hammarskjoeld repeated his earlier policy: "We will not raise any resistance to any move by the Central Government to establish its authority in Katanga but we cannot lend our active support." He said he was assured that all Belgian troops would have been withdrawn from the Congo within eight days: Mr. Hammarskjoeld's stand actually meant that the U.N. could take no active part in establishing the integrity of the Congo state. This was part of each and every resolution adopted so far by the Security Council.

The Council adopted no further resolutions Council was no longer in a position to arrive

and the U.N. Secretary-General, a fight between positive decisions. The Congo problem had tered a tangled deadlock.

Meanwhile, in the Congo itself, separatist movements were gaining strength, but Mr. Lumumba kept on exerting to establish the authority of the Central Government in Kasai and Katanga. Within forty-eight hours of the Security Council meeting Mr. Tshombe openly incited Congolese troops to rise against Mr. Lumumha He had trouble in his own backyard. Pro-Lumumba tribesmen in Katanga were becoming restive. There were demonstrations against him and his Belgian-backed government. There was confusion in Leopoldville also. Mr. Lumumba had called an African Summit Conference there on August 25. Western correspondents went on reporting that it would never be held. When Foreign Ministers from several African countries did assemble for the opening of the conference there was an anti-Lumumba demonstration and as the Congolese Prime Minister addressed the delegates the police fired in the air to disperse a hostile crowd. Mr. Kasavubu made a mysterious and highly sinister move. He quietly crossed the Congo river in a ferry boat and went to Brazzaville, capital of the former French Congo, for a conference with Belgian and French military and political experts. The Belgians, with French connivance, had put up an armed headquarters in Brazzaville. The Leopoldville airfield was already under U.N. control and Mr. Lumumba's request for its return was refused.

Mr. Lumumba tried desperately to establish the Central Government's authority over Kasal and Katanga. It was reported on August 27, that his troops had advanced deeply into Kasai and was about to take a small town eighteen miles from the Katanga frontier. Mr. Tshombe ordered a mobilization to meet the troops of Mr. Lumumba and the Belgian Government proposed that U.N. should neutralize the Kasai-Katanga border. Western correspondents reported that the break away movement in Kasai had ended for the time being. Its leader, Mr. Kalonji, had fled to Katanga and Mr. Lumumba's authority over this diamond mining province was restored. On August 28, the African Conference at Foreign Minister level but the majority of the members stood by Mr. ended in Leopoldville. Its resolutions upheld the Hammarskipeld It was also at the stood by Mr. ended in Leopoldville. Its resolutions upheld the Hammarskjoeld. It was clear at this stage that the Congo's territorial integrity and independence and Council was no longer in a positive to the Congo's territorial integrity and independence and the congo's territorial integrity and the at emphasized that the country should be kept out

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of the Cold War. On the following day was reported the first clash between Lumumba's men ad enand the Katanga gendarmerie.

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It was at this stage that the attitude of the American Government suddenly hardened. American newspapers began to declare that the Congo was on the verge of becoming a member of the Communist bloc. The stage was set, they complained, for a massive intrusion of advisers and technicians from the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. More than a hundred of hem were already said to be in the Congo and Mr. Lumumba was reported to be surrounded ly a growing number of Communist trained Mricans. The newspapers demanded U.N. action in favour of Katanga and accused Mr. Hammarkjoeld of depending too heavily on the legalities of the U.N. resolutions.

The Secretary-General who had assured the Security Council that all Belgian troops would leave the Congo within a week or so was suddenly confronted with a new situation. last units of Belgian combat troops stayed on in Katanga and Mr. Hammarskjoeld sent a protest b Brussels. Fighting continued on the Kasai-Katanga border. At the beginning of September the Soviet Government sent a number of transport planes to Leopoldville to enable Mr. lumumba to lift his troops into Kasai and Katanga. They were gifts by the Soviet Government to the Central Government of the Congo and although they introduced a new element in he already confused Congolese scene, they were ot as Mr. Hammarskjoeld admitted later at a meeting of the Security Council, in technical tolation of the U.W. resolutions. At this stage be Ethiopian Government asked for a meeting the Security Council to discuss what role the should play in putting down civil strife. thiopia particularly referred to developments Kasai. Mr. Hammarskjoeld, however, turned the request. On September 4, it was rebotted that Mr. Lumumba was making use oviet transport planes to mount an attack on alanga from the north.

On the following day President Kasavubu dismissed." Mr. Lumumba and set up a new Mr. Lumumba and set and headed by the Senate President, Mr. Ileo. The plot against the Congolese linister was hatched in

assistance of Belgian and French officials. It came at a time when Mr. Lumumba was about to succeed in turning the tide in his favour in the breakaway provinces. A dramatic battle between Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Lumumba ensued. Prime Minister retaliated by "dismissing" the President and for a while there was utter confusion. But ultimately Parliament rallied behind Mr. Lumumba and not only did he get a full vote of confidence in the Senate (41 to 2) and later at a joint session of the two Houses, he had also the support of his Cabinet.

The U.N. Command which had so far refused to intervene in Congolese internal political disputes now took a fateful decision which amounted to be another severe blow at Mr. Lumumba. On September 6, the U.N. Command took over Leopoldville Radio and closed all airports in the Congo to troops except its own. The Prime Minister was refused to broadcast from his own radio station while Mr. Kasavubu was able to send tape-recordings of his appeals and announcements across the Congo river to Brazzaville for broadcast to the whole of Congo. The closure of the airfields made it impossible for Mr. Lumumha to transport his troops to Kasai and Katanga. The airfields in Katanga, however, remained under Mr. Tshombe's control and in a couple of days more Belgian troops returned from Brussels. In one of his broadcasts Mr. Kasavubu was able to say, "I hope I can count on the United Nations".

Mr. Lumumba accused the U.N. of plotting with Mr. Kasavubu to overthrow him and working in collusion with Belgium. for a fresh meeting of the Security Council in Leopoldville so that members could see for themselves what was happenning in the Congo. demanded the reopening of airfields and of the Even at this critical hour radio station. strengthened. He dismissed members of the Cabinet who had sided with Mr. Kasavubu. He assumed the powers of the President and declared himself head of the armed forces. On September 9, his forces crossed into Katanga. Western correspondents reported, "It is now accepted that the events of the past few Mr. Lumumba's strengthened have days position".

The Security Council met in New York on Brazzaville with the The Security Count CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

September 10. The Chamber of Deputies in Leopoldville sent a protest to the Council against the closure of airports and other U.N. actions directed against the Central Government. Events moved swiftly in the Congo as the Security Council debates went on, and Mr. Hammarskjoeld leaned on the side of Mr. Kasavubu against Mr. Lumumba. He said, the President had the right to dismiss the Prime Minister and not vice versa and he even interpreted a letter he had received from Mr. Lumumba in support of his contention, although the Prime Minister had only said that Parliament alone could dismiss or the Premier. the President Hammarskjoeld admitted that the conflict between the President and the Prime Minister was an quarrel but he fully internal constitutional justified the closure of the airports and of the radio station which, he added, had been done without consulting him. The U.N. took another significant move in the Congo at this time. The Congolese army had not been paid for the last two months and there was widespread discontent among the troops. The U.N. paid the salaries of the troops. A split suddenly developed in the Congolese army. Troops all of a sudden were withdrawn from Leopoldville and Col. Mobutu, the thirty-year-old Chief of Staff, ordered cease-fire on the Katanga border. This was immediately contested by Mr. Lumumba, but was welcomed by a U.N. spokesman. The Prime Minister once again complained of U.N. interference, while over Radio Brazzaville Mr. Ileo made a broadcast directed against Mr. Lumumba and the speech was distributed by several foreign embassies. Mr. Ileo spoke of an approaching rapprochement with Mr. Tshombe.

In the Security Council Mr. Hammarskjoeld described the Congo situation as a "threat to peace and security" and hinted the possibility that the world organization might have to act on a different basis irrespective of the wishes of the Congo Government. This implied that in future the U.N. would no longer be obliged to consult the Central Government but would act on its own responsibility. Mr. Hammarskjoeld bitterly complained of Belgian arms supplies to the Katanga regime and of Soviet technical supplies to Mr. Lumumba which, though not directly violating the Council's resolutions, complicated

the situation. The Council was unable to proceed with its debate, however, in view of the swiftly changing developments overtaking the Congo. Mr. Lumumba was put under arrest by Mr. Kasavubu as he was about to leave for New York on September 12. He secured his release by a direct appeal to the troops and proceeded to the radio station to broadcast a message, only to be turned back by U.N. guards. For the first time two rival Congolese delegations left for New York to represent Congo at the Security Council.

At this time an important development occurred in a country far away from the Congo. There was a right-wing counter revolution in Laos with American support and this Southeast Asian kingdom was plunged into a conflict not very dissimilar to that ravaging the Congo. The U.S. Republican Government's policies towards Laos and Congo from now on ran, more or less, on the same lines.

On September 13, the Ghana President Mr. Nkrumah, made a strong protest against U.N. intervention in the Congo's internal political quarrels and severely criticized the closure of the radio station and airfields. He threatened to withdraw the Ghanaian troops from the Congo, who, he said, had orginally gone to that country to help Mr. Lumumba's Government but since they had been placed under the U.N. command. "the real object has been perverted" and they were now "being used as a cat's paw against Mr. Lumumba, preventing him the use of his own radio station to rally support for his legitimate Government". The previous day the Government of the United Arab Republic had announced its decision to withdraw troops from the Congo and Guinea had preceded by several days. This African gesture had an immediate combined sobering effect on the U.N. which opened the radio station to "non-inflammatory broadcasts" flights". and the airports to "civilian September 13, a joint meeting of the two Houses of the Congo Parliament granted Mr. Lumumbs by an overwhelming majority (82 votes to 2) "full powers until a solution to the crisis is found". Parliament was to meet again the next decide the crucial issue: Whether President had the power to dismiss Mr. Lumumba clear to all observers that Parliament It was stood firmly behind the Prime Minister. It was

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But again.

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a remarkable achievement on the part of Mr. Lumumba whose own party, as already noted, had only thirty-five members in the Lower House and much fewer in the Upper.

But Parliament was not destined to meet

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On September 13, Col. Mobutu staged his coup d'etat. He dismissed Mr. Kasavubu, Mr. Lumumba as well as Mr. Ileo, and suspended Parliament. The Security Council's only reaction was to refuse Mr. Lumumba's delegation to take part in the debate in spite of the strong sentiments expressed by Ceylon, Poland and the Soviet The decision was taken on American initiative and the majority of the members abstained. At this time there was no proposal to hear the rival delegation of Mr. Kasavubu.

It was quite clear that Mobutu had acted with full Belgian support. At his first press conference on September 14, the biggest cheers he got came from Belgian and Portuguese correspondents. The entrance to the conference hall was guarded by a Belgian sergeant-major, who declared himself to be Mobutu's military adviser. His press officer was a Frenchman. Mobutu said that he was keeping Mr. Tshombe fully informed of the new developments. Western correspondents at first doubted if Mobutu would succeed. Some said, he was over-estimating his following in the army. But Mobutu had money to pay the soldiers whose salaries were suddenly increased. Where the money came from remained an open secret. His immediate action was to expel the Soviet and Czechoslovak embassies and echnical missions. This was highly welcome in he West. Within twenty-four hours of the coup t transpired that Mr. Kasavubu was fully beand the move. Mr. Lumumba was placed under house arrest and when the U.N. posted guards prevent his seizure, Mr. Kasavubu sent a protest to Mr. Hammarskjoeld that the U.N. was interfering in the Congo's internal affairs allowing Mobutu's men to arrest Mr. lumumba. In the subsequent months Mobutu Mr. Kasavubu worked hand in glove and bobody seemed to remember that the army leader once dismissed the President also.

It must be said to the credit of the Congo Parliament that if tried to exert its authority at this bleak hours. On September 16, Hammarskjoeiu pitter at this bleak hours. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

members of Parliament decided to meet to announce their support for Mr. Lumumba. they found that the Parliament House was closed and Mobutu's men were on guard. They were sent away by the troops and several of the members were beaten up.

In the Secutrity Council it was no longer the Congo but the Cold War. The Soviet Union launched a bitter attack on Mr. Hammarskjoeld and was itself attacked by the United States for setting up a satellite state in the Congo. The break between Moscow and the Secretary-General was almost complete. It became evident that the Council, struck by the Cold-War paralysis, could not adopt another agreed resolution. Two rival resolutions were put forward by the Soviet Union and the United States. There was them. The American meeting point between resolution, put to the vote first was, vetoed by To avoid a complete deadlock, Ceylon and Tunisia tried to work out a compromise resolution at the last minute but this too was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The United States immediately called an emergency session of the General Assembly. In spite of Soviet opposition the move was carried, although the regular session of the Assembly was to begin only two days later. Another curious thing happened. The new U.N. representative in the Congo, Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal, had sent his first report to the Security Council. The Council passed over it. There was no discussion. The report was not made public; a published summary showed him, on the whole, to be against the army regime and he pointed to the Belgian force working behind it. The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, expressed his amazement that the Council should have paid no attention to the report from the U.N's own representative in the Congo.

From the very beginning of Mr. Dayal's the Congo, he faced criticism and opposition from the Mobutu-Kasavubu-Tshombe group, and this criticism found an immediate echo in the western press. Mr. Kasavubu went on urging the recall of Mr. Dayal. Anti-Indian propaganda in the Congolese and Belgian press sought to confuse Congolese public opinion.

In the emergency session of the U.N. attacked the Soviet Union Hammarskjoeld bitterly and the Secretary-General

offered to resign if his resignation was asked for by the African countries. But African and Asian nations had no desire to see the U.N. paralysed at . this critical juncture. The Afro-Asian resolution which was adopted without dissenting vote, was in several respects different from the resolutions of the Security Council. It confirmed the actions taken by the Secretary-General, but, at the same time, asked him carry out the mandate given by the Council including the protection of the Congo's territorial integrity. It also asked the Congolese leaders to make use of the good offices of an Afro-Asian advisory body to compose their political differences. Thus, it played up the role countries of Africa and Asia might still play within the U.N. framework in order to bring peace and order to the Congo.

As we have noted, the real significance of throwing the Congo problem on the lap of the U.N. Assembly was to asknowledge the inability of the Security Council to solve it. For several months now, the Council merely watched Congo situation go from bad to worse. while a fierce debate raged in the regular session the General Assembly. The Council was not to meet again to discuss the Congo until after the murder of Mr. Lumumba by the Katanga authorities. This meeting was held on February 21, in a tense atmosphere. The United States had by that time a new Democratic Government headed by President Kennedy who had set in motion the search for an agreed solution of the Congo problem. Consultations were going on with the allies of the U.S. as well as with Afro-Asian states and soon they were to include Russia. There was some hope that even at that late hour the nations, in their wisdom might rescue the Congo chaos. Opinion in the U.S. and Britain had reconciled itself to Mr. Lumumba's return to power. Powerful newspapers which had, only a few weeks ago, denounced the Congolese leader now admitted that without him there could be no solution of the crisis. The American Government was quietly bringing pressure on Mr. Kasavubu and the Belgian Government for setting up a coalition Government in Leopoldville including Mr. Lumumba. The Congolese leader's dramatic bid to escape from the Thyseville military camp with the help of a large section of the troops frightened Mr. Kasavubu and Mobutu who handed him over to Mr. Tshombe. And then Mr. Tshombe put this brave and fearless man to death.

Mr. Lumumba's murder was a challenge to the conscience of mankind. The Security Council had to do something. The Soviet Government came forth with the extreme measure of asking for the dismissal of Mr. Hammarskjoeld. Russia and Poland refused to recognize him as Secretary-The many Afro-Asian nations which General. took part in the debate as interested parties did not go that far, but they made it clear that they satisfied with the manner in which were not the U.N. had been functioning. The Council again adopted an Afro-Asian resolution which authorised the Secretary-General to use force in the Congo, in the last resort, to prevent civil A portion of the resolution condemning mass arrests, deportations and assassinations, however, failed to get the required seven affirmative votes, thanks to western opposition.

This resolution was received hostility by Mr. Kasavubu, Mr. Tshomhe and They threatened to use force against the U.N. in case there was an attempt to implement it. A big clash broke out between Congolese soldiers and U.N. troops at the vital ports U.N. withdrew of Matadi and Manono. The heavy casualfrom the ports after suffering leaders intensified The Congolese attack on Mr. Daval as well as on India, and at their conference in the capital of the Malagasay establishment of a agreed on the "Confederation of Congo States". The man who emerged as the most important and dominant scene was figure in the political Congolese Moishe Tshombe.

The decision of the Tshombe-Kasavubu-Kalonji meeting amounted to an end of the unitary Congo state envisaged in the Brussels conference of January, 1960, enshrined in the Belgian Basic Law and recognised by the United Nations as the basis of its intervention in the Congo.

It amounted to the death of the Congo.

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TWO VISHNU-LOKESVARA IMAGES FROM SARDANGA

By MRINAL KANTI PAL, M.A., Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University

THE small village of Sardanga, lying at a distance of only 12 miles from the town of Burdwan and within a stone's throw from the Masagram Railway Station on the H. B. Chord Line, has very recently promised to be an archaeological site by yielding a pair of large stone images of Vishnu-Lokesvara, which, in their style and execution may be considered to be unique of their kind so far found in Bengal. The importance of the place as an early historical site was unnoticed until February, 1960, when the present writer had an occasion to explore the region on behalf of the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University, being informed of the find of a wonderful stone sculpture in a burial ground just situated near an elevated mound to the south-eastern corner of the village. It should be noted here that the site of Sardanga is also equidistant at a straight level from Sanchra and Deuliya, the other two adjacent archaeological sites of the said region, from where a good number of sculptural remains, such as Vaishnava and Jaina images including a large Vishnu-Lokesvara have already been recovered. regards the geographical situation it should pointed out that the village, with its plenty of greenery and usual natural profundity in the environs of the level regions is seen lying on the shoal of a canal, which may have been excavated in pursuing the dried up course of a branch tiver of the Damodar now flowing by its southern side near the village Ajhapur.*

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The Vishnu-Lokesvara images from Sardanga and Sanchra being executed in reddish or blackish sandstone are all similar to their style and form only with the exception of a few petty variations in their attributes and side figures sitting or standing on either side of the main sculptures. The well-preserved image of Vishnu-lokesvara from Sardanga (Fig. 1) standing in serpent hoods in the place of prabhavali is

*The present writer is indebted to the 'Pather Dabi, Pathagarh' of Masagram, Dt. Burdwan, Prof. D. P. Chosh, Dr. K. K. Ganguli and Sridentification.

endowed with twelve hands, the discernible attributes of which are: a conch-shell (Sankha) and a lotus (Padma) on the main left and right hands and eight double-petaled or full-bloomed lotuses (nilotpala) springing from their stalks held by the respective left and right ones; while the other two lower left and right hands are shown placed on the heads of two chowry-bearing male figures standing in tribhanga pose on lotus pedestals on either side of the central figure. Apart from two fat and squat elephant-



Vishnu-Lokesvara Image
(11th Century A.D. Sardanga, Dt. Burdwan)
—Photo by N. C. Das

riders holding lotus stalks and supporting the lower set of petals of the side lotus pedestals, there are also carved two miniature figures of four-handed Vishnu-Lokesvara on either side of the main image, one of which being made to stand under the canopy of seven serpent hoods. It is very interesting to point out in this connection that on either side of the top of the stele and the canopy of nine serpent hoods there are also two male figures standing on the double-petaled lotuses with long stalks, who may be tentatively identified as the miniature figures of



Vishnu-Lokesvara

Vishnu-Lokesvara

(Early 11th Century A.D. Sanchra, Dt. Burdwan)

Photo by N. C. Das Kargir Collection, Plandwar

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two-handed Vishnu-Lokesvara on account of lous attributes held by their respective left and right Vishnu-Lokesvara of image The (5'.7"×2'.7") is moreover adorned with the Ratnamukuta (jewelled crown) on the head and usual ornaments, such as Kundalas (ear-rings) in the ears, with an elaborate hara (necklace) around the neck, with Yajnopavita (sacred thread) and Udara-bandha (girdle) round the body, with Keyuras (armlets) and Balayas (bracelets) on the arms and a loin cloth and a long garland (like Vanamala or Vaijayanti of Vishnu images) reaching below the knee. In point of style and execution and on the epigraphic evidence furnished by the very sadly mutilated portion of the pedestal ("Dharmadana Sa(ke) iyam pratima"—written in proto-Bengali characters) the image may be dated in the late 11th century A.D. having a good deal of iconographical similarity with the Pala sculptures of the same epoch found in Bengal. Profusion of ornaments and strict simplicity of design coupled with the pointing flame-like stele of the image are also typically Pala in artistic tradition and tendency.;

The other Vishnu-Lokesvara image from Sardanga (Fig. 2,-5'-8"×2'-4") in its style and execution is the same as that of the said one excepting that it is shown standing under a canopy of seven mutilated serpent hoods and one hand on either side is placed on Sankha Purusha and Chakra Purusha instead of two attendant figures. This image is also inscribed with proto-Bengali characters of the late 11th century A.D., but the contents of the inscription cannot be explained in this context as it has not yet been clearly deciphered.

The image of Vishnu-Lokesvara from Sanchra (Fig. 3, 6'-7"×3'-4") is a miserably mutilated one and possesses some earlier characteristics in its style and execution, though it bears a good deal of iconographic similarity to the aforesaid sculptures. The figure standing in

†A very interesting comparison can be made between this twelve-handed figure with almost similar ones discovered from Ghiyasabad shidabad) and Sonarang, now in the Museum and V.S.P. Museum, Calcutta respectively (cf: EISMS. 94-95, PI. XXXVIII (Clip VSP. Cat. 32-33, Pl. VII & Hist. of Bengal, Vol. Pl. XXII 52)

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Samapada-sthanaka pose on a lotus pedestal, with lives of the people. The archaeological stalks held by the respective left and right hands. It is also decorated with the usual ornaments, a oin cloth and a long garland (Vanamala or Vaijayanti), but these are simple representations of the same decorative objects worn by the other two images from Sardanga. As regards other peculiarities of the image it should be noted here that in the place of chowry-bearers or Sankha Purusha and Chakra Purusha as shown in the former ones there are two attendant ayudhapurushas on either side of the central figure; while the two fat and squat figures, which are already found to be carved on the lower portions of the lotus pedestals, occupy the respective places of the miniature figures of Vishnu-Lokesvara on either side of the main image.

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The sculptural findings from Sardanga and Sanchra, though reveal some artistic and stylistic resemblances with the similar ones discovered from Chiyasabad, Sagardighi and Sonarang, bear-such interesting iconographical characteristics in their style and execution that they may be easily regarded as the added varieties of the Vishnu-Lokesvara images so far found in Bengal as well as in Eastern India. The significance of these sculptures is also a matter of great importance as it throws some light on a particular phase of the religious history of Pala Bengal when the followers of Vaishnavism and Buddhism were at a reconciliatory stage with a view lo reciprocate their metaphysical concepts even the making of idols for regular worship. R. D. Banerji rightly observes, "This particular class of specimens, therefore, indicates a blending of the older Bhagavata class of Vaishnava mages and the Lokesvaras of the later Mahayana school of Buddhism.: It is very interesting to point out in this connection that there is a contemporary Jaina temple at the neighbouring ble of Deuliya wherefrom a few Jaina sculphave already been recovered. From these finds it is not unreasonable to suggest that in the legion of Sardanga and its adjoining regions there once flourished a very common culture might have imbued the social and religious

seven snake hoods behind its head, is endowed plorations at Sardanga resulting in the discovery with twelve hands, the discernible attributes of of two unique iconographical specimens, may which are only a few remnants of long lotus therefore, prove that the site with a mound on its surface most probably conceals beneath its soil the vestiges of an earlier habitation and if more scientific explorations are carried out in this region, they may reveal the sequence of a composite cultural tradition which is evidently seen to have been retained and developed in a so long forgotten place of the upper Radha region of Ancient Bengal.



Vishnu-Lokesvara (11th Century A.D. Sardanga)

‡EISMS, 96.

-Photo by N. C. Das

JOHN F. KENNEDYIZDECORATED undatton Chennai and eGangotri WORLD WAR II

By FLORA HAMILTON

John F. Kennedy said shortly before his election carried four torpedoes. Their mission was to as President of the United States. "Before the war close in to about 500 yards (450 meters) of enemy I dribbled along without much purpose. But I ships, fire their torpedoes and get away, if they came out of the war with some confidence in my could. ability to meet situations."

war-time situation was instrumental in bringing him-and several others-back alive. "His gallant and harrowing role in rescuing the crew of his patrol torpedo boat after a Japanese destroyer had sliced it through is one of the great tales of he was to be sent to a PT squadron in the peaceheroism in the South Pacific," Time magazine wrote.



John F. Kennedy (extreme right) in the group of his saved crew on the patrol torpedo boat which was severly damaged by a Japanese destroyer in World War II

Kennedy need never have seen military duty. an interview later. "But we were too close." It was only his determination that got him into the service and on active duty. Rejected because of a spinal injury suffered in a college football scrimmage, he spent five months taking intensive exercises and treatments to strengthen his back and finally was accepted as a commissioned officer in the Navy.

intelligence work in Washington. But he found a the surface of the water ignited but the wake of desk job suffocating and managed to have be desk job suffocating and managed to have him- the destroyer carried it away after a time. self re-assigned to training for one of the Navy's shouting, the six men who were left on the most hazardous jobs—manning a patrol to the walks most hazardous jobs—manning a patrol torpedo ing hulk located five other crewmen in the wolf boat (PT). These speedy 80-foot (24 mosts) boat (PT). These speedy 80-foot (24-meter) ply- 100 yards (90 meters) away.

"I GUESS the war was the turning point for me," wood crafts were powered by three engines and

To Kennedy this seemed fitting duty for The ability with which he met one perilous man who had almost grown up in small boats. His instructors rated him as nearly perfect in shin handling, good in technical matters like engineering and "very willing and conscientious."

His training completed, Kennedy learned that ful area of the Panama Canal. This was not to his taste either, so he requested combat duty in the

Pacific. Early in 1943, the young lieutenant was sent to a base at Rendova in the Solomon Islands and was made skipper of PT 109 with a crew of two other officers and 10 enlisted men.

On the night of August 1-2, 1943, they led a foray against Japanese ships in the Blackett Strait. The night was overcast. the visibility was poor and PT 109, unlike other boats, had no radar.

Kennedy, a gangling young man of 26 who was known to his men as "Shafty," was at the wheel when, about 2-30 a.m., a Japanese destroyer bore down on them. "I summoned the crew to general quarters and tried to get into position for a shot with the torpedoes," he reported in

The destroyer rammed the PT and sheared it in half. One part sank immediately and the two men on that side were never seen again. The other half was kept afloat by sealed, water-tight bulk heads in the bow.

Kennedy was thrown against the cockpit, re-Ensign Kennedy's first assignment was to injuring his back. Fire broke out as gasoline of ligence work in Washington But he was to injuring his back.

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terrogation of the survivors, tells this story:

"Lt. Kennedy had to tow Engineman Patrick McMahon, who was helpless because of bad burns, Mahon aboard PT 109.

"Kennedy then returned for two other men, one of whom was suffering from minor burns. He traded his life belt to Gunner's Mate Charles Harris, who was uninjured, in return for Harris's waterlogged kapok life jacket which was impeding the latter's swimming."

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Fortunately for all of them, Kennedy had "grown up" in the water and was a star swimmer at Harvard University.

Meantime, Ensigns Leonard Thom and George Ross had rescued the other two men who were temporarily helpless from gas fumes. Within three hours all the survivors were back aboard the hulk.

They waited in vain for comrades to come to their rescue. The crews of PT boats, seeing the crash, the burst of flame and the burning gasoline had assumed that all hands had been killed. The crew of PT 109 was teported missing in action and a memorial service was held for them at the Rendova base.

"We clung to the boat for nearly 12 hours," Kennedy said. And we left it only when it was a foot above water." Then they struck out for a small island that he thought would not be occupied by the enemy.

The official Navy report, written after in- hausted from the effort and sick from the water he had swallowed.

"That evening, Lt. Kennedy decided to swim back to the boat. A strong current impeded their into Ferguson Passage in an attempt to intercept progress, and it took about an hour to get Mc- PT boats proceeding to their patrol areas," the Navy report states.



Captain Cooklin of the U.S. Navy awarding a medal to John F. Kennedy for heroism in World War II

Two non-swimming crewmen were tied to a

When it became evident that the boats had float made from a part of the boat and were pushed taken a different course that night he started and towed by the better swimmers. Kennedy, back but was caught in a current that returned despite his painful back injury, swam the three him to Ferguson Passage. Finally he managed to miles (40) in the better swimmers. Kennedy, back but was chagged. miles (4.8 kilometers) in four hours, towing the reach another small island, slept till dawn and helpless M. Nilometers) in four hours, towing the reach another small island, slept till dawn and helpless McMahon by a life belt strap held in his then made his way back to his crew. The report teeth. Kennedy, who had been in the cold ocean notes, "He was completely exhausted, slightly almost notes, but dept most of the day." The next night continuously for 15½ hours, was ex- feverish and slept most of the day." The next night Ross made a similar attempt to intercept PT boats but again there were none in the area.

The men stayed on this island until August 4, when all the coconuts on the two trees had been eaten. Then, using the same arrangement as they had on their first trip, they swam three miles (4.8 kilometers) to a slightly larger island nearer to the PT squadron's route.

"The next morning," the report continues, "Kennedy and Ross decided to swim to Cross Island in search of food, boats or anything else which might be useful to their party." This time their luck changed. They found some Japanese hardtack and candy, a one-man canoe and a barrel of water. Meantime they had sighted two natives but, oblivious of the Americans' efforts to attract their attention, they paddled away.

That night Kennedy took some provisions to the rest of the group and at dawn started back for Ross. A storm came up and swamped his canoe but, as if by a miracle, some natives appeared from nowhere in a canoe, rescued

Kennedy and took him to Ross. They also showed him where a two-men canoe was hidden.

Taking out his knife, Kennedy scratched this message on a coconut shell: Eleven Alive, Native knows Position and Reefs Nauru Island Kennedy. Then he said to the natives, "Rendova, Rendova."

After a harrowing night again searching for U.S. boats, they made it back to the island, fell exhausted on the beach and slept. In the morning they were awakened by a group of natives bearing a message from a New Zealand officer with instructions for a rendezvous. Finally, seven days after they were sunk, the survivors of PT 109's crew reached their home base.

For his heroism in this perilous rescue, It. Kennedy was awarded the Navy and Marine Corps Medal, the citation of which read in part:

"His courage, endurance and excellent leadership contributed to the saving of several lives and was in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service."

'BYELARUS' TRACTOR MAKERS AND INDIAN FARMERS COME CLOSER

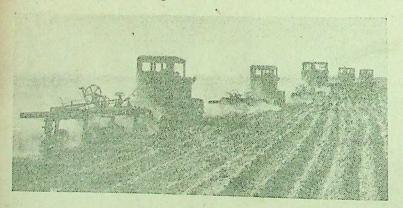
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By TARUN CHATTERJEE

It is a long way from the Byelarus tractor makers to Indian farmers. Now-a-days however long distances are nothing when it comes to

The foreigners who have happened to come to know Soviet machines first hand have found their workmanship good, their construction sim-

performance ple, their mical and reliable. Last but not the least is their cheap price which is a factor to be taken into account, particularly in the underdeveloped countries, as our India attributes are these All more ever attracting ments and businessmen to pur chase Soviet machines and use them in the different fields of national economy. We see this process developing in India Particularly in the sphere of agriculture. Soviet tractors are being widely used in different parts of the country for the reclamation of



Tractors like a convoy of tanks working in the Central Mechanised Farm at Suratgarh

close business contacts. Such contacts are characteristic of our epoch, an epoch of international division of labour when one can benefit much by the achievement of another.

epoch of international business firms like the Bharat Industries have ne can benefit much by come forward to buy Soviet earth moving and company of the comp

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to loan the machines and men to different places of India for land reclamation and other works. Even some financially well-off individual farmers are purchasing Soviet tractors and using them gainfully. To mention one such instance out of many, Father Sedey of the village Baidyapur, 24-Parganas purchased last year a Vladimiretz tractor. This is what he has to say about the machine:

"It has given me full satisfaction both in operation as well as in effect: in spite of the great salinity of the soil here, the rice crop is considerably better, and the reeds and grass which were making cultivation extremely difficult, have been all minated. The cultivation was easily done though nobody here had any experience before in driving a tractor."

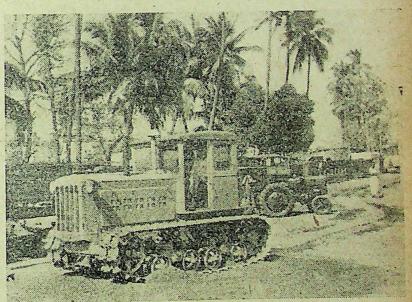
Auto Export a Peaceful Competitor

It was slightly more than 3 years ago that the V/O Autoexport (the Soviet export organisation for engineering goods) emblem appeared on the world market for the first time. Within this short span of three years, the USSR has established itself as a major supplier of engineering goods on a par with the traditional exporters like the USA, the UK and FRG. This is because Soviet industry, has already supplied 17 million tractors to collective and state farms, uses mass production and assembly line methods

to meet the ever-growing demands not only of the home market, but also foreign. And the variety of climatic and geographical conditions prevailing in the vast expanses of the USSR, has called for manufacture of machines which are suitable lor operation in any climatic and soil conditions. Our country too, being similar to the USSR in the diversity of climatic and geographical fealures has been using more than 2,000 Soviet tractors as profitably in the arid areas of Rajasthan and Orissa as in the saline and moist soil of West Bengal and Assam. The Soviet Engineering Faclories Which are backing up the Auto-export, Co-operative CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

keep a constant eye on advances in science and technology and employ the best available materials, manufacturing methods, researchers, engineers, technicians and skilled workers. This is the secret behind the trouble-free service rendered by Soviet tractors, as certified by Dr. R. Ahmed. Inspecting a Technical Exhibition of the USSR in Calcutta, Dr. R. Ahmed, the then Minister of Agriculture of West Bengal wrote in the visitors' book:

"I was impressed with the agricultural tractors and implements which seemed to me of a high order. What intrigued me was that the prices of some of the USSR tractor models, the same as we buy from other countries, are exceptionally low."



Soviet Tractors at the depot of Bharat Industries and Commercial Corporation in Calcutta

On the same occasion, Mr. Bhupati Majumdar, West Bengal Industry and Commerce Minister, said that the "utility of the machines cannot be over-emphasised."

These are the reasons why Soviet-made tractors and agricultural implements are in everdemand in tropical India, a country growing which is today on the threshold of co-operative farming, without which, Gandhiji believed, "We shall not derive the full benefits of agriculture". He asserted, that co-operative farming "would change the face of the land and banish poverty".

Co-operative farming presupposes, reclama-

or attached to them.



Models of harvesting in rural Bengal as exhibited in the West Bengal Pavilion of the National Agriculture Fair in Calculta

Soviet bull-dozers fitted with C-100 crawler trac- bull-dozers are playing an important role in the tors are levelling the ground there for building work of refugee rehabilitation in the Dandarefugee settlements. DT 14B wheeled tractors are karanya. cultivating land near Santiniketan in the Birbhum district. The DT 54 is a caterpillar tractor pri- technicians, mechanics and engineers who in case marily intended for farming work. It can also be of necessity are sent to the importing countries employed for land reclamation, road building and for giving technical assistance, haulage. Its 57 H.P. Diesel Engine can put out a training. With the assistance of such exports, the pull of 3,000 Kg. and speed upto 8 Km/hr. DT Bharat Industries have been conducting a tractor 14B bower-wheeled Diesel tractors which are now training school since June, 1959, with great such being widely used in West Parada and training school since June, 1959, with great such of being widely used in West Bengal, can be fitted cess at Belgharia in the northern suburb of with a rice-hauler at the front The with a rice-hauler at the front. The powerful Calcutta. Speaking at a function organised by the C-100 universal tractors are applicable. C-100 universal tractors are employed in the Bharat Industries, Mr. Tarun Kanti Ghose, the largest number in our country. It becomes a work- West Bengal Minister of Agriculture said: horse on construction sites, reclamation projects,

tion of land, construction of roads and agricul- water projects and virgin lands. Its 100 Hp tion of land, construction of fodds traction of loads traction of land, construction of fodds traction of fodds traction of land, construction of fodds traction of fodd tural townships and new settlements are helping provides for steady engine operation both loaded in these tasks, in different parts of India. Of the and unloaded. The D-259 bull-dozer which is a various models in use the most popular is the new model, mounted on the C-100 tractor, apart "DT 54" and the 'C-100' Byelarus tractors which from bull-dozing work can fill ditches, cut down can be used with a whole range of agricultural bumps, make terraces on mountain slopes and machines and implements that are either mounted grade roads. Its huge-sized bull-dozing blade can be placed in 12 different positions by re-arrang-

ing the frame on the universal frame. The D-159 bull-dozers fitted with DT-54 tractors have hydraulically controlled blades which work without any jerks knocks and thus guarding against wear and tear and ensuring long service. Another bull-dozer fleet which is in operation in West Bengal is the The DT-14 tractors D-271. have been used in the water logged areas of Calcutta to pump out water. These tractors fitted centrifugal can deliver with 32,000 gallons of water per hom. tractors have been demonstrated with success in Orissa. Madras, Hyderabad, Andhra and Assam. In Rajasthan the Suratgarh State farm built with Soviet makes wide use of assistance and Soviet tractors drawn implements. Soviet tractors and bull-dozers have been doing

Through the agency of the Bharat Industries multifarious works in the Bhilai Plant site. They Soviet crawler tractors of DT 54 model are are helping to build the foundations of the Heavy ploughing the hard soil of Midnapur for culti- Engineering Plant at Ranchi, and the Coal-mining vation by the settled refugee population. D-259 Machinery Plant at Durgapur. Soviet tractors and

The Auto-export employs a large number of

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us in this respect."

where Soviet equipment is breaking the grip of ing tractors and bull-dozers. ---: O :----

assembled are products of the USSR. It can the Western monopolistic exporters, in the agriculbe well-inferred that the level of agricultural tural sector too, Soviet machines are helping us production has been raised to a great extent to achieve equality in international trade. Moreby the tractors imported from the USSR over the price of Soviet tractors being payable in We should have co-operative farming with- rupee currency, Indo-Soviet tractor deals do not out which modern methods of agriculture involve our foreign exchange. Last of all, Soviet could not be introduced in this country. I aid to India will not stop with supply of machithank the Bharat Industries who is surely do- nery. The USSR supplies machines to us with ing a good work and thanks for the co- the ultimate objective of building a national heavy operation that the Soviet Union has given to industry with which we would be able to produce our own capital machinery and equipment. This The widespread use of Soviet tractors and is the noble aim which has inspired the Soviet other agricultural implements have another im- Union to build for us two heavy engineering portant bearing to our national economy. As in plants at Durgapur and Ranchi. These two giants the case of other sectors of our national economy will manufacture many heavy machines includ-

COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

"Basohli Paintings in the Sri Chitralayam"

By Prof. HIREN MUKHERJI

In the last October issue of The Modern Review, The costume and drapery of the males and the Shri K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy, the well-known art-editor of "Rythm" has written an article on Basohli Paintings. Though the caption of the article refers to three hitherto unpublished miniatures depicting scenes from Gita Govinda, yet, as a background to these three paintings he has given a summary survey of the earliest hill school in the Punjab Valley. However, his article lacks precision and scholarship which we expect from him. Of all the hill schools, Basohli is best known to us and heaps of data have been collected by such research workers as Ghosh, French and Randhawa, which have been successfully correlated by Khandalavala in his monumental work, Pahari Miniature Paintings. With the help of these researches it is expected that there should remain no ambiguity about the origin and development of the Basohli School of

The School evolved as a result of harmonious fusion of the folk art of the hills with the Mughal art of Aurangzeb period. His statement that the School was 'typically Hindu' is completely baseless and is not supported by facts.

females and the representation of rocks are sufficient to disprove his theory of purely Hindu origin. He has gone so far as to trace the influence of Ajanta in Basohli Paintings which we cannot admit. It is true that the folk elements got upperhand over the Mughal technique and found their expression in the use of brilliant scintillating primary colours-in the treatment of the figures with their wild eyes, receding foreheads, long noses, and receding chins—in the representation of trees, clouds, lightning and rain, still the Mughal influence is discernible in almost all the examples even at the first glance. One should think twice before asserting with confidence the pre-Mughal origin of the Basohli Paintings when there is no surviving example which can be dated prior to A.D., the date of Kripal Pal's ascension.1

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^{1.} Shri Randhawa has referred to (Studio. London-August, 1960) portraits of Sangram Pal (1635-1673) and his successor Hindal Pal (1673-78) but has not cited any example. Even if we regard them as contemporary works, the existence of a school is yet to be proved. .

Another serious misstatement in the article is that 'the finest and sumptuous efflorescence of Basohli Painting was during the reign of Raja (1757-1776, not 1749-1776!). The Amrit Pal' golden age of Basohli Painting ended with the death of Medini Pal (1725-1736) during whose reign the famous 'Gita Govinda set bearing the Manaku inscription was painted' (1730). This set which marks the finest achievement in Basohli Painting comprised of nearly hundred paintings, now dispersed in various public and private collections, the main bulk being in possession of the Central Museum, Lahore, and the Punjab Museum, East Punjab. With this set of painting the most creative phase of Basohli Painting came to a close, and though there are few outstanding examples of later origin (such as, Radha Krishna-Lahore Museum, reproduced in 'Art of India and Pakistan', plate 101 and Kedarika Ragini collection Alma Latif, reproduced in the same volume, plate 104), still, in general, Basohli Painting of Jit Pal period showed loss of initial vigour and lack of imaginative colour schemes. In the reign of Amrit Pal, Basohli became most prosperous, thanks to the turbulent condition in the planes following Nadir Shah's invasion of Delhi in 1739. which led to the discovery of new trade routes through the Punjab Hill States. Amrit Pal had no taste for the older art tradition and yielded to the more fashionable school of miniature painting current in the planes. With the waning of patronage in the court, artists trained in the typically Basohli idiom migrated to the neighbouring states of Jasrota, Bhadu, Bhadrawa, where local Kalams in the Basohli idiom sprang up. In Basohli itself the typically Basohli idiom went out of vogue, its place being taken by the first phase of the well-known Kangra style which firmly established itself in almost all the hill states in the last quarter of the 18th century and continued till the first quarter of the 19th century.

The three paintings cited by Shri Tampy belong to the set of 'Gita Govinda' referred to

above. His dating of the mid 17th century is fantastic and needs no comment. If his dating comes to be true then the history of the Basohli Painting must be re-written. Had he dated them a century later then it would evoke some interest. In that case the three specimens might be regarded as a later copy of the earlier version executed in 1730 bearing Manaku inscription, But such a conjecture is completely unwarranted, since there is no evidence that Gita Govinda was illustrated during the reign of Jit Pal (1736-57) or Amrit Pal (1757-76). So unless new documents come to light the three examples must be regarded as stray leaves from the famous set of 1730 A.D. having same dimensions (121/3"X $8^{1/3''}$).

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Few other minor errors have crept into the article. "A situation" in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Originally in Ghosh collection and first reproduced in colours in Rupam No. 37) is not an illustration from Rasamanjari as supposed by Gray. It is a Ragini picture of early 18th century bearing the inscription of Rag Vinoda, son of Hindola,2 which Dr. L. D. Barnett misread. Thus there was no painter named Viradatta as Dr. Barnett's reading 'Viradatta, son of Ujjvalahas been proved to be incorrect. datta'3 Further there was no painter named Manaku in the Kingdom of Basohli. Manaku was the name of the patroness who commissioned the set of 'Gita Govinda' of 1730 A.D. It was late Mr. N. C. Mehta who wrongly interpreted the inscription on a painting of the 'Gita Govinda' set preserved in the Lahore Museum and confused the Manaku of Tehri Garhwal with the Manaku of Basohli. The late Dr. N. P. Chakravorty first correctly interpreted the inscription and showed that Manaku was the name of the patroness, not the name of the painter.

2. See Khandalavala—Pahari Minialute
Painting. Faber

3. Basil Gray—Rajput Paintings, Faber and Faber.



THE PILTDOWN MAN: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL FORGERY

BY AMITABHA MUKHERJEE. Jadavpur University

EVER since its discovery, the skull of Piltdown and the ape like jaw belonged to the same molar teeth set in it. In 1913, were discovered in the same place two human nasal bones, fragments of a turbinate bone and an ape like canine tooth. All these remains constitute the find that is known as Piltdown-1. In 1917, after Dawson had died, Woodward announced the discovery of a second human skull and a molar tooth from a nearby place about 2 miles away. These formed the so-called Piltdown—II

man, termed by its enthusiastic supporters, the individual, for which Woodward created a new Dawn Man and the Earliest English man, has genus—'Eoanthropus', also called 'Eoanthropus been a veritable bone of contention. The dis- Dawsoni' after its illustrious discoverer. Their coverer of the Piltdown man, Charles Dawson, conclusion at first seemed natural because the was a lawyer and an amateur antiquarian, living remains had been found very close together and in Lewes, Sussex. In 1908, he discovered in the they were similar in colour and apparently in gravel pit of a neighbouring farm in Piltdown a mineralization. If this was true, here in England, piece of an unusually thick human parietal bone. in Piltdown man, was at last tangible and well-In the autumn of 1911, he discovered another nigh incontrovertible proof of man's ape like larger piece of the same skull, belonging to the ancestry; here was evidence of a creature which frontal region. In 1912, along with the famous could be regarded as a confirmation of Darwin's British palaeontologist, Sir Arthur Smith Wood- theory of evolution. The exact evolutionary ward, he made a systematic search of the undis- significance of the Java ape man, discovered by turbed gravel pit and the surrounding spoil Dubois twenty years ago, was now in doubt. heaps and came across another piece of bone, Piltdown man provided a far more complete and comprising, together with the fragments earlier certain story. Secondly, it was estimated that the discovered, the larger part of a remarkably thick cranial capacity of the Piltdown I skull was about human cranium or brain case and the right half 1,400 c.c.,—close to the approximate average for of an ape like mandible or lower jaw with two living man. This discovery tended to confirm the current evolutionary theory that man's brain had advanced far more rapidly than his face and jaw. "That we should discover such a race as Piltdown, sooner or later, has been an article of faith in the anthropologist's creed ever since Darwin's time", wrote Keith in The Antiquity of Man in 1925. (London, 2nd Edition, 1925, page 667.)

While Dawson was praised to the skies for skull. Associated with the primate remains in this memorable discovery, a number of scientists, Piltdown were those of various other mammals, from the very beginning, began to entertain including mastodon, elephant, horse, rhinoceros, doubts about the authenticity of the Piltdown hippopotamus, deer and beaver. Some flint tools man. They regarded the brain case as that of a Were also discovered in the gravel pit at the comparatively modern type of man and the jaw same time. The Piltdown gravel, being stream- as that of a fossil anthropoid ape, which had deposited material, could well contain fossils of come by chance to be associated in the same different ages, but the general opinion was that deposit. The weakness of this assertion lay in it was of the lower Pleistocene age. The age of the fact that no remains of fossil apes of the the Piltdown man was estimated to be from lower Pleistocene age had been found in England. 200,000 to 1 million years. The discovery was Moreover, as Woodward and others contended, supposed to have a profound significance in the flat wear of the molar teeth, found with the anthropological studies. Dawson, Woodward and jaw, was peculiarly human. Yet anatomists like their followers asserted that the man like cranium David Waterston recognised from the very

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Mr. N. cription eserved Manaku Basohli. orrectly d that

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iniature Faber beginning the extreme morphological incongruity between the cranium and the jaw; and in 1915, Gerrit Miller came to the conclusion from of the Piltdown of the casts detailed study specimens (Piltdown-I) that the jaw was really Piltdown-II rethat of a fossil chimpanzee. mained a problem but there was some ambiguity about this discovery. Woodward announced that they had been discovered by Dawson himself in 1915 but the latter had nowhere said a word about it in public. Hrdlicke pointed out in 1930 that in no known skull of any of the anthromorpha, extinct and livnig, indeed in no known primate was to be found a disparity of this kind between the thickness of the cranial bones and the thickness of the mandible. Certainly in the primates the rule is that the mandible is more massive than the cranial bones. As Ashley-Montagu argued later on, even pathological and genetic disorders, affecting the mandible alone cannot produce the condition seen in the Piltdown jaw. Anyway scholars waited for further evidence through new discoveries to come to a final conclusion about the authenticity of the Piltdown man; the theory of a Dawn Man was far from being universally accepted even in 1915.

In 1892, Carnot, a French Minerologist had reported that the amount of flourine in fossil bones increases with their geological age. K. P. Oakley, happening to come across Carnot's paper recognised the possibilities of the fluorine test for establishing the relative age of bones found within a single deposit. Together with C.R. Hoskins he applied the fluorine test to the Eoanthropus and other mammalian remains found at Piltdown. The results led to the conclusion that all the remains of Eoanthropus were contemporaneous and that they were at the earliest middle Pleistocene, and at most 50,000 years old. (It was revealed later that the jaw had not been properly analysed!). On one hand, this discovery seemed to strengthen the view of Dawson and Woodward that the cranium and the jaw belonged to the same individual. On the other, it raised the new enigma of the existence of an Eoanthropus among upper Pleistocene man. A Dawn Man as late as this new date was an anomaly indeed. In the meantime other new anthropological discoveries had begun to raise doubts about the authenticity of Piltdown man. About 1936, a whole series of new finds of Java man were made and they supported by cities concerning the organic CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukli Kangnic divides existence concerning the organic

original claims of indicated the thoroughly Dubois. Very soon a closely allied creature from Peking, probably a slightly more advanced hominid, was discovered. By 1948, a still earlier prehuman stage in man's ancestry had been recognised by Dart and Broom in the caves of the (Australopithecinae). From all this Transvaal there emerged a picture of human evolution quite different from that which had been worked out from the interpretation of the Piltdown material. All these other fossils agreed in showing man as having obtained his large brain only slowly, whereas many features of his jaws and teeth became human at an early date. In 1944, Woodward himself had to admit that two quite separate evolutionary lines existed, one represented by the Piltdown man, the other by all the remaining finds. In 1950, Oakley wrote that the Piltdown man might have been a late specialized hominid which evolved in comparative isolation.

In order to solve this riddle, Dr. J. S. Weiner finally came out with the suggestion that the lower jaw and the teeth were actually those of a modern anthropoid ape, deliberately altered so as to resemble fossil specimens. He experimentally demonstrated that the teeth of a chimpanzee could be so altered by a combination of artificial abrasion and appropriate staining as to appear astonishingly similar to the teeth ascribed to the Piltdown man. This suggestion led to a new study of all the Eoanthropus material that demonstrated quite early that the mandible and the teeth are indeed deliberate fakes. Examination under a microscope revealed fine scratches on the teeth such as would be caused by an abrasive. X-ray examination of the teeth showed that the abrasion had not been due to natural attrition before the death of the individual. In improved method of fluorine the meantime an analysis of greater accuracy had been developed by scientists and this was applied to Piltdown The results clearly indicated that specimens. whereas the Piltdown—I cranium is probably Upper Pleistocene in age the mandible and the teeth are quite modern. In case of Piltdown also the teeth and the occipital fragment were proved to be of recent age. (The jaw, however, in Piltdown I, was that of an orangutan and not of a chiof a chimpanzee,—a view first put forward by Frasselts in 1927). This conclusion was further

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content of the specimens as determined by the analysis of thir nitrogen content. Weiner, Oakley and Clerk further discovered that the jaw and the teeth in both Piltdown I and Piltdown II had been artificially stained to match the naturally colored brain cases. In the jaw the stain was superficial indeed. The artificial color, these scholars held, was due to chromate and iron; and Woodward had already given out, without suspecting anything, that Dawson had dipped the pieces in a solution of bichromate of potash in the mistaken idea that this would harden them. It was discovered very soon that even the flints and fauna, found in the Piltdown gravel, were quite fake. Of the eighteen specimens of fossil mammals, recovered from the Piltdown gravel by Dawson and Woodward, ten were unquestionably frauds. The fauna found in the gravel may now be dismissed as an assortment of importations from three different sources. Even the flints found there were neolithic ones, suitably stained and planted in the gravel. Quite rightly Oakley, Weiner and Clerk finally declared in 1953 that the Piltdown man was an elaborate and carefully prepared hoax (vide Bulletin of British Museum, Natural History: Geology. Vol. 2, page 141, 1953). Microscope, X-ray and Chemistry finally ended forty years of debate. It is now accepted on all hands that (1) the Piltdown I cranium fragments and the Piltdown Il frontal represent a modern type of human brain case which is at most upper (late) Pleislocene in age, though unusually thick, (2) that the Piltdown I mandible and teeth and the Piltdown II teeth are those of a modern anthro-Poid ape (orangutan), and (3) that the Piltdown Il occipital is of recent human origin.

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The long delay in detecting the hoax was due to three factors. In the first place, there was initially no reason to suspect the perpetration of fraud. Secondly, methods for conclusively determining whether the specimens were actually lossils or faked ones, short of their wholesale 18, page 191.

destruction were developed only in recent years. Thirdly, the ready acceptance of the hoax was made possible by the philosophical climate of the age. In September 1912, before Dawson had announced his discovery, the anatomist Elliot Smith expressed a prevailing point of view when he declared that the brain led the way in the evolution of man and that modification of other parts of the body followed. This theory has now been completely rejected and brain has been proved to be "the evolutionary laggard" in man's phylogeny.

As to the identification of the forgerer and his motives, Weiner came to the conclusion after a very careful study that it was Dawson himself and not Woodward. Dawson was an extremely ambitious man, restless and always eager for new and arresting discoveries. He had also a feeling that he was being neglected by the Geological Society. So in order to win lasting fame and glory he perpetrated this fraud and his old friend Woodward became a ready victim to it.

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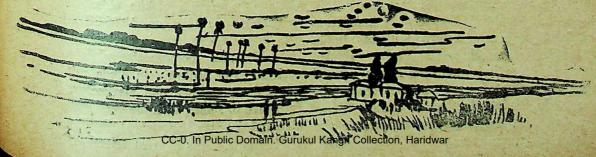
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INDIAN STUDIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By S. P. BISWAS

valuable information was Father Karel Prikryl (1718-95), a member of the Jesuit Mission. His field of activity was Goa. He spent fourteen both in simple and periphrastic expression." years in India and studied the language and culture of the people. Prikryl wrote a book, a Latin grammer, "Principia linguae Brahmanicae" (The principles of the Brahmanic Tongue) which is probably the first grammar of the Konkani dialect of Marathi. This work which remained a manuscript was of great importance. The manuscript came in the possession of Yosef Dobrovsky, (1753-1829) an eminent linguist and expert in Slav languages. He realised at once that some Sanskrit words, specially the verb forms, are strikingly similar to those of slavonic languages. So were the terms of family relations, viz., Sanskrit-bhratr, Czech-bhratr; Sanskrit-mata, Czech-mati, etc. But being a philologist Dobrovsky's interest was specially in the similarities between the Sanskrit and Slavonic languages.

The first admirers and ardent students of Sanskrit in Czechoslovakia were the brothers Josef and Antonin Jungmann. Both of them were pioneers in Czech science. From the first volume of the first Czech scientific journal called 'Krok', published in Prague in 1821, we find that one half of the whole volume is occupied by articles dealing with old Indian language and literature. Antonin Jungmann published the first Czech sketch of Sanskrit grammar in this journal and Josef Jungmann wrote an article on Indian prosody and metre. In the same journal Jungmann remarked: "Hinduism is rightly called the mother of human race and teacher of all arts". Indian trade, ruled, each nation that has lost it,

THE first Czech who visited India and brought of consonants with vowels, by its flow and style of speech, thoroughness and energy in composition as well as by its extraordinary abundance

This was, however, only the beginning of serious scientific studies in the field of Indian Culture. Linguistic research into the languages of India began to develop along with the sudden intense interest in Indo-European Comparative Philology aroused by the discovery of Sanskrit, the classical language of India. For many years Sanskrit was taken to be the mother of all Indo-European languages. Even when this theory did not survive, the interest in this language and its literature continued unabated. Indian studies slowly developed into an independent field of study in all the different branches.

The first scholar in this field was August Schleicher (1822-69), an outstanding German linguist and professor of the Prague University. Czech as well. Schleicher translated in "Flood", a story from the Mahabharata, published in the journal of Czech Museum, 1851; is the first and oldest translation from Sanskrit into Czech. Although a professor of Indo-European Comparative Philology, he was primarily interested in India. In collaboration with Sohaj, a Czech linguist, he translated the story of "Nala and Damayanti". The first Czech translation of a rendering of complete Indian work was "Sakuntala" made by Cenek Vyhnis in 1873.

followed in the chair of Schleicher was comparative linguistics by Alfred Ludwig (1837-1912) who became professor in He wrote elsewhere: "Each nation that has led University in 1871. He is best known for his Indian trade wheel are here." German translation of the oldest Indian literary has fallen into contempt. India is a foundation text, Rig-Veda (Prague, 1876-88). Ludwig was of Britain's power now-a-days. Without India, one of the best experts in ancient Indian writings. Britain will be weakened". Vaclay Hanka, He wrote also comparative philological works, a famous Czech writer published in the journal such as "Der Infinitiv in Veda mit einer Systema free rendering of some with the journal such as "Der Infinitiv in Veda mit einer Systema" (The a free rendering of some episodes from the matik des litauschen und Slawischen Verbs, (The Ramayana. In an introduction he wrote: "Sans- Infinitive in Vedic, with the verb system of Lithus krit surpasses all the learness of Lithus Prague. krit surpasses all the languages hitherto known nian and the Slav Languages), Published in Prague. by its pleasant sonorousness chy in Published Max Mules was a great friend of Max Mules

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The interest in India and her culture began to grow more and more. Although there was no special journal at that time devoted to oriental studies, a large number of articles on Indian life and culture appeared every year in various

The teachings of ancient Brahmanical sages caught the attention of Frantisek Cupr who published a vast collection of Vedic literature (translated from German) in his 'Teachings of ancient India' (Prague, 1876) in four volumes. An immense interest in Indian religion and philosophy resulted in many translations. Upto now there are not less than five translations of the Bhagavadgita in Czech. The sixth translation is going to be made from the original.

Indian studies were not restricted in the sphere of literature only. A Czech, Ottoka Feistmantel, who had been nearly ten years (1875-1883) employed in the Palaeontological Department of the Geological Institute in Calcutta, was a good expert in Indian Geology. He enriched the collection of the National Museum in Prague with many rare specimens of India's mineral wealth. Another Czech Palaeontologist, Ferdinand Stolicka (1834-1874), had won great fame by exploring unknown reserves of coal on Indian subcontinent and in Central Asia. attempt at deciphering of Proto-Indian script from the Indus Valley by Prof. Bedrich Hrozny (1879-1952), the picture of Shri Ramakrishna by Frantisek Drovak (1862-1927),some of the instances of interest in India.

The wave of enthusiasm about India was bever found falling. Ludwig had two outstanding pupils. One of them, Josef Zubaty (1855-1931), was best known as a comparative philologist. We find among his writings many valuable contributions to Sanskrit philology and to the history of vedic literature and classical Indian epic and dramatic literature. He was the translator of 'Malavikagnimitram' and 'Meghadutam' (this in collaboration with poet Yaromir (1863-1937), a professor of indology at the introduction. He studied the whole of ancient years of careful proposition of Careful proposition of Careful proposition.

volume "History of Indian Literature" in Leipzig (1905-22). The first two volumes appeared in English in Calcutta. This great work, which is still supreme today, presents a broad picture of the literature of India from the oldest texts onwards. Moritz Winternitz made important studies in Indian ethnography and took active part in building up Indian studies in India itself. Winternitz visited India and gained a very great reputation for his scholarly work and his lectures.

Otto Stein, his able and promising pupil, was a dignified successor of his noble teacher. Unfortunately he died too soon (1942) in a Nazi concentration camp. With him the German indology in Prague ceased to exist and was never brought to life again. The Indological Seminar of the German University had been closed by the Nazis and after the Second World War its entire property which survived the German censorship was transferred to the Indological Seminar of the Charles University.

Czech University Zubaty the succeeded by Vincenc Lesny (1882-1953), the first professor of "pure" indology (without comparative linguistics). The works of Lesny were concentrated on several distinctive spheres. His earlier research was devoted to Prakrit philology and Hindi, whereas later on he inclined more and more to the problems of Avestan studies, Pali Buddhism and the Bengali language and literature. During his visit to India (1922-23, 1927-28) he stayed with Poet Tagore and lectured at the University of Santiniketan. As a result of his visit he wrote three books on India: 'India and Indians', 'The Spirit of India', 'India Today', which helped to bring India and her cultural traditions nearer to the people of Czechoslovakia. In 1937 he published an important book on Tagore, which was translated into English too. This publication testifies to his deep knowledge and understanding of the great poet, who himself expressed his admiration for Lesny's achievement. Lesny published many translations from Indian literature, specially from the works of Tagore. He is the founder of the school of Modern Oriental Languages in Prague and of the Indian Society.

It is interesting to note that the first conduction. He studied the whole of ancient tact with Buddhism was established in Czechoslowal Indian literature and after many vakia by two of the greatest poets of the 19th careful preparation published his athree while the property of the studies and Yulius Zeyer.

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westernised form of Buddhism during his sojourn in Paris. He was at once enraptured by its charm through the eyes of a cosmopolitan thusiast and he did not hesitate to use all vivid imagination and penetrating insight draw quite a number of impressive themes for his poems from the rich store of Buddhist legends and fables. The fervour of this new teaching radiates from such poems such as: "The Mendicant of the Buddha", "Asokamala", "Compassion", and "A prayer to the Buddha".

The other contemporary was Yulius Zeyer (1841-1901), a dreamy visionary and an ardent herald of high human aspirations. He took deep interest in Buddhism. The ideals of Buddhism meant for him the purest aims of humankind worth striving for, although he understood them in his own poetical way. Zeyer's rendering of the story (Kunala's eyes) aroused a tremenof Kunala dous wave of keen interest among his numerous readers and it soon became so popular that the chief of the Prague opera and a famous composer Otokar Ostreil composed an opera of the same name according to a libretto (written by Karel Masela) based on Zever's works. Besides this Zeyer wrote many other works with Buddhistic themes. His poems "Courtesan" and "Buddha before Birth" are both based on two well-known Jataka stories.

For many years oriental studies were centred in Charles University in Prague. But an important place in research work is now occupied by the Oriental Institute of Academy of Sciences in Prague. This Institute was founded in 1922, and is now a centre of research work for orientalists in Czechoslovakia. The two journals at the disposal of Czech oriental scholars are, Archiv Orientalni (Oriental Archives) a quarterly, and the more popular Novy Orient (New Orient) monthly. In addition there is the English journal 'New Orient'.

It may be of interest to mention the names of some of the present day Indologists in Czechoslovakia and their field of activities :-

In the Oriental Institute Dusan Zbavitel (1925), author of the first text-book of Bengali, works in the field of Bengali literature, particularly in the analysis of the work of Tagore and folk epics. He has translated a great deal from Bengali. Kamil Zvelebil (1927) studies Dravidian

(1853-1913) came to know a lates extracts from classical and modern Tamil literature. Erich Harold (1928) studies the oldest Indian literary texts, the Vedic songs, analysing the way in which they reflect the structure of Vedic society, especially the family. The interest of Vilem Gampert (1902), a disciple of Prof. Moriz Winternitz, lies in the legal-religious literature of ancient India.

In the Charles University Vincena Porizka the first Czechoslovak specialist in (1905) is has published several articles on Hindi. He Hindi historical grammar and a contribution to the study of the Bhagavadgita. Ivo Fiser (1929). specializes in Pali and Sanskrit languages and is an expert on Buddhism.

It is not possible to publish here a complete Indian bibliography in Czechoslovakia. Only some of the important translations and publications about India can be mentioned. In 1851, Schleicher collaboration with F. Sohaj published their version of the well-known story of "King Nala and Princess Damayanti" from the Mahabharata. Following Schleicher's work an increasing stream of translations from the Sanskrit appeared. They include poems, fairy tales and plays. here Fris's translation of a selection of ancient Vedic hymns, Janiceks' selection from the Upanishads, five different versions of the Bhagavadgita and a remarkable attempt by Fris to present the whole of the Ramayana in a shortened metrical was version. Kalidasa's Sakuntala from the original in 1873, by Cenek Vyhnis and again in 1944, by the poet Hrubin. His play translated into "Malavika and Agnimitra" was Czech in 1893, by Zubaty and Borecky. They also translated Kalidasa's Meghadutam. The first Czech translation from Pali was Lesny's version of the collection of Buddhist philosophical "Dhammapada".

The most translated writer has been Tagore. The first versions of his poems, which date from 1914, were based on the English editions, but the later versions (the works of Lesny and Zhavi tel) were direct translations from the Bengal original. Over twenty of Tagore's books have appeared in Czech. An extensive four-volume selection of Tagore's work is now being lished under the editorship of Dusan Zbavite. The first two volumes containing poems, dramas and two novels have already come out. In the it is of interest to know that the control, Haridwar Philology, particularly Tamoc sym Public Pomain Gurukpl Kangri Collection, Haridwar be officially observed in connection

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translations from Bengali literature have appeared. Bhabani Bhattacharya have already been They are mostly the works of Dusan Zbavitel. A very important work of Zbavitel is his translation of a selection of East Bengal folk ballads. He is at present in East Bengal on a research on folk epics. Hindi literature is not yet very well represented. The only translation is Premchand's novel "The Sacrifice" by O. Smekal. From the ---: O :----

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri Czechoslovakia in 1961. Preparations are already classical Tamil lyrics and literature translations Besides the works of Tagore, several other modern Indian authors, Mulk Raj Anand and

> The latest books on India in Czech language are (i) The Country of Sacred Rivers by Fiser and Zvelebil, (ii) India from Near by Herold and Zbavitel and Zvelebil. The authors are all Indologists and had been to India at least once.

WONDERS OF THE MINERAL KINGDOM: SOME STRANGE STONES

By MANINDRA NATH DAS

strange animals and plants. In the mineral kingdom are found various kinds of wonderstrange properties of these minerals, our astonishment and admiration know no bounds. Let us describe in brief some of these strange stones.

First of all, let us take the case of calcite which is nothing but crystalline chalk. It may be transparent, colourless, yellow, red, blue or brown. It is chemically composed of calcium carbonate. Occurrence:-Iceland, England, France, Germany, Italy, America and Rajasthan in India. In the year 1669, a scientist named Bertholin first noticed that calcite is highly double-refracting. If you see a line through this stone, the same line will appear double, or if you place this erystal on a point, two points will be seen. In this position, if you rotate the stone, one point will be found to revolve round the other. The famous American Mineralogist Edward Dana says, if some calcite crystals are heated or placed in sunlight for some time, they exhibit the phenomenon of phos-Phorescence or luminosity in the dark. These crystals are used in polarizing instruments. f calcite is firmly pressed, electricity is generated in the stone.

It may seem incredible, but there are There stones which can float in water. these stones are very porous and consequently they can quently much aerated, therefore, they can isplace comparatively more water. Pumice

In this world of ours, there are many is of this class of igneous rock. It is a kind of volcanic glass. Pumice is generally used as a polishing agent and also as an abrasive. ful rocks and stones. If we observe the It is found in Lippary Islands near Italy and also in other volcanic regions. There is yet another kind of stone which floats on water -it is a variety of opal named float-stone and found in France. Both pumice and float-stone contain a large amount of silica. Itacollumite is a kind of sand-stone. When in thin plates it is quite flexible. It is composed of sand and mica particles. Flexible sand-stone is mined in the Punjab but sold by travelling vendors of Uttar Pradesh.

> Fluorspar has many peculiar properties. If it is viewed in reflected light its colour will appear bluish. Prof. Stokes first observed this phenomenon and named it fluorescence. When fluorspar is heated in the dark, it begins to emit a greenish light. It has some power of absorbing light. After exposing it to the sun's rays for some time, if it is brought in the dark, it will show feeble but perceptible luminosity. This stone is more or less transparent to heat rays, i.e., heat waves can easily pass through it. Chemically it is calcium fluoride. It is found in many colours-transparent, white, blue, green, red, yellow. Occurrence:-England, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and America. It is chiefly used in steel and glass industries and in enamelling. Fluorspar is electrified when expossed to the direct rays of the sun.

Everybody has seen rock salt which is

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Tagore. te from s, but Zbavi-Bengali have volume

pub. bavitel. dramas n this hat the ved in widely distributed in nature. It is also perfectly transparent to heat waves. A variety of crystalline rock salt called halite sometimes contains a drop of water inside it just like a spirit level. To the chemists rock salt is nothing but sodium chloride. Alabaster is an ornamental stone. It is a translucent variety of gypsum or calcium sulphate. It is more or less opaque to heat rays, so is alum which is familiar to everybody. Alabaster is found in Italy, Great Britain, Colorado and other countries. Miniature boxes, statuettes, and lamp shades are carved out from this stone.

Now we shall deal with a mysterious Pitchblende. mineral. It is known as Pitchblende is black or dark brown in colour. This substance is highly radio-active. Prof. Becquerel, in 1896, discovered the effect of radio-activity upon a photographic plate. If a piece of pitchblende is placed on a photographic film and kept in darkness the film is chemically affected. This photochemical change is caused by radiations issuing from the stone. Uranium, radium and lead are found in various proportions in pitchblende. Pitchblende emits three kinds of rays—alpha rays or positive helium atoms, beta rays or electrons and gamma rays or electro-magnetic waves which are smaller than X-ray waves. In the year 1898, Madam Curie extracted a little quantity of radium from a large amount of pitchblende. About 50 milligrammes of radium can be recovered from a ton of pitchblende. So far as radioactivity is concerned radium is certainly much more powerful than pitchblende. Due to radio-active disintegration radium is produced from uranium and lead is formed from radium. In about 1600 years half of radium is converted into lead. Some scientists calculate the age of the earth from the amount of lead present in radio-active minerals. Everyone knows the beneficial effects of radium in the treatment of early cases of cancer. Radium is self-luminous in the dark. It is slightly warmer than surrounding magnetism of our earth. When a piece of objects. If radium is placed on the piece of the piece o objects. If radium is placed on the skin for loadstone is hung by a thread so that it any length of time the latter is any length of time the latter is severely burnt. Luminous point is prepared by mix- north and south. Hence, its another name ing a trace of radium salt with the culture in the salt with the culture in th

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangori ermany, Russia, America Africa and in India—at Gaya, Rajasthan and Radio-active minerals are Madras State. absolutely essential for the making of atomic bombs.

Many of us have tried to make non. Austral inflammable cloth during our after reading some juvenile books on magic Now-a-days such fireproof cloths are easily manufactured. There is a mineral known substance is composed as asbestos. This of fibrous material like jute and for this reason it is called rocky wool or mountain wool in some localities. Its fibres are practically incombustible. The very won asbestos means non-inflammable. By working together asbestos fibres, fire-resistant threads, cloths and ropes are prepared These fire-proof cloths and ropes are much used where there is any danger from fire By pressing together asbestos fibres fire and acid resisting boards are manufactured By mixing cement with asbestos a first class inexpensive roofing material is obtained. Asbestos is mainly composed of magnesium silicate. Its colour varies from white to green or brown. It occurs in France, South Africa and India.

That artificial steel magnets attract pieces of iron very strongly is known to all. A kind of natural stone possesses this power although somewhat feebly. It is known as magnetite or load-stone. Many people think that it was first found in Magnesia in Asia Minor, whence this name On the other hand, Pliny says, its discovery was due to a shepherd named Magnus When he went out with his herd to the grazing ground the iron of his staff and the nails of his boots mysteriously stuck to the ground. After much searching the Prosence of magnetic stone was discovered Whatever may be the history, it is certain that magnetite is a natural magnet and it can attract small pieces of iron. Magnetite has obtained this power from the inherent can swing freely then it always points ing a trace of radium salt with the sulphide is leading stone. Load-stone is composed of barium or zinc. Pitchblando is fee die in the sulphide is leading stone. of barium or zinc. Pitchblende is found in iron 72% and oxygen 28%. It is black

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri Colour. Sometimes beautiful crystals of and chemical process octahedron magnetic iron are found in nature. Natural magnets are abundantly found in Norway, Sweden, Siberia as well the U.S.A. and Queensland in ke non Australia.

Some minerals possess the peculiar property of absorbing and re-emitting light. This phenomenon is called phosphorescence. The phosphorescence of calcite and fluorspar has been already mentioned. Besides these, Zinc-blende, Kunzite, Willemite and most of the diamonds possess this power. These stones, after exposure to direct sunlight or electric light, begin to glow when brought in the dark. Zinc-blende is a compound of zinc and sulphur, it is generally black or brown in colour. It is mined in Europe, America and India. Zinc-blende shows some luminosity even when scratched. The violet-coloured stone kunzite is found in Madagascar and California. It is silicate of lithium and aluminium. It shows orange-coloured phosphorescence when exposed to X-rays or ultra-violet rays in the dark. It is sometimes used as a gem: Willemite is a compound of zinc and silica. lts colour is greenish yellow. It occurs in natural state in Middle Europe, Africa and the U.S.A. Willemite too glows in the darkness after exposure to X-rays.

Now let us take up some interesting gemstones. We should begin with diamond which is the most valuable of all the gems. The lustre and iridescence of a brilliant cut diamond have attracted and fascinated mankind from the earliest times. Probably flindus were the first people to recognize and use diamond as a gemstone. Diamond the hardest substance known. It can cratch every stone without being scratched. Diamond is found in many colours—white, blue, red, yellow and brown. It is the Purest form of crystalline carbon and its lefractive index or light-bending power is South Africa supplies about 95% of orld's diamonds, then comes Brazil, Borneo, Adia and Australia. Perhaps it will not be of place here if we say something of old Generally gold is found associated tom quartz. Gold particles are separated quartz. Gold particles are serviced quartz crystals by different physical local la Public Domain. Gur

and chemical processes. Gold is bright and yellow like the sun, ancient alchemists used to call it sol or the sun, and it is practically not tarnishable under ordinary circumstances. For this reason, it is so much in demand and considered so valuable. Gold is about nineteen times heavier than an equal volume of water. It is very much ductile and malleable. A piece of gold can be hammered into a thin leaf of about 1|300,000 inch in thickness. Probably gold was the first metal discovered by prehistoric man. Gold ornaments have been found at Mohenjodaro which are at least five thousand years old. South Africa, Russia, America, Australia and South India are the leading gold producing regions.

Chryso-beryl is a kind of stone which when cut in a rounded form will show a white moving line like the pupil of a cat's eye: It is generally found in yellow, green and brown colour. It is an oxide of beryllium and aluminium and is found in Ceylon, China, Brazil and Ural Mountains. There is yet another kind of chrysoberyl which is known as Alexandrite. Its colour is so variable that it looks green in daylight and red in any kind of artificial light. Both ruby and sapphire are corundum and both are mainly composed of aluminium oxide. Some rubies and certain sapphires show asterism when cut in a rounded form. That is, a six-rayed star is seen on the back. These beautiful gems are popularly called sfar rubies and star sapphires. Ruby and sapphire are cheifly found in Ceylon, Burma and Siam.

Tourmaline is found in Ceylon, Africa and Brazil. It comes in many colours, e.g., white, red, blue, green, yellow, cat's eye, etc. It is composed of complex borosilicates. If a piece of tourmaline is heated or rubbed it becomes strongly electrified. It possesses the peculiar power of polarizing light. If you hold two pieces of tourmaline in a parallel position, light passes through them very easily, but if they are held crosswise, no light can traverse and both the stones seem darkened.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word opal is derived from Sanskrit Upal. Its main constituents are water and silica. A good opal shows beauti-CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ful play of rainbow colours. Opal is mined in Australia, Mexico and Hungary. There is yet another kind of coloured stone, it is labradorite. It is mainly found in Labrador and hence the name. Chemically sodiumaluminium-silicate, it is greyish but iridescent.

Meteorites are interesting objects because they come from inter-planetary space. There are three varieties of meteorites iron-nickel or metallic meteorites, stony meteorites and intermediary types. Generally black or brown in colour, meteorites vary in weight from a few grains to 50 or 70 tons.

When lightning strikes any sandy ground it occasionally fuses together loose sand grains in curious tube-like structures just like branching plant roots. These remarkable tubes are known as fulgurites.

In this short article we could only describe a few of the most interesting minerals,

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. Reviews and notices of books in Guirati:

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas

Kapadia:

Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE INDIAN NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE: Vol. 1, Parts 1 and 11. Patna, 1960. Price Rs. 5/-.

The scientific study of Indian coins on the lines of that undertaken for the investigation of Graeco-Roman and mediaeval as well as modern European coinage was initiated by a number of Western scholars a century or more ago. This has had the happy result of enriching our knowledge of almost every branch of our ancient and mediaeval and even modern history. The researches of scholars in this field have appeared in such highly specialised journals as the Numismatic Chronicle as well as in the Numismatic Supplements of our foremost Oriental Journals in this country. The efforts of Indian scholars who have been joining in increasing numbers in this particular branch of study culminated in the foundation of the Numismatic Society of India with its well-known Journal in 1913. The present Journal started under the able editorship of that veteran

numismatist Sri S. V. Sohoni is a fresh evidence of the zeal of our specialists. The majority of the articles are from the pen of the editor himself and they seek to throw fresh light on such points 85 the significance of the horseman and the Karth keya types as well as representations of the lion throne and the lotus, on Gupta coins. The authors interpretations are based not only upon his deep and erudite study of the numismatic material but also upon extensive references to the relevant vant branches of Sanskrit literature. An interesting ing digression illustrated with quotations of extracts from the state of the state tracts from the relevant State records relates to the issues of Indo-French coins with the figure of Vishnu on the obverse and the crescent on the reverse. In another article Dr. V. S. Agrawala discusses the cusses the interpretation of a difficult numis matic term in a text of Vasistha-Dharmasutra, h fresh article by Sri S. A. Shere seeks to identify the mint name D the mint name Dar-ur-Islam on certain Khilji and Tughlug coins. Tughluq coins. Under the head Miscellanea indefatigable. indefatigable editor discusses the identity of the land Miscellane o CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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city-goddess on a Taxilan coin and brings to light ments initiated and conducted by a number of newly-discovered antiquities from sites in Bihar.

The present issue of the Journal is illustrated with appropriate drawings and plates and is introduced with messages from the President of India and the Chief Minister of Bihar. We wish this venture a happy future.

Upendranath Ghoshal

THE INDIAN AWAKENING AND BENGAL: By Nemai Sadhan Bose, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6-1-A, Bancharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12. Pp. 260 Popular edition. Price Rs. 10 -.

The nineteenth century is a glorious period in the history of the civilised world. India, though a dependent country at the time, shared the glories of the period to a large extent. Many Indian leaders of thought and action, who had imbibed the progressive ideas and ideals of the West, tried their level best to serve their motherland according to the new light and education. It is no exaggeration to say that Bengal was venue of the new activities and it was from here that the wave of new thoughts and ideas reached the distant corners. of the country. It is, therefore, meet that the author has laid special emphasis on the contribution of Bengal to the Indian awakening, popularly called Indian Renaissance, in the book under review.

This book contains nine principal chapters, mere mention of which will at once give the reader an idea of its nature and contents. These chapters are: (i) The Background, (ii) Raja Rammehun Roy, Conservative Reaction: Young Bengal, (iv) Growth of Western Education: Foundation the Universities, (v) Religious Move-Ments: The Christian Missionaries: Brahmo Samaj: Hindu Awakening, (vi) Sri Ramadishna and Swami Vivekananda, (vii) Social Reform Movements: Vidyasagar, (viii) Growth of Political Consthe Dational Movement, the Renaissance and Literature. There are four useful appendices, viz., (a) some portant public organisations of the ninetenth century, (b) some important Bengali tentury, (b) some important beauth tentury, and journals of the nineteenth ln (c) Bibliography and (d) Index.

leaders, headed by Raja Rammohun Roy and ended with Swami Vivekananda. This has practically covered the whole nineteenth century. Men generally forget their immediate past, or do not very much care remember it. The nineteenth century at least its earlier half had hitherto remained shrowded in darkness due to want of proper and accurate information. But the researches conducted by serious scholars have recently unravelled many things and removed doubts on many others. These have made it possible for us to make a proper estimate of the period so that the activities of our forefathers in different spheres of life, such as, politics, economics, education, social and religious reform, literature, etc., may be properly assessed. Any treatise written on Indian Awakening and Bengal's role played in it should be based upon the latest findings and researches in this behalf. We are glad to note that the author has utilised them to some extent in this volume. From a careful perusal, however, of some earlier chapters a few discrepancies have come to our notice. One should avoid hasty generalisations and rash conclusions while dealing with such an important subject. In the first chapter (pp. 6-7) occurs:

"Flattery, conceit and treachery were some of the most common vices among the rich. Honesty and truthfulness could hardly be found among the people. Corruption justice and malpractices in the Law Courts had helped the growth of the notion that false evidence was the main thing required to win a case or to prove a point "

This might have been true in case of some people of certain sections or groups, and again those particularly living in large towns and cities. Let us see what Raja Rammohun Roy writes about the condition of his countrymen:

"From a careful survey and observation of the people and inhabitants of various parts of the country and in every condition of life, I am of opinion that the peasants or villagers who reside at a distance from large towns and head stations and courts of law are as innocent, temperate and moral in their conduct as the people of any country whatsoevr; and the farther I proceed towards the North and West, the greater the honesty, In these chapters the author has given simplicity and independence of character these chapters the author has given simplicity and independence works of Raja survey of the progressive oman war uklu ranget consider," Harber English works of Raja

evidence ty of the nself and points as e Kartti the lion author's his deep material, he rele interestof exrelates to e figure nt on the wala dis-

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p. 296.)

The author has again fallen in confusion while discussing the merits of the Gaudiya Samaj, the first Indian literary society of its kind ever established in Calcutta. Had he probed deeply into the subject he need not have been 'surprised' at the inclusion of Rammohun Roy such followers of Dwarkanath Tagore. Kumar Prasanna Tagore and Tarachand Chakravarty. Though the Samaj was purely a literary body still it served as the meeting ground of the eminent Bengalees of the day irrespective of caste or creed, who joined hands to combat the onslaughts of the Christian Missionaries and refute their vilifications against Hinduism and the Hindu Society. This Samaj was the forerunner of similar other combinations of the conservatives and the progressives later The author has done well to give a short factual account of this Samaj in Appendix entitled "some public organisations of the Nineteenth Century".

In spite of some drawbacks the book will certainly dispel doubts of our immediate neighbours as regards the pioneering activities of the educated Bengal in those days for 'Indian Awakening'. We commend the book for attentive perusal to the Englishspeaking public.

Jogesh Chandra Bagal

SIMILES IN MANUSMRITI: By Dr. M. D. Paradkar, M.A., Ph.D., Bhaw Daji Prizeman, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, K. J. Somaiya Callege, Ghatkopar, Bombay. Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, Patna, Varanasi. Price. Rs. 6/-.

Literary grace is not the monopoly of only poetic works aimed at giving pleasure to the reader, particularly in Sanskrit literature. It is not infrequently met with in avowedly non-poetic Sanskrit works pertaining to different branches of knowledge. One occasionally comes across exquisite poetic expressions in purely technical and abstruse Sanskrit works dealing with such subjects as philosophy, astrology and medicine. It is gratifying to note that this special feature of Sanskrit literature has attracted the attention of a number of scholars who are making special studies on it. We have before us a portion of the studies of one of these scholars in bookform covering the wellknown ancient treatise of Manu on social and religious rules and regulations. The book is divided into four chapters which analyse from different

Rammohun Roy. The Panini Office, 1906, is a painstaking study of a rather technical nature. No attempt, however, has been made to focus the attention of the reader on really poetic elements if any. As matters stand, figures of speech presented here generally lack their most essential We hope the poetic charm. characteristic: learned author will bear this fact in mind in his future studies on similar lines dealing with the works of Sankaracharya on which, I understand. he has set his hand.

Chintaharan Chakrayarii

THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION AND SOME ALLIED PROBLEMS: By Dr. Sampurnanand. Prakashan Shakha, Information Department, Uttar Pradesh. Pp. 85. Price. Rs. 3/-.

Dr. Sampurnanand, the erstwhile Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh is a teacher and he has carefully examined the various problems connected with education with a teacher's insight. The book under review is a collection of some of his published articles and speeches written and delivered on ceremonial occasions.

The book comprises a dozen of articles. The author has made honest attempts to define the duties of an educationist, those of a scientist and of the administration on whom rests the onerous task of fostering a healthy growth in education The articles entitled 'True purpose of education', 'New outlook in education', 'An important question', and 'Art and Artists' deserve special mention and careful attention from the readers. The aim of education is to build up the personality of man. An individual must aspire to be a person A person, worth the name, may be considered to have realised at least some of the inner potentialities latent in him. Education must help us this direction. As flowers blossom forth in favour able surroundings, so man thrives and makes patent what was latent in him through a proper schooling. The craze for goldrush should not smother the vision of the educationists. They must live for an ideal only to be transmitted to their pupils in a calm and quiet atmosphere. In an age infested with a sociological crisis in education, we must uphold the traditional values. The chers must be respected and honoured and this will engender self-confidence in them. This self-confidence confidence in teachers will be reflected among the taught and this confidence in themselves will make the pupils sturdy soldiers of life.

The views of the author are more or itional in the traditional in character and they lack the freshing touch of freshing touch of modern theories on education. Moreover, the views have not been laborious angles the figures of speech cound public comark Guiukur Kanglis Coulection, or und process of ratio cination

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They have been sought to be delivered in the form of a message which seems unconvincing to the critical reader. They will not inspire confidence in people who care for critical analysis. However, the book has some redeeming fea-

tures. The style is simple and more suited to the laymen than to the experts. As such, readers in general will read the book with profit.

The printing and get up of the book deserve

a word of praise.

Sudhir Kumar Nandi SEARCHLIGHT ON COUNCIL DEBATES: (Speeches of Sir A. L. Mudaliar in the Madras Legislative Council). Orient Longmans Private Ltd., Calcutta-13. 1960. Pp. 492. Price Rs. 15/-.

This is a collection of the speeches made by Dr. A. Lakshmanswami Mudaliar in the Madras Legislative Council between 1946 and 1958. Dr. Lakshmanswami, like his twin brother Dr. Ramaswami Mudaliar requires no introduction to the Indian public. Besides being the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University for over 18 years now, Dr. Lakshmanswami is also the Leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Council in Madras. In this year's session of the World Health Organization held in New Delhi, he was elected President of the Conference. Whether one agrees with them in toto or not, the views of a person of such a great standing deserve full attention, particularly, because of their quality of being unambiguous and fearless. Speeches often do not bear a printed form. Although it cannot be said that all the speeches included in this volume pass this test, most of them do so by all means and would cerlainly reward a patient reader. The index at the end of the book is an additional qualification of this volume, since far too many books of this nature appear without anything such as an index.

Subhash Chandra Sarker TASKS FOR TOMORROW: By Prof. Dev. Published by Anand Book House, 6/44, Ajmal Khan Road, New Delhi-5. Pages 146. Price

The book contains essays dealing with recent changes and problems related to the task of reconstruction. It is divided into two parts—Back Drop; a general understanding of the dynamic hature of our civilization and—Focus on High Spots, issues such as education, population, comhdian dynamics, prospects of democracy in Asia, Indian socialist thought and reconstruction of Indian polity. The essays are stimulating to the general readers and will be useful to the candidates dales preparing for higher competitive examina-

A. B. Dutta

BENGALI

BHARATA-KOSA: Published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta-6. Pp. 16.

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad has been rendering great service to the nation by bringing out series of notable contributions to Bengali literature. Recently an encyclopaedia, 'Bharata-Kosa' is being published under the auspices of the Sahitya Parishad. An Editorial Board has been formed with Dr. S. K. De, the noted Orientalist, in the Chair.

The present brochure is primarily meant for securing opinions from scholars about the frame of the work. The scheme drawn up is comprehensive and authoritative. The present text contains a distinguished set of essays from the pen of specialists on respective subjects. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's article on Buddhism contains a short discussion on the genesis and expansion of Buddhist Sanghas in the Far-East. Dr. Bhabatosh Datta discusses different aspects of Indian currency. Prof. Nirmal Basu's article on cultural anthropology is illuminating and thought-provoking. The articles are adequately representative of different aspects of Indian cultural life. The success of such undertaking depends on the aid of the Government and we have been told that the Government of West Bengal and the Central Government have assured generous grants towards the cost of its publication. The Kosa when published will be acclaimed as a remarkable contribution to the cultural life of Bengal.

Gopika Mohan Bhattacharya

HINDI

DANDA AUR DAYA: By Nirmala Parlikar. Translated from Shri G. J. Patel's version of Victor Hugo's Les Miserables. Published by Gujarat Vidyapith. Ahmedabad-14. April, Price 50 nP.

The story of the Bishop and his candlesticks which begins Jean Valjean's account in Victor Hugo's famous novel Les Miserables was the basis of a pamphlet prepared by Shri C. J. Patel for the series Vinay-vachan-mala. Shrimati Parlikar made out its Hindi translation in the monthly Navajivan, and that is now offered in a bookform.

The simple language and presentation should be enjoyed with profit by those for whom it is

intended.

P. R. Sen

Periodicals Indian

A Plea for an Art Gallery

The Autumn Annual, Volume I, which had been published in December, 1960, by the Presidency College Alumni Association, Calcutta, contains valuable articles by some of the distinguished scholars, scientists, artcritics etc., of Bengal. Professor O. C. Gangoly, who has, for the past few years, been making earnest and ceaseless efforts to introduce the Fine Arts as a subject in our curricula of studies has contributed a short but thought-provoking article under the caption, A plea for an Art Gallery, from which

a few passages are quoted below:

The die-hards of literature have been very reluctant to accede to my demand on behalf of the graphic arts for a respectable place in our educational programmes, for regarding and accepting the Fine Arts-as one of the highest and most essential factors, as the most liberalizing of the liberal studies, all the more valuable because of its remoteness from the practical,—of prime importance for its broadening effect on the mind and its refining influence on character, and as one of the instruments of training of the finest sensibilities of human emotion,—of equal importance as its somewhat pampered and overfed rival-Literature. Somewhat snugly armoured by a cultivated prejudice and ignorance, the gods of literature have refused to subscribe to the principle that the Arts of Forms stand for a mode of human expression of equal values—with the Arts of Letters,—they fail to realize that the graphic arts represent the highest expression of a race, or an individual, because they embody their highest ideals, their noblest aspirations, in a manner in which the Arts of Letters are incapable of expressing. Indeed, it is the fundamental basis of differentiation between two rival forms of human expression, that the truths that are expressible through the medium of the graphic Arts are not expressible through the medium of the Literary Arts, and viceversa. In this sense, Art is more a valuable ally to Literature, than a rival in the field of education, for it embraces matters and underline coleable gardwellio),

things which are beyond the scope and function of literature.

It is this limitation of the power of expression of Literature that forced Rabindranath Tagore, in his old age, to try the illiterate language of Line and Colour to express ideas and thoughts he did not succeed in making the language of his poetry to express,—amazing master as he was of poetic diction and vocabulary.

We have learnt to appreciate poetry and to honour our national poets as the leaders and inspirers of our cultural and spiritual aspiration because we have been taught to read, interpret and understand poetical forms of expression in the masterpieces of poetry in the curriculum of our schools and colleges. But, we have learnt to despise-Art and to neglect and ignore our national artists, who, equally with the poets, are the torch-bearers on the paths of our spiritual progress, because we have been look upon taught by our universities to painting, sculpture, and architecture as forbidden fruits,—as idle luxuries, as barriers to our achievements in intellectual wisdom. As a result of the prejudices carefully nursed in our universities, "mere pictures" have no chance against stately tomes and ponderous cyclopaedias.

To cure this tragic situation of Books elbowing out Pictures, it is necessary to devise a balanced programme of integrating the claims of Books as well as

Pictures.

In such a scheme our shelves of Books must be balanced and supplemented by a

GALLERY OF PICTURES. The universities of the United provide opportunities for the development of Education in Art and generally maintain two integrated divisions:

I: Division of Scholarship in Art, and II: Division of Art Appreciation: (a) Art Museums (b) Courses in Appreciation.

Many of the colleges in the State main tain Galleries of Art,—such as—Monticello College (Illinois), Mt. Holywoke (Mass.), Newcomb College (New Orleans),

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(Winston), Smith College (Mass.), Washburn College (Kansas) and many other colleges too numerous to mention.

The College Art Association of New York—an assembly of Arts-Experts—cater to the aesthetic needs of the college and publish two excellent journals.

I would humbly appeal to the Alumni Association of the Presidency College to take immediate steps to start a Gallery of Art for the College.

A History of the Freedom Movement

In an article published in the Indian Review, February, 1961, Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, the renowned historian of Bengal, lays stress on the importance of writing an objective account of the process by which India attained her independence without bloodshed or armed rebellion. The main object of writing a history of the Freedom Movement in India, according to Dr. Mazumdar, must be to give an explanation of the expulsion of the British from India, which is regarded by many as a miracle. Dr. Mazumdar says that any further delay in writing such a history is not at all desirable inasmuch as valuable documentary evidences have already disappeared by this time. The reliable evidences which are still existing should, therefore, be utilized immediately.

After this introduction Dr. Mazumdar has dwelt on different aspects of the problem which is likely to arise in writing a history of the Freedom Movement in India, based on still available trustworthy informations and reliable evidences. He writes:

The first problem that faces the writer of such a history is to decide where to begin. When this matter was discussed by the Board appointed for this purpose the Government of India, two extreme views emerged. One was to start with Gandhiji and at least not to go further back beyond the foundation of the Indian National Congress. Another view was to begin from the very beginnings of known Indian history, going back to the remote Hindu period. The second view seems to be anabsurd. absurd one and need not be seriously considered. I have always held the view that when today we talk of the freedom from the British yoke its history goes back to the beginning of the British rule in India and not earlier. But it does not also begin later. For the course of events that led to the

freedom of India from the British yoke may be carried back, through distinct stages, to the beginnings of the British rule, and these stages are so logically connected, that you cannot understand any of them without the preceding one that almost inevitably led to Besides, some of the vital forces and movements, like those which gave rise to Hindu-Muslim problem leading to Pakistan, are not of sudden growth in the twentieth or even late nineteenth century, but their origin goes back to the beginning of the British rule and is largely conditioned by it. It is impossible to write the history of the French Revolution without taking account the intellectual and emotional background prepared for it, partly by writers like Voltaire and Rousseau—to name only two—and partly by the regime of the Grand Monarch a century earlier. So it is impossible to write the history of Indian freedom without taking into account the growth of Western ideas—such as rationalism, patriotism, nationality, etc.,-due to English education, and the forces unleashed by them which so worked upon the religious, social, and political ideas of India that was transformed from the medieval to modern age. It would be unhistorical to study the growth of political ideas and movements by themselves, without any reference to the growth of social and religious ideas or of the literature which sustained them all. Human mind does not work in isolated compartments. It is an organic whole and its work has to be looked upon in its totality. The same spirit which revolted at the tyranny of superstitious dogmas and the authority of the priests and sciptures in religious and social fields, was manifest in the political field in trying to throw off the tyranny of foreign rule.

The growth of this spirit, from stage to stage, in different fields, is therefore an essential part of the history of the freedom movement. We must view the picture as a whole in order to understand the causes and true significance of the evolution of political ideas and organizations, even though these must necessarily form the principal part of that history.

The most important part of the history of freedom movement is to trace the different stages of this evolution. There is a current belief that the organized political movement began with the Indian National

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Congress. Even the Chief Minister of a Province has expressed this view in one of his recent publications. But nothing can be a greater mistake than this. There were political associations and organized political movements in Bengal for more than half a century before the Congress came into existence. The ideas of reform enunciated by them were not less advanced than those advocated by the Congress during the first twenty years of its existence. In some directions they were even far more advanced. There were also important political associations in Bombay earlier than the Congress. The conception of an All-India poiltical organization with regular meetings of delegates from different parts of India also took definite shape before the foundation of the Congress. In a sense the Indian National Congress was the culmination, not the beginning, of a process of evolution. A clear delineation of this must form the central pivot of the history of the freedom movement.

Another important aspect of the problem is to define precisely what is understood by the freedom movement. Any and every fight against the British or attempt to drive them out of India cannot be construed as a freedom movement. The Pindaris were a wellorganized body and they fought strenuously against the English. But no one would call it a part of freedom movement. The Wahabis formed a well-knit organization, extending from Bengal to the North-Western Frontier, with a view to driving out the English from India, but their object was to establish a dar-ul-Islam (kingdom of the Muslims), and to them the Sikhs were as much an alien enemy as the British. Can we regard the heroic fight of the Wahabis as a national war of independence? These are clear cases. The outbreak of 1857 is more complex in character and opinion is sharply divided as to whether we can view it as part of a freedom movement. It is, therefore, necessary to postulate the principles on which alone we must judge whether a movement can be looked upon as a movement for freedom of India from the British yoke. Again, the outbreak of 1857 must also be viewed in its true perspective, for, like the Congress, it is the culmination and not the beginning of a process of armed resistance against the British.

The most serious aspect of the problem is to assess properly the contribution of

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and Gangotri the final result. The Congress propaganda has popularised the view that freedom of India has been achiev. ed by the non-violent Satyagraha. This is an over-simplification of the question at issue. The basic idea of Satyagraha is to bring about such a change in the opponent's heart by patient sufferings that he would repent of his crime and do the right and proper thing. It is very questionable whether the Englishmen had undergone such a moral transformation when they granted independence to India. As to Gandhiji's Civil Disobedience Movement it was a spent-up force after 1942, and there was no immediate connection between it and the grant of independence. Of course, the awakening of the masses under the inspiration and guidance of Gandhiji and the possible recrudescence of Civil Disobedience Movement were very important factors. But these were not the only factors. The I.N.A., symbolizing the collapse of the military force by which alone the British could hope to keep India under their control, the weakening of British military power and economic resources by the hammering blows of Hitler, the underground revolutionary activities in India,-all these and many other less important factors, have to be taken into consideration before we can take an objective view of the means by which independence was won in India. Much has been made of the unique technique devised by Gandhiji of fighting brute force with love and ahimsa. This method alone is supposed to have humbled the mighty British lion. But, strangely enough, although the 'cult of Gandhi' is well on its way to become a dogma or creed, his disciples have not thought it of much worth in checking the encroachments of Pakistan or China, none of whom is as powerful as the British. The sooner we get rid of these cults and slogans, the better is it for writing an objective history of the freedom movement.

Finally, the most important and at the same time the most difficult task for one who writes such a history is to take a rational view of men. This specially applies to great leaders like Gandhiji—to take only one name and avoid allusions to living persons. He may be revered as a saint, but the part he played in the freedom movement must be judged by the standard which we apply to all other great men in history author of the History of the Indian National Congress has put Gandhiji in a class apart, the light of the History of the Indian National Congress has put Gandhiji in a class apart, the light of the History of the Indian National Congress has put Gandhiji in a class apart, the light of the Indian National Congress has put Gandhiji in a class apart, the light of the Indian National Congress has put Gandhiji in a class apart, the light of the Indian National Congress has put Gandhiji in a class apart, the light of the Indian National Congress has put Gandhiji in a class apart, the light of the Indian National Congress has put Gandhiji in a class apart, the light of the Indian National Congress has put Gandhiji in a class apart.

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and criticism of the ordinary type is out of of persons. Gandhiji did many great things, which India paid heavily, should not be ideal of truth for which he lived and died.

and in defence, has frankly claimed that ignored or minimised, far less covered under and in did things by flashes of instincts the cloak of a mystic saint. A wrong assessand not by ordinary logical process of reason-ment of Gandhiji's part in the struggle for In other words, Gandhiji was mystic freedom out of veneration for his person is one of the great pitfalls which the historian place in his case. But mysticism has no of the freedom movement must carefully place in history, and history is no respecter avoid. He should think of Gandhiji and other big leaders as men, and not as demiand his memory must ever be cherished as gods, saints or supermen who are above one of the leading figures in the struggle for criticism. The proper way of showing res-But his faults and blunders, for pect to Gandhiji's memory is to follow the





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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Leo Tolstoy's Interest in the People of the Orient

Count Leo Tolstoy's close contact with and deep interest in the people of the Orient is evident from 50,000 letters which are preserved in the archives of the Tolstoy Museum at Yasnaya Poly-time. ana, which has become a centre of pilgrimage of visitors from all parts of the world. A Shifman of the Leo Tolstov Museum tells of this not-sowidely-known aspects of the great humanist's life in an article, in The Unesco Courier, January 1961. The major portion of the article is quoted here:

A few months before his death in December, 1910, Leo Tolstoy was looking through the great number of letters he had received that day from all parts of the world. He turned to a young friend who was sitting with him—A. Goldenveiser, the pianist—and remarked with a smile:

"I am ashamed to say so, but I do enjoy the authority that attaches to the name of Tolstoy. It radiates to all the corners of the earth and links me with the most distant countries—the Far East, India, America, Australia. "

And on the same day he said to the circle of close friends around him:

"I know I don't deserve it, but here am I at Yasnaya Polyana getting expressions of sympathy with my opinions from all sides, and that gives me great happiness."

And, in fact, there was no country in the world—in Europe, Asia, America, in distant Africa and in Australia, in which the great Russian writer did not have friends and admirers. Messages of affection and of approval for his work reached him from all sides, and he sent a kindly reply to every gion and in their social background. Indian one of them. The 50,000 letters bearing gion and in their social background. one of them. The 50,000 letters bearing philosophers, Chinese scholars,

Tolstoy set great store by his correspond. ence with people from all countries and continents. He appreciated the opportunity it gave him to learn the truth about the lives of far-off peoples, which was not always to be found in newspapers of the

In his letters, and in his conversations with the visitors who came to Yasnaya Polyana from so many countries, he was able to express himself even more freely than in his articles and books-to expound ideas and views he regarded as the only true ones, and of which he felt mankind to be in sore need. That was why he replied with such alacrity to every one of his many correspondents, regardless of station in life, be he a Russian peasant, an Indian philosopher, a Turkish poet, or a student in far-away Australia.

these world-wide Among Tolstoy paid great attention to the countries of the East. His interest in them grew particularly strong after 1880 when, after passing through a profound spiritual crisis he embarked resolutely upon a of the spiritual values of mankind.

Thereafter he turned more and more to the East, to the peoples of Asia and Africa "It seems to me," he wrote, "that it is the mission of the eastern nations—China Persia, Turkey, India, Russia and perhaps Japan to show other countries....the real road to freedom". Real freedom meant, for him, a life untouched by tyranny or violence, with no exploitation of man by man, no war or conquest—a life of peace, friendship and international brotherhood.

Tolstoy's oriental correspondents differed widely in their opinions, beliefs and religion and in their opinions, beliefs and religion and in their opinions. Japanese the stamps of all nations, which are preserv- writers and publishers, Iranian poets ed in the Tolstoy archives bear eloquent journalists, Turkish lawyers, Arab peasants, writness to big world with the control of the property of the proper witness to his world-wide contents Domain. Gurukte Kanger Collection, Handwar and Students, all regarded

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They told him of their intellectual quests, their doubts, their joys and sorrows, and of their people's dreams of freedom and happiness. Some of them described the ordeals undergone by their people and begged him to champion them against foreign or native oppressors.

The first distinguished Eastern intellectual to get in touch with Tolstoy was Matsutaro Konisi, the Japanese philosopher and writer. While in Moscow early in the 1890's, he was introduced to Tolstoy by N. Gret, the Russian, philosopher, and soon became his assistant in the study and popuoriental philosophy. With larization of several books on outstanding Asian thinkers. On his return to Japan, Konisi translated The Kreutzer Sonata, Master and Man, and other works by Tolstoy.

His novel War and Peace, Anna Karenina and Resurrection, and his polemical writings, particularly My Confession and Bethink Yourselves, became favourites with the Japanese public, while his philosophy was adopted by a considerable number of Japanese intellectuals.

Tolstoy's interest in Japanese culture found striking expression in his friendship with the eminent essayist and novelist Tokutomi Roka, who spent five unforgettable days at Yasnaya Polyana in 1906, returned to Japan as an enthusiastic convert to the humanitarian views of the great Russian, and upheld those views for the remainder of his long and noble life.

Tolstoy's influence dominates the entire literature of Japan in the early Twentieth Critic Naosi Kato, penetrated into every corner of the Japanese mind and, like gun-Powder concealed in the crannies of rocks, exploded with such force as to shake all existing theories and principles to their foundations. It was almost a revolution.

His bonds of friendship with India were even stronger. The Japanese, he felt, had been it of the stronger. their too much of a hurry to assimilate lectuals. It will be a features of Western civilization, avant-garde writing in India.

Russian writer as a faithful friend of their ception of man's spiritual mission, their own peoples and were ready to confide their zeal for moral progress and their tradition of non-violence. He closely studied the life of the Indian people, and it was a joy to him to be in touch with its representa-

> In 1901, A. Ramaseshan, editor of "The Arya", a review published in Madras, wrote a series of eloquent letters to Tolstoy about life in his country. Referring to India's struggle against British Westernization, he wrote: "We are confident that a day will come when force will no longer be the sole factor in political freedom, and when, after long, peaceful progress, the Indian nation will live in peace and harmony with the European nations."

Tolstoy replied to Ramaseshan in a Konisi's help, Tolstoy published in Russia long, sympathetic letter giving his views on the future of India. "I entirely agree with you", he wrote, "your country cannot adopt the solution of the social problem proposed to it by Europe—which is, after all, no solution at all." Tolstoy considered that India's future depended on steadfast resistance to oppression and on a social structure based on respect for man and the rejection of oppression and violence.

He expanded these ideas in 1908 in his famous "Letter to an Indian"-a burning appeal written in reply to a letter from another distinguished Indian, Taraknath Das, editor of a review, "The Free Hindustan".

The profound inspiration and warm, benevolent tone of Tolstoy's answers to his Indian correspondents caused a spate of letters to pour into Yasnaya Polyana for the rest of his life. Despite his advanced years and the important work on which he was engaged, Tolstoy replied regularly to these correspondents, invariably emphasizing his century. Tolstoy's ideas, according to the respect for their country and its ancient civilization. It was in pursuit of his widespread friendly contacts with many representatives of India that Tolstoy began in 1909 his correspondence with Gandhi, who played so important a part in the public life of the Eastern peoples.

Tolstoy's ideological and artistic influbeen in too much of a hurry to assimilate lectuals. It did a great deal to develop and their inner world was something of a affinity between Tolstoy and the work of Polystery to their inner world was something of a Affinity between Tolstoy and the work of Polystery to the world was something of a Affinity between Tolstoy and the work of Polystery to the work of t hystery to him; but he felt complete sym- Rabindranath Tagore, Pram Chand and for the Indians, with their lofty con- other eminent Indian writers. Pram Chand

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stoy, whose works are among those most widely read in India.

Tolstoy did not correspond as frequently with representatives of Chinese culture as with their Indian and Japanese counterparts, but he was keenly interested in China, and stressed in his letters that mankind's salvation lay in the refusal to resort to violence between States, the renunciation of the oppression and enslavement of dependent nations, and in the establishment of peace and friendship among all peoples of the

Tolstoy's attention was first drawn to the philosophical and moral doctrines of the Orient in the early 1880's when, having renounced the world of the rich, he was engaged in laying the foundations of his new conception of the world. With passionate enthusiasm he studied Confucius, Buddha and Lao-tse, with passionate application he read the Vedas and the Upanishads, and the works of Chinese, Persian and Arab thinkers.

Discovering in the ancient doctrines of the East ideas and principles which harmonized with his own. Tolstoy set himself to propagating them in Russia. This led to of Reading, Thoughts from wise men for to East." Every Day, and The Pathway of Life, which

translated and edited 21 folk-tales by Tol- assemble the maxims of leading Eastern and Western thinkers, together with oriental proverbs, saws and legends arranged by Tolstoy himself.

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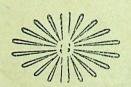
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Earlier, in the 1870's, wishing to make the treasures of world folk literature accessible to Russian children, Tolstoy had collected and edited with equal care a number of Asian tales and fables and included them in his celebrated Alphabet and his Russian Readers. Those remarkable anthologies contain many examples of Indian, Turkish, Japanese, Chinese and Arab folklore, presented in polished literary form. The collections of oriental tales, legends, proverbs and sayings compiled and published by Tolstoy are among the largest and most interesting to have appeared in Europe.

Not content with this, Tolstoy translated and published works of oriental philosophy. A series of books on Chinese, Indian and Arab philosophy was published in Russia under his supervision, including his own translation of selected maxims of Laotse, taken from the celebrated Tao Te King (Book of the Path and of Virtue).

Tolstoy's work in this field won high acclaim from experts all over the world. "Tolstoy", wrote Romain Rolland, "was the first, wide spiritual path linking all the the publication of his anthologies, The Cycle members of the ancient continent, from West

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বাংলা ১৩৬৮ সালের বৈশাথ মাস থেকে প্রবাসীর প্রকাশনার এবকষ্টিতম বর্ষ স্থার হবে। এই সুদীর্ষকাল ধারে বাংলা দাম্যিক পত্রিকার ক্ষত্রে প্রবাসী যে গৌরবময় ঐতিহ্নের স্বষ্টি করেছে, শিক্ষিত দেশবাসী তার সঙ্গেরিচিত। নূতন বৎসর থেকে প্রবাসী যাতে অধিকতর চিন্তাকর্ষক ও সর্বজন-মনোরঞ্জক হয় তার আয়োজন ধরা হয়েছে। এ বৎসর প্রবাসীর মাধ্যমে পরিবেশিত হবে তিন্টি উপস্থাস—লিখবেন প্রীপ্রেমেন্দ্র বির্বাধ ও শীচাণক্য সেন। বৈশাখ থেকে ধারাবাহিক ভাবে প্রকাশিত হতে থাকবে হুটি উপস্থাস।

পুরক্ষার প্রতিযোগিতা

এ ছাড়া উৎকৃষ্ট গল্প, প্রবন্ধ, কবিতা এবং অফাফ বিচিত্র রচনাসস্তারে প্রতিটি সংখ্যা প্রবাসীকে সমৃদ্ধ করবার স্বন্ধন্ত আমাদের আছে। এই উদ্দেশ্যে গল্প, কবিতা, প্রবন্ধ ইত্যাদির প্রতিযোগিতার ব্যবস্থাও করা হয়েছে। গল্প-প্রতিযোগিতার প্রস্থার ১০০০টাকা, দ্বিতীয় পুরস্কার ৭৫০ এবং তৃতীয় পুরস্কার ৫০০টাকা নির্দ্ধারিত হয়েছে। পুরস্কারপ্রাপ্ত না হলেও যে সকল গল্প প্রবাসীতে প্রকাশযোগ্য ব'লে বিবেচিত হবে তাদের রচ্মিতাদের প্রত্যেক্তে ৫০০টাকা ক'রে দক্ষিণা দেওয়া হবে।

উৎকৃষ্ট কবিতা প্রকাশেও প্রবাসীর কৃতিত্বের কথা স্থবিদিত। স্বয়ং কবিগুরু রবীন্দ্রনাথের অজস্র শ্রেষ্ঠ কবিতা প্রকাশিত হয়েছে প্রবাসীতে। কবিতাকে যথোচিত মর্য্যাদা-দানের উদ্দেশ্যে উৎকৃষ্ট কবিতার জন্মও নিম্নলিখিত হারে পুরস্থারের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছেঃ

প্রথম পুরস্কার ১০০ টাকা, দ্বিতীয় পুরস্কার ৫০ টাকা এবং তৃতীয় পুরস্কার ২৫ টাকা। যে-সকল কবিতা পুরস্কার পাবে না, কিন্তু প্রকাশযোগ্য ব'লে বিবেচিত হবে, তাদের প্রত্যোকটির জন্ম ১০ ক'রে দক্ষিণা দেওয়া হবে।

<mark>তথু রস্সাহিত্য নয়, মননসাহিত্য</mark> পরিবেশনও প্রবাদীর লক্ষ্য। চিন্তাশীল প্রাবন্ধিকদের উৎসাহবর্দ্ধনের উদ্দেশ্যে রাজনীতি, অর্থনীতি, বিজ্ঞান, শিল্পকলা, সাহিত্য, ইত্যাদি বিভিন্ন বিষয়ক প্রবন্ধের জন্মও পুরস্কার প্রদানের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে। পাঁচটি পুরস্কারের হার যথাক্রমেঃ

প্রথম প্রস্কার ১০০৲, দ্বিতীয় প্রস্কার ৭৫১, তৃতীয় প্রস্কার ৫০১, চতুর্থ প্রস্কার ৪০১, পঞ্চম প্রস্কার ৩০১ টাকা। এই সকল রচনার দঙ্গে ব্যবহৃত প্রত্যেকটি ফোটোর জন্মে লেথকরা পাবেন অতিরিক্ত আরো পাঁচ টাকা।

ব্যক্তিগত অভিজ্ঞতামূলক সত্য ঘটনা অনেক সময় গল্প উপস্থাসের চেয়েও চিন্তাকর্ষক হয়। পাঠকগণ যাতে নিজ নিজ জীবনের উল্লেখযোগ্য ঘটনা অথবা অভিজ্ঞতার কথা লিখতে উৎসাহিত হন সেই উদ্দেশ্যেও আমরা প্রস্থারের ব্যবস্থা করেছি। মনোনীত প্রত্যেকটি রচনার জন্ম ২৫ টাকা করে দক্ষিণা দেওয়া হবে। বিচনা যাতে প্রবাসীর ছ' পৃষ্ঠার বেশী না হয় সেদিকে লক্ষ্য রাখা প্রয়োজন। লেখার সঙ্গে প্রেরিত যে সকল ছবি প্রবাসীতে ব্যবস্থৃত হবে তাদের প্রত্যেকটির জন্ম ৫ টাকা করে দেওয়া হবে।

উপরিউক্ত প্রতিযোগিতাগুলির জন্ম প্রেরিত রচনা ১৩৬৮ দালের ৩২শে জ্যৈষ্ঠ পর্যান্ত গৃহীত হবে। "প্রতিযোগিতার জন্ম" এই কথাটি রচনার উপর লিখিত থাকা প্রয়োজন।

প্নকজ্জীবিত ভারতীয় চিত্রকলার ধারক ও বাহকর্মপে এবং প্রাচ্য ও পাশ্চান্ত্য উভয়বিধ পদ্ধতির চিত্র পরিবেশনে জন্মকাল থেকে আজ পর্যান্ত প্রবাসী শুধু বাংলার নয়, সমগ্র ভারতের সাময়িক পত্রিকা-জগতে শীর্ষস্থান অধিকার ক'রে আছে। চিত্রশিল্পীদের উৎসাহদানও প্রবাসী তার একটি প্রধান কর্ত্বর ব'লে মনে করে। স্থিরীকৃত হয়েছে যে, যে সকল চিত্র প্রবাসীতে গ্রহণযোগ্য ব'লে বিবেচিত হবে তাদের প্রত্যেকটির জ্ফ ১০০১ টাকা ক'রে মূল্য দেওয়া হবে।

্তিন বংসর থেকে প্রবাসীকে সর্ব্বাঙ্গস্থনর রূপে প্রকাশের এই ঐকান্তিক প্রচেষ্টায় নবীন প্রবীণ সকল শ্রেণীর লেখক-লেখিকা এবং পাঠক-পাঠিকার আন্তরিক সহযোগিতা একান্ত কাম্য।

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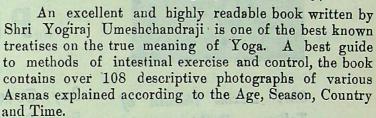
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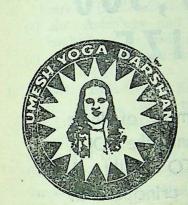
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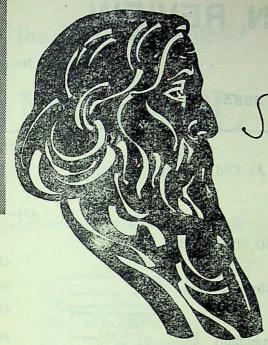
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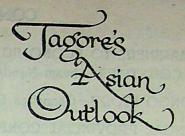
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— খ্রীনিমা চক্রবর্তী কর্ত্তক অনুদিত

वामानम ह्योभाधाय

ডাকমান্তল সভন্ত।

প্রদাসী প্রেস প্রাইতভট লিমিটেড

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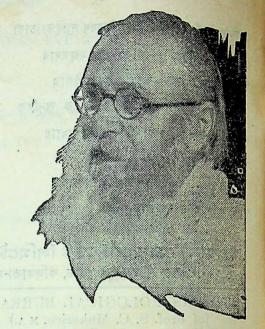
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বাংলা সাহিত্যে স্প্রতিষ্ঠ লেথকদের গল্প, কবিতা, উপস্থাস, নাটক এবং বিভিন্ন বিষয়ক রচনা-সম্ভাৱে সমৃদ্ধ, প্রখ্যাত শিল্পীদের আঁকা অজস্র উৎকৃষ্ট চিত্রশোভিত প্রবাসী ষ্টিবার্ষিকী স্মারক-গ্রন্থানি বাংলা সাহিত্যে একটি অভিনব এবং সার্থক সাহিত্য-প্রচেষ্টা ব'লে স্বীকৃতি লাভ করবে। ইতিপূর্বে বিচিত্র বিষয়-সমন্বিত এ ধরণের গ্রন্থ গুধু বাংলা ভাষা কেন, ভারতীয় কোন ভাষায়ই প্রকাশিত হয় নি।

গ্রন্থানির একটি প্রধান বিশেষত্ব হ'ল এই যে, এতে প্রবাসীর জন্মকাল থেকে আরম্ভ ক'রে এ পর্য্যস্ত, অর্থাৎ গত বাট বৎসরের মধ্যে সাহিত্য, দর্শন, বিজ্ঞান, ইতিহাস, রাজনীতি, অর্থনীতি, শিল্পকলা, সঙ্গীত, ইত্যাদি সংস্কৃতির নানা ক্ষেত্রে বিভিন্নমুখী প্রগতির ধারা বিশেষজ্ঞদের রচিত প্রবন্ধের মাধ্যমে অনুসরণ করবার চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। গত বাট বৎসরের বাংলার সাংস্কৃতিক জীবনের দিগ্দর্শন হিসাবে এই গ্রন্থানির স্থায়ী মূল্যের কথা স্থীজন কর্তৃক একবাক্যে স্বীকৃত र्त ।

এই সারকগ্রন্থানি শিক্ষিত বাঙালীকে বিংশ শতান্দীর বরণীয় বাঙালীদের বিভিন্ন কৃতি সম্বন্ধে নৃতন ক'রে সচেতন ক'রে তুলবে। এতে সন্নিবিষ্ট প্রবন্ধসমূহ অনুধাবন করলে বাংলার ছেলে-त्मरवादि बाज्यमर्गामारवाथ जाश्रु वर्वः विक्रिक श्रुत ।

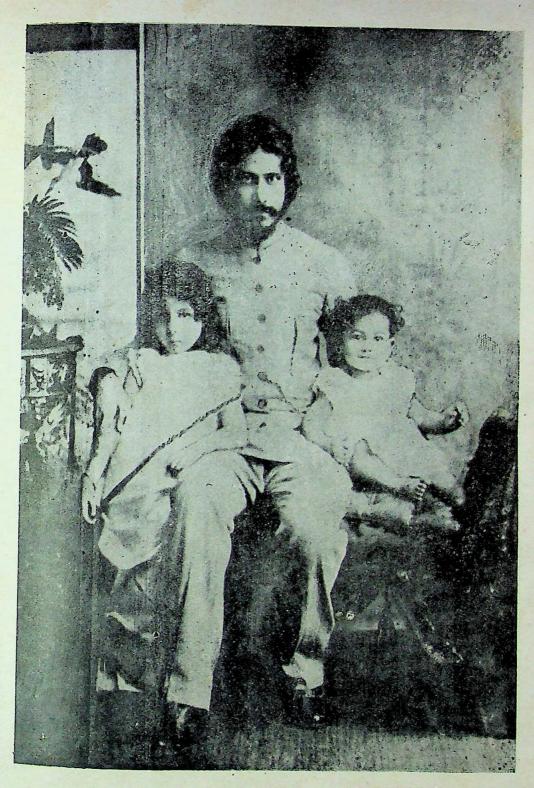
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প্রাপ্তিস্থান ঃ

প্রবাসী কার্য্যালয় ডি, এম, লাইত্তেরী গ্রন্থালয় এম, সি, সরকার এণ্ড স্ম ১२०।२, जाहार्या প্রফুলচন্দ্র রোড, 82, कर्व अशिन श्री है, विस्य ह्या है। कि श्री है, कि HIHIMIN

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Rabindranath with his infant son Rathi on his left and daughter Bela on his right



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THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE



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NOTES

The World

mosphere bleak and intense, where the U.S. led within a framework of autonomy. The majority "month-long series of set-backs, uncommonly standing calamity was the "Cuban Disaster"-as it was termed by the Western diplomats. Then followed the Laos affair, in which the U.S. had to reverse its previously taken decisions to stage an "armed response" if the Soviets did not halt their continuous aid, in trained personnel and vast quantities of arms and transport vehicles and planes, to the Pathet Lao groups. And to cap all, came the man-in-space triumph, which in point of time, was the first blow to the prestige of the United States. Prior to all these, the ambiguous role of the U.S. in the Congo had not only complirated the situation there but had caused serious repercussions within the Afro-Asian groups, as the Communist world lost no time in "showing up" the behind the scene activities of the U.S. agents and allies in the newly-freed and yet-to-be freed areas of the Old World.

In Algeria, at the end of April, the four-day mutiny flared-up and was extinguished by that determined old soldier, Charles de Gaulle, who again proved that he was the greatest Frenchman of modern times. Algeria has been the cancerous growth that has been sapping at the vitals of France.

Seven years of futile war, General de Gaulle has argued, have demonstrated that the 9,000,000 Moslems in Algeria will no longer submit to domi-

that if France is to salvage anything in Algeria, it must negotiate a settlement while there is still The month of May began with cold war at- hope of preserving links with the former colony West was concerned. The U.S. had suffered a of the mainland French, sick of a war which has tied up more than 400,000 troops (half the French severe for the recent history of the U.S." The out- Army) and cost 13,000 French lives, support the de Caulle view.

> That support probably was the crucial factor in enabling General de Gaulle to triumph last week in a new test of strength with dissident army elements in Algeria and France.

> The revolt collapsed, after rendering the maximum amount of disservice to the cause of the French in Algeria, and by its collapse the doors were opened to the negotiations now taking place at Evian-les-Bains, on the French shore of Lake Geneva. The French delegation there is led by the Minister for Algerian Affairs, M. Louis Joxe, and the F.L.N. by Belkacem Krim, the only one amongst the nine "historical leaders" of the Algerian revolt who is still free; of the rest four have been killed and four are in French prisons. The negotiations opened with a peace-offering by President de Gaulle, who liberated 6,000 Algerians detained in camps, transfered the F.L.N. leader Mohammed ben Bella from an island prison to a comfortable chateau in the Loire Valley and a cease-fire for the French army in Algeria, effective for a month, in all regions except the areas bordering Tunis and Morocco.

In Laos, the International Control Commission, composed of Indians, Canadians and Poles are in Laos to supervise the cease-fire. The Comhation by the 1,000,000 European colons. He feels complicated by dishonest reporting by news-

always gives a slant to news from or concerning India, much to the delight of its disguised Communist friends whom the "gullible Yankees" consider as staunch anti-reds!

In Geneva the 14-nation conference on Laos has started late due to delays caused by the delegates from the various nations accredited to take part in the negotiatons. It is as yet too early * to prophesy about the outcome of the conference, the main-objective of which has been settled-a neutral Laos, the question being, how far neutral? The delegates are from Britain, Burma, Cambodia, Red China, Canada, France, India, Laos, Poland, Russia, the U.S.A., Thailand, North Viet Nam, South Viet Nam.

In the Congo, after the forced abdication of the Western stooge, Moise Tshombe, the air has been cleared for constitutional progress. Belgian, British, South African and other motely mercenaries had taken what cash they could get and had either left or were on the move, seeking a profitable get-away. The Coquilhatville conference had declared for a Confederation of the United States of the Congo, with supreme executive powers vested in the President, who is, at present, Joseph Kasavubu.

The mess in the Congo was largely engineered by misinformed policy of the U.S., which has now -happily for the unfortunates in the Congo-seen its way to steer a clearer course. India has been left in a very awkward position, after the rebuff given to Rajeshwar Dayal, and it is an open question as to whether the keeping of Indian combat troops in the Congo would be helpful in any way.

In Portuguese Africa, the soldiers of Salazar are taking Western civilization to the poor, unarmed and helpless Africans, in the shape of slaughter, rape and loot.

In South Korea, there has been a military coup d'etat. The Military Junta in power has deposed Prime Minister Chang, who took office after the senile dictator Syngman Rhee was deposed by the student mobs, Premier Chang and President Yun have both resigned. The shift of power has left the country in the hands of General Chang and Major-General Pak Chung Hi.

Another part of Balkanised, Asia, was formerly part of the French colonial that empire, namely, South Viet Nam, has figured in the U.S. Security Council talks. Thailand's Marshal Saritce-Thamphication Gurakut Kangri Collection, Hand

hounds employed by papers like the Time-which South Viet Nam's Ngo Dinh Diem are now the bulwarks on which the anti-Communist front of the West in South-East Asia is above States are anchored. Both of the under control of what the U.S. papers call strong-men. The South Viet Nam army is reputed to be 150,000 strong and further, as is given out in one report, it has been waging a continuous war against the Communists which costs 500 lives every month, Thailand is in a more secure position and its army of 90,000 men is well-trained and equipped by the U.S.

It is evident that the security talks in the U.S. are the result of an apprehension that Laos will have to be "abandoned to a Communist dominated neutrality" as the Time calls it. Laos touches along its long and sinuous borders Red China, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, North Viet Nam and South Viet Nam and as such could provide jungle-covered routes for Communist infiltration and aggression.

The U.S. reliance on "Strong-men" may or may not be sound because of the fact that most men of that type tend to be dictators with steel-clad bodies and clay feet-represented by lack of popular support as exemplified by Syngman Rhee and Menderes. It is impossible, however, to see far into the maze that has engulfed these cross-entanglements areas, thanks to the caused by the expansionist programme of Red China on the one hand and the deepseated feuds and hatreds that have riven these states from within. Recently Thailand has evinced a liking for neutralism, followed by India, Burma and Cambodia.

Government seems to be The U.S. groping in the dark as yet, the handicap of the previous of the misguided policies government being the main trouble

The New York Times of May 14, summed the position, as seen from the U.S. point of view, in its editorial commentaries of which the following extracts are significant:

A year ago this Tuesday the leaders of the Western Big Three listened in stunned silence in Paris' Elysee Palace to a bitter denunciation of the United States by Premier Khrushchev. Thus collapsed, at its first and only session, the long heralded summit conference and with it hope for

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Soviet-U.S. tensions have fluctuated since grave doubts whether any coalition headed by that disastrous day in Paris. The chief respite came in the first few weeks after the Kennedy Administration took office. Since then the tension has been building to a new peak. In the face of the sharpening conflict, President Kennedy has embarked on a search for policies to deal with the immediate areas of danger and the longerrange cold war issues.

The immediate areas of danger are the conflicts that threaten to touch off a big war. That threat had become acute in Laos. At Geneva last week fourteen nations assembled to try to resolve the Laotian issue. Fighting had stopped in Laos but the country's future remained precarious, as did the West's whole position in Southeast Asia.

The longer-range issues involve the conflict over Berlin, nuclear tests and disarmament, and the Communist efforts to establish ascendancy through subversion, propaganda, and political and economic appeals in the underdeveloped nations of Latin America, Asia and Africa. At Oslo last week the NATO powers sought to devise measures for meeting that broad array of challenges. But NATO was also faced with the problem of putting its own house in order.

The fourteen nations involved in the Geneva conference have a total population of nearly 1.7 billion and armed forces of more than 14 million. The country whose fate they will decide has a population of 3,000,000 and total armed forces including all factions—of about 25,000.

But the stakes in Laos extend far beyond the borders of that tiny Buddhist kingdom. Laos is a bridge and potential invasion path from Communist China and North Viet Nam to the pro-Western nations of South Viet Nam and Thailand. Laos also has common borders with neutralist Cambodia and Burma. Communist control of Laos would put greatly increased pressure on the West's whole strategic position in Southeast Asia.

In the opinion of the Western delegates, the Soviet attempt to seat all three Laotian factions The Geneva has made plain Moscow's strategy. The Russians evidently plan to back Prince Sonvanna Phouma as a compromise between the

him would be truly neutral.

Yet the West appears to have no feasible alternative to Souvanna Phouma in view of the Pathet Lao's strengthened military position. The Pathet Lao and the Russians have made clear that they will never accept Boun Oum as Head of the Laotian Government. The West, after the experience of Korea and Viet Nam, does not want another divided country in Asia. The consensus of military experts is that it is too late for effective military measures in Laos, even in the doubtful event of Allied agreement on such a

Accordingly, the feeling is that Western efforts at Geneva will have to be directed towards trying to obtain effective international guaranteesof Laotian neutrality. India may play an important role in that effort. The New Delhi Government is deeply concerned over Chinese Communist pressures on India's borders. it is unlikely to look with equanimity on an expansion of Communist power in Southeast Asia. The West may also find some room for manoeuvre in differing views between Moscow and Peiping. The indications are that the Chinese. Communists are far more willing than the Russians to risk forcing the West's hand in Southeast Asia.

Nevertheless, most Western officials concede that while it may be possible at Geneva to establish international guarantees against outside intervention in Laos, the prospects now are slim for preventing Communist domination from within.

The U.S. is gravely concerned over the possible repercussions of the events in Laos on other parts of Southeast Asia, particularly South Viet Nam: There are already 12,000 Communist guerrillas operating in the country. The pressures are almost certain to increase as a result of the Communists' strengthened position in Laos.

The position, with regard to the South-East Asian problem remains substantially the same at the end of May.

Another African State attained the... status of free nationhood in May, namely, Sierra Leone. Britain's colonial empire in Africa started with Sierra Leone in 1787 otheres of Boun Oum and the Pathet Lao. But a local tribal chief, in order to settle freed in recent when the site of Freetown was leased from in recent weeks, the Prince has move steadily slaves from England, together with Negroes closer to the British army. In 1808, to the Pathet Lao. Westernuleaders have kulkischessed of rom the British army. In 1808,

it became a British colony and the boundaries were gradually pushed inwards. Diamonds were discovered on its river beds in 1930 and Sierra Leone now provides one-fourth of the world's diamonds. It is also rich in high-grade iron-ore. It lies on Africa's west coast, between French Guinea and Siberia, the area being 27,926 sq. miles and the population just over 2 millions.

Belgium has got a new government in May, after 3 months of a deadlock following the collapse of the previous government due to the unpopularity of the austerity measures brought in to counter-balance the loss of the Congo empire in July of last year. The new government-sixteenth World War II—was headed by Premier Lefevre. the Vice-Premier being Paul-Henri Spaak, who resigned his post Secretary-General of NATO to solve the impasse in his motherland. It is not quite clear whether the Loi Unique-the emerrency economic bill brought in by the last Premier. Gaston Eyskens-has been scrapped or retained in part.

In the Americas, the repercussions of the ill-advised and misconceived Cuba adventure still continue. Most of the Latin American States have looked askance this new role of the U.S., and many friends have cooled off due to the strong dislike of all free countries for intervention by outsiders in home politics.

In general, world politics remained very much the same in May as it had been the end of April last. There is a slight relaxation in the crescendo of clamorous propaganda against the U.S., and it seems fairly certain now that Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Khruschev are going to meet informally at neutral Vienna. There is much speculation regarding the subject-matter of the discussions, but there does not seem to be any concrete basis for them.

Nearer home the moves of the Cevlonese Premier, Sirimavo Bandaranaike-the notsc-tearful widow-have caused some amount of surprise. In the ten months since she took office she has managed to accumulate a record of a few minor achievements and a good deal of trouble. She has threatened to nationalize foreign oil companies and

upset the 800,000 Roman Catholics by nationalizing their schools, and, in regular Fidel Castro fashion, called in the army to smash the opposition. Her "Sinhala" language policy, which threaten the political submergence of the one million Tamils has caused a great deal of resentment. She has again used the army to dragoon the Tamils into submission. How far she has succeeded is only known to herself, as there is a total censorship imposed on all news about the troubles and the methods used to quell them.

Meanwhile the trial of the Buddhist priests. Talduwe Somarama and gama Buddharakitha, who had Sirimavo's late husband. Solomon Bandaranaike, for the passing of the "Sinhala only" law in 1956. by shooting him dead, came to a close, both being sentenced to death by hanging. Possibly because the high-priests of Buddhistic ahimsa paramo dharma have been taught a lesson thus, the widow believes the road to be clear for the working of her will on the weaker minorities of Ceylon.

At home, the Chinese aggression still continues. And to help the aggressors and their active Fifth Column, the government at the Centre has allowed the most backward state in the Indian Union to open the doors for them by an act that has not only grief but has resentment and seriously jeonardised the Congress position in Eastern India. Pandit Nehru's weakness in the face of stark realities is nothing new, but he-and his Cabinet-has attained "new low" over the Silchar shooting. Pandit Nehru's firade against the Portuguese atrocities in Angola sounds hollow and thespian in pose and content when projected against his utterances regarding the Silchar brutalities.

At the time of closing these notes, it is learnt that Lal Bahadur Shastri is roing to Assam. It is reported likewise that he might visit Cachar also. As the enquiry. matter is under a Cannot attach any importance to the Home judicial We only hope that the Minister's visit. Sangrama Parishad would not weaken but l companies and would continue on its CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar way,

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peacefully. They must not be fooled by this year would mean that the Congress party, having managed to negotiate the elections 1952, be made applicable to the Commission. in peace, would be at liberty to carry on with its work of high-talk and low intrigue, for motives ulterior. The people of the aggrieved areas must realize that this is their last chance of survival as free human beings and that the treacherous group that deliberately and actively handed over Sylhet to Pakistan at the outset of freedom is not likely to allow any humane considerations to stand in the way of their machinations.

The Mehrotra Commission

We find the following news-item, regarding the terms of reference of the Mehrotra Commission, in the Amrita Bazar Patrila of May 30:

into the police firing on May 19 in Silchar in Bengali-speaking report by August 31 next.

into:

(I) The situation in Cachar District consequent on the movement launched by the Sangram Parishad prior to its culmination into the events of May 19.

(II) The nature and extent of the disturbances that took place on May 19 in important places in Cachar District like Karimganj, Hailakandi, etc., in general and Silchar and its suburbs in particular.

(III) Whether adequate measures were taken by the local authorities to maintain public

(IV) The circumstances under which the police firing in question which is reported to have tesulted in the death of a number of persons and injuries to several others had to be resorted

(V) Whether the firing and its extent were justified.

The Government had also directed that the request for "one year's status quo", which provisions of Sub-Sections Two to Five of Section Five of the Commission of Enquiry Act

We do not know whether the language of the terms of reference has been correctly reproduced in the news-item given above. If it has been then all we can say at present that in plain English the use of the words "had to be resorted to", in term No. IV, indicates a pre-assumption that is hardly likely to be helpful for an enquiry of this type. The scope of the enquiry has been made as wide as possible, considering the time-limit, but, of course, the best judge of that would be Mr. Justice Gopalii Mehrotra.

In any case the terms of reference should put the Sangram Parishad on the alert. No emotional aberration should be allowed by the executive of the Parishad to cloud the issues. This enquiry should be Shillong, May 29. The Assam Government treated with all the seriousness of a law-suit tonight announced the terms of reference for Mr. on the outcome of which will depend the Justice Gonalii Mehrotra Commission of Enquiry solution of the vital problems facing the population of Assam. which eleven persons were killed and over fifty There must not be any bovcott of the injured. The Commission has been requested to Commission, or for that of any committee of fact-finders, or any Central Minister. The Commission has been asked to enquire Emotional brain-storms have been curse of the Bengali people. This we must realise.

Selection of Congress Candidates

The Congress President, Shri Sanjeeva Reddy, enunciated a principle for the choice of candidates for the legislatures, at the Centre and in the States, during the course of his address at the last Congress session. In that principle it was laid down that those Congressmen who have been in places of power for ten years, should now sten down and make room for newcomers in the field.

In our talks with foreign observers who pass through India, and in our discussions with foreign pressmen who have been in this country for any considerable period, we have been recently coming across a new tone of criticism. In passing we might say Commission may appear to be relevant. Senior journalist we have been meeting of

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late quite a few foreign visitors, who are in search of the "low-down" regarding our country's problems, and who have been asking very probing question. As these meetings were never of our own seeking, we have had to ask the questioners in almost every case, the why and wherefore of such queries. And in their replies we find a new tone, quite different from what it has been in the previous years of our independence.

The question is no longer "who is succeed Pandit Nehru" or "what is the hold of the Congress on the people of India?" The questions we have been asked at least twenty times in the course of the last year and a half have been "Why does not Pandit Nehru allow new blood to come into the ranks of his Cabinet ?" "Does Pandit Nehru think 'after me the flood'?" And finally comes the inevitable question, "Have all the capable vounger people gone against the Congress?" Very recently a newspaperman from Central Europe asked us. "Do you want your country to grow senile within such a short period. What are you journalist gentlemen doing?" The only answer we could give was provided, late in the day, by our Congress President Shri Reddy.

We were distressed to find that this wise counsel of the President has been completely ignored by the A.I.C.C. The Statesman of May 30 gives a report of a non-official resolution, which lays down "certain criteria for selection of candidates for elections", which was adopted by the A.I.C.C. The report further savs that "the rest" was referred to the Working Committee for consideration. We were unable to find what were "the rest"

The resolution that was finally adopted, "sought to emphasize that a candidate must be a worker committed to the Congress ideal of socialist society and other policies". "It also said", we are told, "the A.I.C.C. should draw up a questionnaire to ascertain the applicants' views on the basic principles and policies which must be followed to implement the socialist programme."

We do not know what the mover had

resolution, which in all conscience seems as vague in its purport as it could possibly be He is reported to have said that in the absence of any test people without any faith in the Congress policies got party tickets and the organization moved in "a somewhat amorphous manner". He also asked for the publication of party literature as the British Labour Party did.

But what are the tests and who is to be entrusted with the testing? What is to prevent the super-annuated and super-fatted Congress luminaries, with black hearts. elephantine behinds and rapacious maws from passing through the screen, with all their corrupt myrmidons in train, bawling loudly in chorus the Congress creed or whatever the mover had in mind when he mentioned "Congress policies".

There should have been a clear directive that, of the Congress nominees for the next election, at least 60 per cent should be under 50 years of age, and that at least half of that 60 per cent should be newcomers with a clean record regarding integrity. In the absence of that the old guards-predominantly black in their ethical concepts would again lead the Congress in its downward slide.

As the rest of the A.I.C.C. activities and speeches, we are reminded of the immortal lines of Lewis Carrol:

The time has come, the Walrus said, to talk of many things Of ships and shoes and sealing wax and cabhages and kings And why the sea is boiling hot, and whether pigs have wings.

The Editor.

Nehru's "Jallianwalabagh"

India, particularly the Prime Minister of India Mr. Nehru, hawks peace, love and brotherhood of man to the less spiritual nations of the world. India had certain great men who truly believed in nonviolence and in universal humanity and their teachings had enabled many a fake in his mind when he put forward their teachings had enabled many to to cc-o. In Public bondais Galled Kalsecolleptophetiwof peace and love to

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Sri Chaitanya and Rabindranath Tagore and Gandhiji in modern times had lifted humanity out of the mire of bestial selfishness and blood thirsty greed for short periods at one time or another. But false prophets who have tried to cash in on the teaching of these great saints and rishis have very soon brought humanity back into the filth of ferocious self assertion and a total denial of human virtues and high ethical principles set up by the true prophets of humanity. Since July 1960. the Assamese leaders of the Congress supported by the Assamese of the other political parties, have been carrying on a war against the Bengali-speaking people of Assam. In this highly reprehensible fratricidal programme of murder, rape, arson and robbery with violence; they have been aided by the police, the student community and by non-Assamese traders who wanted to oust the Bengalis from the bazars of Asasm. The Delhi Government, assisted the criminals of Assam by their inaction, as well as by backing up the lies that the Assamese propagated. Many Bengalis were killed, injured, dishonoured and expropriated in Assam and thousands ran away to Bengal seeking refuge. The Central Government watched all this with a benign detachment which was tantamount to encouragement as far as the criminals were concerned. Mr. Nehru and his henchmen made occasional wise cracks to white-wash the low and anti-national activities of the Assamese criminals. Mr. Nehru even found something to admire in the Assamese youth who had been going about murdering, looting, burning houses and dishonouring women. The whole thing had been a linguistic racket. Assamese, which is a kind of dialect of mixed origin and not even an accepted Prakrit of India, had to be imposed on all people living in Assam. Assamese has no literature worth anything and not even 1% of the Assamese buy any books or periodicals of which there are few in Assamese. False Census returns suddenly boosted up the number of Assamese speakers in Assam and showed the other and consent of Maridwar CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

seek honour and glory in different lands, peoples as dwindling. A correct Census The Jain Tirthankaras, Goutama the Buddha, would even now prove that the Assamese speakers of Assam are not even in a numerically superior position. But the false propaganda and the crimes went on and Delhi approved of all this anti-national propaganda. The refugees from Assam stayed on in Bengal in their thousands. On May 20, 1961, one year after all this began the Bengali-speaking Assamese staged a peaceful Hartal in Siichar. Mr. Nehru was then in Gauhati with Mr. Chaliha, the Chief Minister of Assam. He was sitting and watching the situation, so to speak. A few days before that Shri Vinoba Bhave, who goes about India in the manner of Mahatma Gandhi for reasons best known to himself and perhaps to Mr. Nehru, suddenly visited Assam and gave advice gratis to the Bengalis of Assam to give up their own language in favour of Assamese. For, he said, if they did not do so, they would be eliminated. We do not know whether he had been tipped off by Mr. Nehru, who possibly had advance information about what would happen on the 20th of May. On that day the Bengalis who had been unarmed and were accompanied by their womenfolk and children were set upon by armed forces and were shot down in large numbers. We do not know how many were killed and injured but the admitted figures are 9 killed and about five times as many injured. Among those killed and injured were some women and children. This proves that the crowd was not organised for a violent attack on the police or anybody. One should remember that when last year Bengalis were being killed and Bengali women were being raped the Assamese police were conspicuous by their absence from all scenes of crime. This year they took the first opportunity to fire upon and kill a number of unarmed persons inclulding women and children. And Mr. Nehru was then in Assam. If one said that Mr. Chaliha was in conference with Mr. Nehru discussing the situation one would not be far wrong. And if one said that the armed forces who were armed and paid at our cost were sent there with the knowledge and consent of Mr. Nehru, one would not

be far from the truth. Perhaps, Mr. Nehru had not realised that the Bengalis would not run away from his troops. But then he should have known that. And he should also know that the Bengalis would not run away from his troops at any place at any time. It is a great shame upon Mr. Nehru that he sat in Gauhati and permitted this beastly show of force to decide a stupid political issue of an anti-national nature. If this is a sample of Mr. Nehru's political acumen he should retire from politics immediately. We call Silchar Nenru's Jallianwalabag; because, it was his reassuring presence in Gauhati which gave courage to the cowardly Assamese to perpetrate this brutal crime against Indian humanity. It was after the Jallianwalabag massacre that Rabindranath Tagore threw his knighthood back at the Viceroy of India. We are waiting to see how many Bengalis throw away their Bharat Ratna and Deshikottam after this second Jallianwalabag of Silchar. Mr. Nehru, the apostle of peace and brotherhood of man should do penance for his participation, directly or indirectly, in all these anti-national orgies which have been utterly shameful and inhuman. He should also do penance for reducing India to a level where his "Socialism" could only mean a total disintegration of Indian nationalism which would be replaced by a form of state and individual capitalism an exploitative variety controlled and managed by particular partisans of the Congress and other secret collaborators of that organisation who would agree acknowledge Hindi as their mothertongue or as the language of India to foster the sanctimonious declarations of policy indulged in by the half-educated and superstitious primitives and decadents of the Congress party upon whom Nehru depended for his leadership. We are often told how great a man Nehru is. The only greatness he has so far shown has firstly broken up India into two countries with about a couple of million men, women and children sacrificing their lives, property, honour and social position to achieve Nehru's Independence. After that we

murder, loot, rape and arson arranged or indulged in by the degraded criminals in whose hands Nehru has delivered India If he has done this against his wishes, he should resign and leave lesser men to manage things in a proper manner. If he has done this willingly and in order to strengthen the hands of the base sinners who make use of him as a facade, he should resign in order to liquidate this great criminal organisation. His party has made the Indian Constitution a farce and they all deserve to be lined up for trial for a treacherous contempt and violation of the basic principles laid down in the Consiltution. If Nehru is afraid of these hoodlums or is in sympathy with them, we cannot have him as our Prime Minister,

The Assam Shooting

Ever since the Congress came to inherit the British imperial Takht of India, we Indians have suttered persecution of a kind which we never had faced even under the Moghuls. It all began by a large-scale decantation of population from Pakistan into India and vice versa and thousands of men, women and children lost their lives, suffered dishonour and were deprived of everything in the process. The refugees as these decanted persons were called had suffered and were still suffering humiliation of an extreme kind at the hand of "our own" government. We have had more police firings since independence than we had before under the British and these firings had always been upon unarmed crowds demonstrating for venting legitimate grievances of one kind of another. Our police always resort to firing upon unarmed men, women and children for self-defence, though our crowds are seldom as violent as crowds in other countries tries where the police never open fire on any deomnstrators, violent or otherwise, Since independence we do not know how many men, women and children have been killed and wounded as a result of police firing; but the number has been quice big in spite of the fact that our Prime Minister Mr. Nehru goes from country to country have had nothing but repeated cases of university to the country t

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sal fellowship. He does not realise how struggle against British imperialism, will when his henchmen at home shoot and kill little girls after solemnly declaring them to be violent. This has happened more than a dozen times, we think, and it is high time Mr. Nehru practised charity, morality and non-violence at home, instead of having them, only for export. Mr. Nehru sits and watches his friends and followers violate the principles of Indian Nationalism for their clan or gang advantages in the so-called states of India, which are the artificial creations of the British and have been maintained by the Congress in order to give high sounding names and position to a large number of fairly low type of persons. Districts have been detached from real racial and linguistic zones and added to fake States which never existed in history as social anthropological units of a homogeneous type. Many districts have been detached from Bengal and hitched on to other administrative units created by the British for punitive purposes, and the Congress have carried on the injustice in spite of their repeated assertions to the contrary during the British period. Never has a new-born nationalism been associated with so much cheap falsehood we have found in India after 1947. Mr. Nehru would like to be known as a great man of peace and a super moralist in the field of politics, in spite of the fact that his administration has given India the maximum denial of human rights, shootings to kill, usurpations of power, autocratic and fanciful taxation, waste of public funds, underhand dealings in all fields of life, rampant illiteracy, poverty and unemployment. This latest incident in Silchar, Assam, during which callous shooting down of boys, girls and some children, Mr. Nehru had been present in that state, has created a situation from which Mr. Nehru will emerge with a greatly reduced reputation. Fifty million Bengalis are now facing "elimination" as Mr. Nehru's official Saint Vinoba Bhave has called it; and the Bengalis having been trained in a hard school of persecution during forty yeare of

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farcical it is for a man to run around for not take all this persecution, injustice and world peace and international good-will humiliation in a docile manner. They have now fully realised what they can expect from the Nehru Government and not even the gauleiters of Bengal will be able to hold back the flood waters of Bengal's profound indignation.

A.C.

Nehru Government and Languages

Some Panjabis have agreed to accept Hindi as their mother language. Therefore, the Nehru Government are not in favour of having Panjabi as State language in the Panjab. In fact, Hindi is not the mother language of any Panjabis and the whole thing has been fudged up in order to inflate the figure of Hindi speakers in India. In their official publication "India—1961" Government of India have shown Panjabi as belonging to the Hindi group of languages. This is a sure sign of great intellectual dishonesty and one can hardly believe that Mr. Nehru could indulge in such propaganda carried out by his departments. The Nepalese speaking people of Darjeeling want Nepali as their sole official language in spite of the fact that Darjeeling is part of Sikkim and Nepalese are all Indians by domicile Darjeeling. They have the sympathy the Nehru Government; for, they are not Bengali speaking though they are in State of West Bengal. The Nehru Government have also forgotten that among the people of Darjeeling district are numerous Bhutanese, Sikkimese and Tibetans and a good many Bengalis, Marwaris and upcountry men speaking certain North Indian dialects. The people of Cachar district in Assam are over 90 per cent Bengali speaking. There are less than 1 per cent Assamese speakers in that district. Yet the Nehru Government tried to bully them into accepting Assamese as their language! The Nehru clique have no principles about language zones. They go by other considerations, and facts mean nothing to them. They try to keep separate linguistic zones joined up in one state for economic reasons and they also try to split up the important linguistic zones, so that no language, ex-

in any place in India. They have called but who can make good the intellectual Hindi and these languages are widely divergent, like Bhojpuri, Maithili, Maghdi, Ardha Maghdi, Brijbhasha, Urdu, etc., etc., and they are all called by the one common name, Hindi. The Congress clique that dominates India today ignores the historical fact that political strength and power cannot create the strength and growth of languages. One hundred and fifty million real and fake Hindi speakers, of whom more than 90 per cent are illiterate, cannot lift Hindi out of its evolutionary status and make it a mature language by spending public money on dictionaries, written to order books, translations of the classics of other languages into Hindi and spoon fed periodicals. The reason is very clear. This Hindi can be printed, published, spoken over the radio; but one cannot force the public to read it lovingly nor to listen to it. Already Hindi readers Hindi speakers keep away from all statemanaged literature and broadcast. We know many who switch off their radios when the Hindi news come on. They prefer to listen to the news broadcast in English. For, the official Hindi is a stilted and stiff-jointed vehicle of expression which has no flow in it, nor any natural grace. Languages have to grow in an atmosphere of love and slow and steady mothering over long periods. No one can make a language, with its poetry, literature, thought forms, idioms and ornamental diction by planning. Great literature is born of great emotions, grand thoughts and intensively activated expression of such feelings and ideas. No one can achieve hat by order of a Prime Minister or at the request of a benevolent President or a king. One can set up half-a-dozen steel plants by borrowing or extorting money; but no one can set up an organisation for writing good poetry, fine novels and short stories and exquisite belles lettres; any more than one can order great paintings, sculpture or music to be produced according to a lavish scheme sponsored by government which can spend

cepting Hindi, has any numerical strength Money can be obtained by deficit financing many separate languages by the one name and aesthetic deficits that are found in the personalities of those who are provided with funds at public cost? Can the public or their leader, Mr. Nehru, put the proper feelings, thoughts and the technique of expression in their hired writers? No; and this plan of campaign, by which Hindi will become the National Language of India, and all other Indian languages will slowly disintegrate and give way to the mighty intellectual forces that will flow from the daftars of the Nehru Government; will not function for the purpose for which the monies will be squandered by Mr. Nehru's henchmen. The only purpose that will be served will be that some poor Hindi writers will have a good time for a while at public cost. This should be all right; but wherever money flows from governmental sources there is corruption, and we may be sure that some or quite a lot of this money will go down the drain and only the ungodly will benefit by that misuse of public funds.

If Hindi, the language of the gods of Delhi, meets with such a fate; what good will it do to humanity to sponsor a Patna variety of Hindi or to try and establish Assamese as a language even in Assam? All patois eventually die a martyr's death for the cause of a truly great language. The ninety kinds of English eventually merged into King's (Queen's) English. The dialects of the French and the Italian provinces have gone to make their own French and Italian languages. This has been possible Dryden because Shakespeare, Milton, Victor Hugo; Shelley, Moliere, Racine, Dante, Tasso and Alfieri gave shape and beauty to English, French and Many dialects of Bengali have added their volumes to the main current of Bengali which has been made deep and great by numerous writers during the last seven hundred years. The trouble languages like the court Hindi sponsored by the Nehru Government or the Assamese language which has little shape, form beauty, is that they have no roots in history a or in the human heart. Court Hindi is money, fabricated language

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writers of the past of Hindi (or Hindi-like languages). Court Hindi is a language of translated thought forms and Assamese has barely any thought forms worth mentioning. Had there been a great emotional and aesthetic current of court Hindi and Assamese, other linguistic currents could have flowed into that and found a new life. But, where these artificially fostered languages are dry as sticks and like arid heds of dead sand, other languages will only dry up and die at their touch without achieving any human purpose. Our Ministers everywhere are without knowledge and imagination and they are selling the birthright of Indians for a mess of nottage.

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The idea of Imperialism is very old and has been found to exist side by side with monarchy, democracy, oligarchy, autocracy and every other form of government established by man. An empire means a territory which is controlled by a ruling power which has the right to exploit that empire for its own advantage, in a limited or an unlimited manner. In ancient times, even in ruling countries where freedom fourished in glory and humanity achieved greatness in point of culture; there was easy acceptance of the idea of imperial possessions for the supply of slaves and for acquisition of wealth by exploitation of the latural resources of the empire. This was possible by reason of the ease with which the human mind could adapt itself to a dual standard of ethics; one for the freemen of the ruling country and another for the helots", the "barbarians", the "mlechhas", the "kafirs", the "pagans" or whosoever else supplied the human material for exploitation by the ruling power. So that even after achieving greatness in the field human freedom, liberty and culture; he peoples of ancient Greece, Rome, the Rolly Roman Empire or the magnificent Empires built by Genghiz Khan,

rights of existence and glory to the great Lane or the Chinese dynasties retained their barbaric love of domination over othe: human beings. They had the ideas of liberty, fraternity and equality; but only for themselves, the ruling "particians" and nor for the lesser humans, the "plebeians", who were there only to serve the herrenvolk of those days. The ideals of human freedon were thus sullied by the cheap ego of the men and women who happened to be in power at the particular time in a particular place. We like to think that the ancient Indians had a cleaner and a better outlook and that during those centuries when Indians had their own civilisation and culture untouched by the influence of outsiders, they developed freedom, liberty and human rights to an extent unknown in other countries and at other times before or after that Satyayuga. But one has perforce certain misgivings in maintaining a wholehearted faith in this wishful thought of India's past greatness in the field of human freedom and human rights, when one refers to the later history of the Indians and their repeated lapses from their declared ideals. Did we or did we not have privileged classes in ancient Indian polity? Did we put the non-Aryans and the Sudras under a handicap and deprive them of their human rights, by quoting from false scriptures of one kind or another? For we find the caste system has been abused for the advantage of privileged classes again and again and we also find a total absence of human considerations in our interpretations of the ideals of social relations. Is the Indian mind attuned to the overall and universal ideal of human freedom, equality and liberty? Or are the Indians only capable of thinking of rights and moral values in a limited and restricted manner? Can we dissociate ourselves from the ideas of privilege and of those petty injustices and advantages which are the natural products of a system in which caste, class or privilege predominate? We are inclined to think that whatever historical background may or may not exist for our inordinate love of privilege, the readiness to create advantages for special classes of people at the cost of persons who are in a weak CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

position is ever present in India. We further think that India requires a lot of soul washing before she can be a true home of and perfect human liberty, freedom equality. Even after 200 years of foreign domination, during which period all Indians irrespective of class or caste have been insulted and made to suffer ignominy by reason of their complexion, nationality, religion, social customs and way of life; the Indians have emerged unclean in their hearts and sinfully infected by greed, immoral, unjust and anti-social urges; and by all those evil desires which have made men worse than beasts and unfit to be called a true image of goodness and godliness.

As soon as we attained independence in 1947 by compromising with the evil genius of the British, we began to form groups, cliques and gangs in order to get what was not ours by right and by any ethical division of wealth, power, position and honours. We began to prevaricate, fabricate false backgrounds and to grab and to snatch in order to achieve our low objectives. The Provinces of India thus became states with ruling classes and ruling parties and each State began to look for its "empire" within itself which consisted of certain minorities which could be bullied and exploited in order to create privileges for the groups in power. The states looked for "sticks" with which to beat and torment their minorities and these "sticks" were usually caste, creed, race or language. Through the long centuries during which we remained the slaves of the Moghuls, the British or somebody else, our castes, creeds, racial characteristics or languages had shed all their past glory and good qualities. Our Brahmins had become ignorant and degenerate caricatures of the intellectual giants who were their ancestors. Our Kshatriyas had either benaries who fight for a profession. Our Vaishyas had lost most of their trades and crafts. In religion, culture or in the matter of inheriting and cherishing great linguis- the sufferers or their fellow Bengalis in tic traditions, we have been recommendated the sufferers or their fellow Bengalis did tic traditions, we have been miserable the province of West Bengal. He did failures. We have gone to the laws to the province of West Bengal. failures. We have gone to the lowest large content of the large c

tellectual depths and religion means odd bits of meaningless ritual to most of us; culture means next to nothing and the linguistic traditions have been degraded in a manner undreamt of by other peoples. False propaganda and fake developments have replaced real endeavour in all these fields, until we have surrounded ourselves by a travesty of great realities. Philosophically, culturally, and in our way of life we are like nothing that has been gloriously there ever before. We try to imitate the ways of the Euro-American riff-raff and pride ourselves on our modernity. We are building up a fake civilisation in which there is nothing truly Indian, nor anything potently Western We squabble over religion and language, when 99.9% of our people have no religious faith but have only stray superstitions. We fight over language when, again, 99.9% of our people are not sufficiently educated to appreciate the fundamental differentia and the quality and character of their own language. If some of these language or religion mongers could produce one good book in their language or one intelligent preacher of their religion, one could then listen to their tirades with a semblance of justification. As things are, these cliques and gangs are just obnoxious and should be wiped out; or they will soon wipe out India. They wish to be aristocrats and slaves and patricians and to possess empires; but, by all that is holy; if they only knew how ridiculous and cheaply common they were!

National Unity and Nehru

whatever our Let us assume that Prime Minister does is for national unity. When the Assam Congress, Communist and PSP partymen butchered the Bengalise speaking peoples of Assam and come banias or gone the way of all merce- honoured their women with general loot naries who fight for a professional professional their women with general loot naries who fight for a profession with the pro ing, arson and "chasing out" of Bengalis, our Prime Minister opened his mouth here and there and tried to put the blame in forg but of h the got larg fuge Ass gen

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protected them allowing delays in enquiry and in every other way. Now, that the same arrogantly bestial story has been retold in blood at Silchar the Prime Minister again displaying his amazing "impartiality" by delivering homilies and by doing nothing to the criminals concerned. He says, when two states have a dispute one should not try to apportion blame but to try to bring about unity, etc., etc. He forgets that Cachar is not another province but only a district of Assam. In the back of his mind he has West Bengal as one of the disputing parties. What has West Bengal got to do with the case excepting that fugees have come to West Bengal from and individual citizens. Nehru does ment. When great crimes are committed developments of modern history. the criminals and their victims are not considered to be the two parties to dispute as in a civil suit. All offences A Symbolic Attack against the persons or citizens and nationals are offences against the state and

India's civilisation and progress. All the State Governments as well as the Central Government with their myriad ministers and camp followers are slowly losing significance in the field of national advancement. In fact, the nation may soon ask all these people to vacate their "aggressions" everywhere. For misuse and usurpation of power is the worst form of aggression that can take place internally in any country. Nehru cannot undertake to find out who is guilty in this great crime against the state; for he already knows and so do all Indians who are the criminals, who are breaking up the nation and committing crimes large numbers of Bengali-speaking re- against the Constitution, the people of India Assam after they have been subjected to want to find out who is guilty for the genocidal attacks by the Assamese speak- reason that he wants to protect the guilty. ing Assamese led by the Assam Govern- That a man of his stature would stoop so ment and supported by the Central Govern- low for party politics, is one of the worst

The story of a young refugee from state immediately comes into the picture Assam, who went to Durgapur Station of punishing the offenders as the accusing when the Congress President Mr. Sanjeeva party. Mr. Nehru's knowledge of law and Reddy was being received there, and who the facts concerning all matters connected fished out a small knife which he waved with administration may be only "prag- over his own head, in order to draw Mr. matic"; but surely others cannot be guided Reddy's attention and to make perhaps a by his interpretations of law and facts symbolic attack on the Congress President; blindly. So that when he puts on the cap is indeed a pitiful tale, if there is any truth of ignorance and innocence he may convince in it. If this man waved a knife without only those who are determined to agree making any effort to actually attack Mr. with him. But he cannot convince intelli- Reddy, it was a mere gesture. Making a gent men that his words befit the accre- gesture like that is perhaps against the law, dited manager of this great land of India. or may be he went there with a knife in His satellites too; namely, the tall-talking order to come into the lime-light. It is and sanctimonious leaders of the Congress also possible that he was mentally derangor the pseudo-saints he releases upon his ed or that he had worked himself into a hapless countrymen, cannot convince us frenzy over the happenings in Assam; but that Mr. Nehru has not grossly neglected did not think it worthwhile to attack Mr. to do his human duty to the Bengalis of Reddy, who personally could not be blamed Assam and to uphold the principles of for the Assam incidents. But, the police Indian nationalism everywhere in India. will soon tell us all about it and we shall No one thinks that propagation of Hindi as be as completely in the dark about the a State language all over India or of actual facts of the case, as we are now. Assamese, Bengali or Gujerati, anywhere Bengalis, in the past have attempted to else is a matter of vital importance to solve the problem of independence by kill-CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ing some British officers and their Indian henchmen. It has not given Bengal or India any real independence but has further complicated matters and the Bengalis are now in a worse position than they had been before. If they again try to solve their problems by acts of terrorism they may land themselves into a worse position than they are in now. Many treacherous people and agents provocateur are going about to drag the Bengalis into criminal organisations which will do them no good. The only thing that will help Bengal is a careful and close examination of the weak spots through which Bengal's enemies penetrate the defences of Bengal and occupy vantage points in the economic and political life of the province and the people. Most of these weak spots are in the general nature and outlook of the Bengalis; and some in the carefully planned unethical methods followed by the outsiders. The result is that although Bengal and the Bengali speaking areas have produced a great deal of education, talent and ability to do things, opportunities have progressively dwindled and the people of Bengal have had to face frustration and failure in an increased measure as time passed. On the one hand the Bengalis have not agreed to do things as they should be done; have squabbled, distrusted one another and failed to unite in any kind of action-political, economic or social and on the other hand the outsiders have brought overwhelming forces of corruption, unethical practice, unfair competition and infiltration tactics to work their way into the most vital things of Bengali life. Today Bengalis are slowly being pushed out of their homes to make room for outsiders, they are having to close their shops and factories and sell their properties to others, they are being pushed out of jobs, contracts and business, so that others could replace them. There are many Bengalis who are acting as the agents and supporters of outside people and these persons are destroying the well-being of their own people. There are Governmental organisations which apply pressure against Bengalis and slowly drive them into a help-

British-made partitions of Bengal, by which Cachar, Manbhum, Singhbhum, Santhal Parganas, Purnea, etc., have been from Bengal and hitched on provinces; still remain separated from their homeland in spite of all the promises of the Congress. They do not hand back to Bengal what the British took away. And they have made things much worse by creating a Pakistan which has swallowed some of Bengal's most opulent areas and rendered millions of Bengalis homeless, iobless and thrown large numbers into a state of abject slavery in Pakistan. In such a situation the Bengalis have to be wise, active and deadly earnest. They cannot regain their past glory by waving little knives or by sporadic acts of violence.

The Question of Survival

It is one of those cruel and illogical facts of nature that in the universal struggle for existence, survival of the fittest does not mean survival of the best. The fittest are those who can fit in best with their environment. If the world becomes sticky with mud, the fittest to survive will be those who can wallow through mud most effectively. If the environment is sandy, lush or rocky the ability to survive will be determined by the ability to thrive in the particular physical lay out and set up. In the field of politics, economics and social selections too, those who will fit in best with the surroundings they find themselves in, will be able to tussle most successfully with whatever stands between them and their survival.

Of all the evils that the Congress and the other political parties have caused in India during recent times the methods they have adopted to fix socio-economic values have been the most harmful. Indians have been taught through the ages that goodness is higher than cleverness, that erudition must be shown greater respect than low cunning, that a man of high principles is superior to a man with a very high income, and that truth, honesty, charity, straightforwardness, love of fellow humans and a spirit of self-sacrifice where there is a great moral purpose; are to be held in high esteem in determining man's conduct, beless position. And on top of all this the haviour and outlook. But since 1947, we have

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at ground level and made to accept a code in India's trade industry and commerce; for tation of their ploiters of workers in order to finance the actimoney from foreign powers according to reports, but we have no means of ascertaining in the inner circle of these rings of thieves. the truth of these reports. The politicians and others have acquired the freedom of the earth at recommend them to the princes of social fraud. the cost of the Indian public and with the assisBusiness ability and organisational efficiency now
tance of the Indian public and with the assismachinery, material and know how, who keep falsehood and dishonesty and to act unscrupuforeign money, hospitality and generous enter- lously with a view to grab a large share of the

been taught that whatever principles we may hear and America. This picture of an all-pervading being preached, we must take everything with a corruption need not have been drawn in detail but grain of salt. That practical (pragmatic) consi- for the fact that honest and truthful persons derations must always come first and that nothing everywhere are being pushed out of economic cirmust be allowed to come beween a person and culation by the tax-evaders, black-market dealers his success in life. So that as we got increased and general exploiters; because they cannot trust doses of purity, truth, self-denial, asceticism, com- honest men to do their dirty work, nor to keep plete self-abnegation for a collective purpose, etc., their evil secrets. The Bengalis of Calcutta and etc., from the preachers of the political parties the industrial areas of Eastern India have been we were kicked into a different shape of outlook particularly affected by this vicious trend in which there was no place for ethics of a personal cannot be trusted by their non-Bengali employers or social variety. Grab, cheat, bribe, influence, as they belong to a different cultural, linguistic flatter, lie, share your loot with your "superiors", and ethical class. Large numbers of non-Bengalis conspire, gamble, make money anyhow and have been latterly imported into Bengal by these squander it, show off, ape the ways of Western exploiters of the people of India so that they can trades people, do not waste time in learning but continue to safely cheat the revenues and the be "modern", which means pubs, clubs, cabarets, public. Government officials, Ministers and poliwine, women, wangle, and roam the world by ticians assist them in this great crime against hook or by crook at other people's cost. Politi- society and even the Posts, Telegraphs, Railways cians, trades people, public servants, khaddar and other state organisations have developed a. clad contact men, Moscow and Peking going fifth tendency to man themselves with "trustworthy" columnists and various other classes and types of collaborators of the ungodly and anti-social "big persons, have entered this filthy game of exploi- shots" of the private and public sectors of the countrymen and all controlled, economic structure of India. The matter is neiplanned and managed economic methods of pro- ther racial nor linguistic. It is part of the eterduction, supply, distribution, etc., etc., are carried nal struggle of evil to attain supremacy by any on with a strong mixture of underhand and dis- means. Evil does not flourish so well in a surhonest dealings which have made a very large rounding where the evil persons are known intinumber of dishonest and unscrupulous persons mately by fellow humans. It flourishes well and wealthy beyond imagination. Tax evasion, black- unhampered in a foreign soil, where it can work marketing, cornering, forming unofficial kartels incognito and whence it can return home with and trusts for exploitative purposes and a host of no loss of good name even if the evil ones have other unfair, anti-social and obnoxious practices gone to jail a dozen times for cheating, theft or have crept into India's economic life, through the false declarations. India's foreign "technicians" loopholes that have been deliberately created to too are very often masters of the greatest technihelp the economic criminals of India. The poli- que by which one attains success, viz., corrupt tical parties are supported by these criminals, as practices. During the war millions went into prithey assist them to get rich. Even Trade Union vate coffers through frauds, defalcations, etc. leaders accept money from the worst type of ex- Today millions are changing hands and those who vities of alleged "leftist" parties. They also accept and hand-in-gloves with their foreign collaboraare the principal partners in this evil enterprise some tors. And very few Bengalis have managed to be

contractors and suppliers of mean only one thing. It is the ability to engage in tainment ready for the V.I.Ps of the public and national income without having any rightful claim private the very state of the public and national income without having any rightful claim. private sector at all times in all pities pointing pakul Rangti Collection, Communities which cannot excel in

this sort of crime against the nation will be public are generally long suffering; but at thugs of the politically backed business-world of public sector. Too bad! India.

slowly cornered into the position of untouchables Durgapur they took things in their own hands in their own land and ordinary economic effort after the police had kept them waiting for about two will not enable them get out of this position; for hours in order to pass the demonstrators against they will find no material, no finance, no sup- the Congress. So there was a fight between the plies, no orders, no permits or licences and all public sector employees and the public sector shops will close their doors to the producers who guardians of the law for the delectation of the do not belong to the vile clan of tax-evading A.I.C.C. people who provide the facade for the

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The Durgapur Session

The members of the Congress Party have experienced many new things at Durgapur. They have been in darkness due to power failure on more than one occasion. This has enabled them to see at first hand with what efficiency the great public sector is managed in India. Then they saw how a very ordinary man has reacted to their management of the linguistic divisions of India, which has caused riots, robbery with violence, murders, crimes against women and, lastly, the shooting down in cold blood of innocent men, women and children at Silchar. This ordinary man committed no crime but broke the law by waving a knife at the Congress President.

saw some demonstrations by their opposite political parties. These parties are perhaps no better than the Congress, but are just now in a better position to demonstrate by reason of the follies of the Congress. Arising out of these demonstrations the West Bengal police tried their usual arrogant and idiotic tactics with the general public who pay the police but are customarily treated by the police in an offensive and obnoxious manner. The police dare not ask even demonstrating jute mill workers on the Chowringhee to to prevent the Pakistanis from infiltrating into treffic for hours for the convenience of demons- ly to prevent the anti-national Assamese from earned money; are insulted and constantly sub- Assamese. jected to insolent treatment by the police.

Cachar and W. Bengal

Mr. Nehru again delivered one of his speeches at Durgapur. Here he blamed the leftists for staging a demonstration for political reasons and not so much for those who have been killed by the police at Silchar. May be, but what is wrong with it? If the A.I.C.C. can meet at Durgapur in great pomp to advertise the imaginary merits of the Congress Party, why cannot the leftists stage a black flag demonstration there to emphasise the real faults of the Congress and the Nehru Government? Then Mr. Nehru asked for a breathing space, to reorganise his forces perhaps, in Assam. He said, the Bengali and the Assamese speaking peoples should maintain status quo for one year. (After which the Assamese can beat up After this incident the A.I.C.C. representatives the Bengalis again). He also said, Cachar could not be physically lifted out and joined to West Bengal. But why should that be necessary? If the two Pakistans could be one country though physically widely separated, and if the Assamese could use West Bengal as their road to the outside world, why cannot Cachar be a part of West Bengal and the officials of the enlarged province use Assam as a road between the two parts of West Bengal? Moreover, a strong national state should be put between Pakistan and Assam. Firstly, use the road in an orderly manner, but hold up Assam which they are doing regularly and secondtrators and themselves. The public, who labour, joining up with Pakistan which they will try to government to some in order to enable the do sooner or later by reason of their treacherous government to squander some of their hard outlook. And there are far too many of such

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TAGORE AS EDUCATOR—HIS INFLUENCE AND MESSAGE Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chemical and E.G. MESSAGE

By Dr. H. B. MUKHERJEE, M.A., B.T., D. Phil, Professor, D. S. Teachers' Training College, Aligarh

TAGORE'S influence on the domain of Indian education has been more like that of the air all-pervading and vitalising, but subtle and unseen, than like that of the Sun all too pronounced and spectacular. The analogy, however, is only partially valid; for even like the Sun he flooded the vast area with light and warmth, penetrating into dark, obscure and filthy corners and destroying noxious germs. Only, in his case, the source of the manifold influence remained fairly unknown. That is to say, while Tagore's ideas imperceptibly permeated the educational thought and practice in the country, and his institutions also had been fairly well-known, and imitated at places, there has been no full-scale, well-defined, and widespread educational movement started by him like the Pestalozzian, or the Herbartian, or the Froebelian, or the Progressive Education, movement.

The phenomenon of great educational thinkers failing to influence powerfully educational practice in their own generations is, however, fairly common in the history of education; for theory is essentially progressive and daring, but practice inherently conservative and timid. That is why, educational revolutions had rarely been rapid and spectacular; even the great reformers like Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi. Herbart, and Froebel had to wait for years, even generations, for their teachings substantially to materialize in practice. Tagore, as Sir John Russell has observed like many others, was far in advance of his times and his followers and had largely to travel the lonely and onerous path of a prophet and a pioneer. Educational history also shows that the success of an educational movement much depends on the general atmosphere in the society or the nature of the ruling power in the State. For example, progressive schools like Siljansgarden' in Sweden had a difficult task in the face of opposing traditions in the State education system in the twenties of this century; whereas the Youth School Movement succeeded in Germany more than elsewhere because German educators had genuine respect and sympathy for Youth, and the atmosphere of social revolution in the country was favourable to it. It has been restetted by some like Lt. Col. Yeats-Brown

"behind Santiniketan there is not yet the driving force of a great popular movement but only a great man." (Visva-Bharati News, November-December, 1936.) One reason for this was, perhaps, that Tagore's scheme, as Ramananda Chatterjee acutely observed, lacked the political sanction which Gandhiji's Wardha Scheme possessed. ("Rabindranath Thakur", Prabasi, Bhadra, 1348 B.S.) It should also be remembered that unlike most great educational reformers, Tagore could devote only a fraction of his time and energy educational work, for his major preoccupation was art and literature, and his myriad-minded genius was also exercised over innumerable other problems concerned with the welfare of his country and of mankind. What he achieved even under these limitations is amazing, and, as Prof. Humayun Kabir has observed, "If Tagore had done nothing else but only formulated his educational ideas, he would still have been the greatest educationist the world had seen in 175 years." (Speech at Shri Balee Institute, Horana, Ceylon, P.T.I. report, Northern India Patrika, May 10, 1959.) It is, therefore, largely a question of time for the suitable atmosphere and conditions to develop wherein his ideas may spread more widely, effectively, and cedly.

What among Tagore's ideas and ideals can be suitably and profitably incorporated into the changing and developing educational pattern of India? What message has he to give to the world at large?

Some of the major educational ideals propagated by Tagore, it may be stated, have already partly found their way in the educational theory and practice in our country, specially since the advent of independence—though more in theory than in practice. Reorientation of the educational aim as an all-round development of the pupil; rationalisation of the curriculum; emphasis on social studies, science manual and practical work and creative activities in general; humanization of the educational methods; democratization of the educational organisation; expansion and enrichment of mass-education; and the adoption of the mother-tongue as the medium of education, may be cited as instances to the point.

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But the general state of education as also of the human society, not only in our country but the world over, has hardly become satisfactory even as yet. The general picture is fairly familiar to all. Still to consider some significant opinions would be worthwhile. The Mudaliar Commission Report, spotlighting "the basic shortcomings and defects of the present secondary schools" in India, points out: "Firstly, the education given in our schools is isolated from life Secondly, it is narrow and one-sided and fails to train the whole personality of the student. . . . Thirdly, until comparatively recently, English was both the medium of instruction and a compulsory subject of study. Fourthly, the methods of teaching generally practised failed to develop in the students either independence of thought or initiative in action. Fifthly, the increase in the size of classes has considerably reduced personal contact between teachers and pupils. Finally, the dead weight of the examination has tended to curb the teachers' initiative, to stereotype the curriculum, to promote mechanical and lifeless methods of teaching, to discourage spirit of experimentation and to place the stress on wrong or unimportant things in Education." (Report of the Secondary Education Commission, pp. 21-22.) In short as Acharya Vinoba Bhave has put it trenchantly, "Four or five decades have passed since my student days, but almost the same defective system persists. The only difference noticeable is that education has become less efficacious today and the standard has deteriorated." (Bhoodan, quoted in The Indian Express, July 20, 1959). The above list, one would feel, stresses all those defects in the education system of the country to which Tagore had repeatedly drawn attention from the very beginning. Tagore's educational thought and practice, therefore, still possess as much value and significance for the country as they did fifty years ago.

It is, no doubt, true that Tagore had many other illustrious compatriots who thought and worked on many of the lines on which Tagore did, and their ideas and examples, as such, are significant and precious, and entitled to the nation's gratitude and respect as well as emulation and adoption. But there are many who attach special importance to Tagore's ideals and scheme from a general as well as some special points of view. In one particular respect, it has been pointed out, Tagore's scheme is of special interest, viz.,

the open-air classes conducted by resident teachers in bare, natural, simple surroundings. It is claimed by some commentators that such a system is economic, healthy, in line with the tradition of the country, specially needed amidst the increasing complications of an industrialised society, and eminently adaptable to the national system of elementary education. In fact, Tagore's scheme, on the one hand, is free from the criticism levelled against the productive and self-sunporting principles of the Wardha Scheme; and, on the other hand, is free from the shortcomings of the modified scheme of Basic Education as adopted in various states, viz., expensive schoolbuildings and the non-residence of the teachers in the school premises. Furthermore, Tagore's emphasis on play, art, music, and the free, creative activities of children rather than on the compulsorily productive aspect, is reflected in the pattern of Basic Education envisaged by the Government and the majority of educationists of the country thinking on the problem, and may be even further incorporated in the recent Reorientation Scheme of Basic Education, sponsored by the Government of India.

But this, we may point out, is just one particular issue, however significant it may be. It is Tagore's totality of approach, the catholicity of his outlook, and the breadth and depth of the vision, that is of greater significance. had himself admitted that ashramas like Santiniketan could not be established in large numbers in the country. But he had endeavoured to create which would hold aloft at least one institution before the country the ideals that the national system of education in India should strive to attain. ("Tapovana", Siksha, 1342 B.S., p. 147). His institution has, thus, been a living embodiment of the highest ideals that education in the country should aspire after. It is "much nearer our ideals" than any other system of education in India, affirmed Moulana Azad inaugurating the conversion of Visva-Bharati into a Central University. (Visva-Bharati News, October-November, 1951); and in the words of Prof. Hermann Goets. it "is the true way to the future of India." (Ibid., September, 1937.)

Educational conditions in the more advanced countries in the world, we may easily conjecture, must be, taken in all, vastly more improved and satisfactory than in our country. But the advantage, in comparison, of the former is only in

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even in spite of great progress

achieved there in many respects, the shortcomachers It is ings too are nonetheless significant. Having mitted the achievements of Progressive Education systradiwith special reference to American st the Prof. H. G. Good qualifies his tribute in alised following words: "But we must always remember tional that many of our schools in large areas gore's hardly been affected by the progress in other critiareas. Although the general level has been raised, f-supmany schools are even now poorly equipped and and, hadly staffed and have narrow, highly traditional mings curricula. Such uneven conditions set a great n as challenge before our educational statesmanship. chool-.... The activity curriculum, the child-centred achers school, integrated learning without subject diviigore's sions, freedom for the child within the school creahave become familiar phrases in description e comthe new conditions, and these can all be found in in the actual schools here and there, but they are not by the general. They are still ideals rather than achieved ists of conditions, and many responsible educators do not nay be accept them as ideals. Most of our schools eorienlikely to remain fairly conventional for a long red by time." (A History of Western Education, 1949, pp. 491-492.) Prof. A. E. Mayer also comments in partithe same vein: "Yet despite its immense and pro-. It is gressive transformation during the first half of city of the century, public education has not made full of the and honest use of its assets. With a few salient **Tagore** exceptions, it has been the servant of an old and Santiobsolescent order. It has been purblind to some umbers of the most fundamental facts of society, econocreate mics, and politics." He cites as instances econoaloft mic inequality and insecurity, racial arrogance, ational national conceit, religious intolerance, faith in war ive to and armaments, and lukewarm support to the 147). one-world idea and international co-operation, mbodiwhich characterize the modern Western society in the and imperil the peace and the future of mankind. rer our (The Development of Education in the Twentieth on in g the Century, 1956, pp. 5-6.) Moreover, the fundamental problem will always remain that the prod Unigress achieved may be eclipsed or even lost from ember, lime to time through the follies of human nature Goetz, or the accidents of human history, which makes (Ibid., education a perpetual challenge and an exhilarating adventure. vanced ecture,

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It can, therefore, be asserted with full confidence that the state of the human society as also

through his educational works in There is still enough formalism and mechanization in an average school in the world to need his message of vitality and freshness. It is, therefore, not surprising that Sir Patrick Geddes, paying a tribute to the message and example of "the revitalization of the school" offered by Tagore, expressed the hope that Tagore's "educational example and its impulse" might pass on to the incipient sister colleges of all continental universities, and might bring enlightenment to the educators in the West. ("An open letter to Tagore", The Golden Book of Tagore, pp. 84-85.) A modern public school is too much overburdened with equipments, appliances, methods, and aids; it needs the example of Santiniketan to show how living and fruitful education can be imparted through an infinitely simpler pattern of life. Millions of schools the world over, running their regular hours within the four walls of the classroom or the school premises, however, attractive they may be otherwise, are yet to learn the bliss of open-air classes and the virtue of peripatetic learning practised at Santiniketan over half-a-century. For countless educators in most Western countries, harassed by the problem of increasing juvenile delinquency, the periment on 'freedom cure' conducted successfully by Tagore in his institution should offer solace and enlightenment. There is still too little joy and freedom experienced through manifold creative and aesthetic activities in the modern public schools to ignore Tagore's magnificent contribution in that direction. Even among the selected Progressive Schools in the world there are not many that can compare with Santiniketan in the atmosphere of beauty and peace produced through the exquisitely artistic buildings tastefully placed amidst superb natural surroundings. And, above all, the Western nations, groaning under the colossal weight of a materialistic civilization, torn by mutual suspicion, and fear and constantly under the shadow of the grim prospect of a nuclear warfare that may spell eternal doom to the human race, are in dire need of the message of the East, the message of peace and universal love, of fullness of human life attained through the merging of into the Eternal Life. Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati stand as luminous, living symbols of these education in the world at large has not out- lofty ideals, and their message far transcends grown the need of Tagore's messages as conveyed the borders of the country of their birth. That CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

is why they are our "precious inheritance" for us to treasure, as Nehruji has observed. (Quoted in Education, Lucknow, May, 1942.) And in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "In Santiniketan, he (Tagore) has left a legacy to the whole nation, indeed to the whole world." (Ibid.) It is a legacy still too rich and precious for us rightly to appreciate and make use of. The world today is not yet fully ready for this magnificent gift. It is still in the throes of a rebirth. But, as Prof. Sten Konow has prophesied, "the Poet's vision must some day come true". (Modern Review, Feb., 1925.) It is, however, not for us only to wait and watch, but to strain and strive,

for that glorious day, along the path laid out with his golden pen and his mighty hands by this great educator of man, the like of whom in the words of Count Kyserling, has not been "anywhere on our globe for many and many centuries." (The Golden Book of Tagore, p. 127.)*

*The article is based on material included in a chapter in the writer's work, Education for Fullness—A study of the educational thought and experiment of Rabindranath Tagore, under publication with the Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

INDIAN BRAND OF SOCIALISM .

Agrarian Aspect

By Prof. BHUBANESHWAR PRASAD, M.A.,

Patna University

Objectives of Agrarian Organisation DIFFERENT approaches have been suggested, from time to time, by various Committees and Commissions in regard to the reorganisation of our agriculture. Some of them relate to the pre-Plan era, while some to the post-Plan, laying special emphasis on the role of agriculture in a planned economy. For the first time, The Famine Enquiry Commission (1945) duly realised the significance of Popular Enthusiasm1 of the millions engaged in agriculture, who, as a result of agrarian reorganisation must be rendered capable of realising the technical possibilities of increasing production by means of their co-operative efforts. The Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee (1949) laid emphasis on (a) transference of surplus population on land to non-agricultural pursuits; and (b) enlargement of the unit of cultivation in

1. "The existence of technical possibilities by themselves are not sufficient for developing agricultural production. Government can and must assist in their realisation; but in the last resort, it is the people, the millions, engaged in agriculture, who, by their industrial and co-operative efforts must secure the increase in agricultural production". Famine Enquiry Commission, Final Report, Part IV, p. 249.

order to enable the farmers to take full advantage of the land tenure reforms. The Agrarian Pattern suggested by the Committee was (a) to provide opportunity for the development of individual's personality; (b) to eliminate exploitation; and (c) to maximize efficiency of production.

The orthodox view regarding the development of the individual's personality is that it is concomitant with individual enterprise and initiative and is negatived in schemes which do not provide scope for their display. Collective farming is a misfit; even co-operative farming which is restricted in certain aspects (for example, in matters of land-ownership and cattle-ownership delivers the goods partially. Peasant Proprietorship or Individual Farming in cases of Economic Holding is the best type of farming the state should endeavour to maintain and support. Co-operative farming is suggested only in the field of uneconomic holdings, which needs state's assistance and initiative.²

2. "We are of the opinion that present farm rial and co-operative ing, on suitable units of cultivation under a proper crease in agricultural perly determined scheme of rights in land, would satisfy the agro-tradition of land". Congress Agra rian Reforms Committee Report, p. 20.

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masses is an important pre-requisite of economic development. A country is under-developed not merely because of its backward productiontechnique, low accumulation of capital and lack of technical personnel, but more because its people are exploited, social institutions repress the initiative and enterprise and the people are inert owing to the age-old oppression. The Abolittion of 'Kulkaism' in the Soviet Union, land system of feudalistic exploitation in China, the Latifundia in Hungary and the big capitalist landed property in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania prepared ground for that social revolution. India is still making experiments with means and measures aimed at bringing about Equality of Social and Economic Status among the rural masses. Socialism meaning 'Equal opportunity to all' as described by the Prime Minister is still faroff to achieve. The trend set in the Land Legislations has come to a halt.

In India, the process of excessive exploitation is still at work, owing to the transfer of lands through various illicit means, increasing indebtedness of the peasantry, commercialisation of agriculture by commercial and professional people, along with the opportunities of investment of their savings in landed properties which have still a very high prestige value in the rural economy. The rural rentier class is still allowed to rackrent the most active and creative live agents agricultural production and with the proceeds so expropriated indulge in the 'Vulgarity of showing off by means of 'conspicuous consumption' transference and transformation of which into 'productive consumption' is one of the most effective sources of capital formation in the rural nomy of the under-developed countries. fore, in India, the need for ending the land system of feudalistic exploitation is imperative. all the Communist countries cancellation of debts of the peasants has proceeded pari passu with the Land Reforms. India has still to do much to uplift the burden of debts in which our peasants are born, live and die.

Those who toil must enjoy the fruits of their abour and agriculture must be worked as a source of wealth of the community, not of the individual alone.3 Permission for exploitation of the toiling

Elimination of exploitation of the rural millions by a few social parasites is not only fraught with the danger of 'Class struggle' but also forebodes ill for the government, howsoever much popular the government may be for the present.4

Agriculture and Economic Development

In a Planned Economy, freedom to determine the agrarian pattern is neither unrestricted nor isolated. It is circumscribed by the nature of the Growth Model a country adopts for its economic development during a specified period time, say, five or seven years. The time factor is very important. In such a situation, the agrarian programme has to be the handmaid of the industrialization programmes and not vice versa. To a very great extent, the agrarian pattern and the structure of the rural economy have to be dictated by the industrial pattern.5 For instance. for the Growth Models of Russia, China, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia etc., which lay emphasis on a policy of accelerated speed of industrialization6-cum-heavy industries-priority (inclusive of

those who toil and is worked as a source of wealth of the community". Land Reforms in India by H. D. Malviya, p. 94.

4. "A Government which permits the exploitation of the masses of its fellow citizens on a large-scale makes a brave show but it is digging its own grave. A Government which grapples boldly with land question will have a little fear from foreign imperialism or domestic disorder. It will have as its ally the confidence and goodwill of half a million villages". R. H. Tawney quoted by Dr. Gyanchand in his book, New Economy in China, p. 58.

5. "The pattern of industrialization of a country dictates to no small extent the pattern of agriculural development and the structure of the rural economy".- Indian Delegation to China on Agricultural Planning and Technique, p. 107.

"Accelerated speed of industrialization should be interpreted only in terms of aggregate propensity to Investment or Investment as percentage of National Income.

"The United States was saving rather more than 14 per cent of its national income at the end of the 19th Century when it was certainly not making anything like the effort of the U.S.S.R. and many other countries have surpassed 14 per cent at some stage of their growth, including Britain, Germany, Holland, Norway and Japan. Russia must have been saving at least 20 per cent organised that the fruits of clabour war somewhat was by convenience and the fruits of clabour war somewhat was somewhat was a survey by

^{3. &}quot;The agricultural system should be so

prietorship or Family Farming was found inefficient, socially and economically, for the discharge of its duties8 arising out of the country's planned economic development. And so the natural corollary of their socialist planning was the introduction of collectivised and co-operativised farming consequent upon Land Redistribution which became the corner-stone of the imposing arch of Socialist industrialization. Collectivization of agriculture with modernized methods of production in Russia largely financed the abnormally intensive rate of capital investment.9 Such a step solved the problem of unemployment in Russia due to her favourable man-land ratio, but in China or India-densely populated countries with unfavourable man-land ratio-might aggravate the already unhappy unemployment situation. China has been trying cautionsly but sufficiently rapid agrarian revolution with simultaneous attempts at increasing agricultural productivity by organising co-operativised farming and creating wider scope for fuller and greater

W. A. Lewis, Pp. 1925-1926. In India, the rate of saving would be 11 per cent by 1961 Five-Year Plan).

"Communist China and East European countries are not devoting so much expenditure to their defence industries as Russia did during her First Plan, yet their model of growth is the same.

"If industrialization was to take place and in particular a heavy industry was to be developed, agricultural production had to be increased to supply foodstuffs for the growing army of industrial workers and raw materials for a mounting volume of industrial output". Soviet Economy and War by Dobb, p. 12.

9. (a) "Thus one can say that the investment under the First and Second Five-Year Plans were largely financed by a fall in the relative share of agricultural production consumed its producers; but this did not require a fall the absolute share consumed". Some Aspects Economic Development, by Dobh, p. 75.

(b) "As agricultural production was increased as a result of collectivization, with the mitted, and as the productivity of industrial this abnormal volume of Capital Construction surplus."-Ibid, p. 75. could be financed". Ibid, p. 17.

defence ones),7 the institution of Peasant Pro- employment opprotunities in the agriculture itgrowth model since the inception of the Second Five-Year Plan, i.e., laying emphasis on industrialization-cum-heavy industries priority. Therefore, a happy reconciliation between increased agricultural productivity and increased agricultural employment opportunities will have to be found out in India as well, so that agrarian reforms will not only affect desired increase in agricultural productivity, but also provide major solution of the rural unemployment problem.

Agriculture and Marketable Surplus

The size of 'marketable surplus' in an underdeveloped country well under way for planned development has greater significance than the absolute size of the agricultural production.10 Both for foreign exchange needed for the imports of industrial equipment from abroad and for the control of inflationary trends arising out of largescale deficit financing, and probably of chronic shortage of food supply, 'marketable surplus' has to be of appropriate size commensurate with the aforesaid needs of the country and capable of being easily available to the Government which can lay its hands on in times of strains stresses.11 How to remove this single fundamental limiting factor upon the pace of development? Its removal can be possible not by providing financial policies and institutions but by evolving appropriate organisation of the social and economic life of the village, of agricultural production and of commercial exchange between village and town.12 Collectivised farms with direct State Control over them in Russia, Co-operativized Farms well under way to collectivization in Communist China, and East European countries, with restrictive and rurally biased price-mechanism, have served as appropriate organisations for affecting an effective State Control over 'marketable surplus'—a revolution in the traditional basis of the village economy, and the building up of large-scale

11. and 12. Ibid, p. 45-46.

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[&]quot;The significance of the Collectivization modernized methods of production that this perdrive in agriculture during the First Five-Year mitted, and as the productivity of industrial District Production of the Collective Year Mitted Produ Plan and its close connection with a programme labour was itself increased when the new plants of industrialisation and high investment is to be and new power resources came into operation. and new power resources came into operation, a sought less in its effects upon total production and fund of real resources was created from which will fund of real resources was created from which yield per acre than in its effect upon marketable this abnormal volume of Capital Construction

farming needed for the purpose. India has introduced Community Projects and National Extension Services for the purpose, whose efficacy as instruments of revolutionising the outlook of the villagers has yet to be proved successfully in view of the unsatisfactory progress of agriculture constantly creating a good deal of headache particularly in terms of food shortage, to the Government. Recent increase in the prices of food-stuffs amidst bumper harvests has proved the inefficacy of the price-mechanism. The need for more effective, less clumsy and less circuitous methods of State Control has long been felt. Organised large-scale farming on the basis of co-operatives is the only alternative for the purpose and for the successful agricultural planning on the village level. For this, what is needed is a revolution in the traditional basis of villagers' economy and outlook.13

Agriculture as the basis of Industrialization

The ultimate goal of India is a planned, selfgenerating, and self-sustaining economy. This needs an automatic inter-propelled relationship between the nation's propensity to consume and propensity to invest. Soviet experiment indicates that a steadily rising material and cultural standard of the people serve as the basis for the successful accomplishment of industrialization.14 China and other Communist countries are following the same model. Their action in the field of agriculture has to pass chronologically through the following stages: Land Reforms, Social Revolution, Co-operative Farms (Advanced Types in China and other Eastern European countries and Kolkhez types in Russia). Ever rising standard of the people is made possible in three ways: (a) by increasing the productivity of the people engaged in all wealth-creating sectors of the economy, (b) by distributing more equitably the National Income by way of devoting its considerable protion to the provision of Social Services. Education, Health, etc; and (c) by expanding and creat-

ing scope for fuller, better and fresh employment for the unemployed and under-employed. The concrete fruition of these three factors is the increase in the volume of the purchasing power of the teeming millions, 80 per cent of whom in India live in villages and are occupied in agriculture. Unfortunately, in spite of the two Five-Year Plans (one is already complete and the second is nearing completion), agricultural productivity per capita has not increased, rather it has decreased. Agricultural development which is a prior process paving the way for industrialization in an under-developed country,15 does not mean an absolute increase of aggregate agricultural production over the previous ones, but to be correctly interpreted and analysed, it must be related with the ratio between per unit input and per unit output. That figure is neither worked cut nor supplied to us. The vast rural market at home, commensurate with the extent of industrialization the country needs, can be expanded by increasing adequately the purchasing16 power of the agriculturists, which can be possible either by having a rurally biased price-mechanism as is being had in China¹⁷ or by increasing agricultural productivity and by liquidating the disparity between industrial and agricultural prices as were done in

16. Ibid, p. 7.

"Price Policy of the State has also been of primary importance in building up confidence and toning up the rural economy. This has been done by achieving stability of prices since 1950, but what is even more important, improving the relative position of agriculture in the entire economy by giving what may be called a rural bias to the whole price structure and gradually increasing the purchasing power of agricultural commodities in terms of the non-agricultural commodities which are essential for agriculture and peasants, i.e., fertilizers, farm implements, cloth, kerosene oil, salt and other articles of daily requirements. In other words, not only parity has been lished between agriculture and industrial modities, but the relation between the two is, by degrees, being changed, to the advantage of the agricultural commodities". Dr. Gyanchand, New

13. Ibid, p. 70.

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^{15. &}quot;In an under-developed economy agricultural development is a prior process which paves the way for industrialization". Land Reforms in China, by B. N. Ganguly, p. 7.

accomplish industrialization successfully precisely lished between agricultural standard of the people the basis for carry-loans, by E. Frolov, 1953 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Research of the solution of the people the basis for carry-loans, by E. Frolov, 1953 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Research of the solution of the people the basis for carry-loans, by E. Frolov, 1953 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Research of the solution of the people the basis for carry-loans, by E. Frolov, 1953 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Research of the solution of the solution of the people the basis for carry-loans, by E. Frolov, 1953 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Research of the solution of the solut

Russia¹⁸ by introducing large-scale mechanized and collectivized farming or by having an amalgam of the two as is being attempted in India. But in India, the methods are time-consuming, capable of producing results much less in quantity and quality, in view of comparative periods of time devoted to and efforts made and the measures circuitous and less effective. Russian or Chinese methods applied to agricultural development which have achieved so startling and Communist are derided prompt results method. Then non-Communist alternatives which must be, if not more, at least, equally efficient, prompt and results-yielding in short time, for "we shall all be dead in long-time" will have to be found out. Methods adopted under laissez faire are outmoded and outdated, even those devised and practised during the two Plans are not satisfactory.

Economic Progress and Social Revolution

the 20th century Economic Progress that a country, particularly an under-developed one, wants to make, is not concomitant with concentration of economic power either in field of industries or that of agriculture. What is needed is a Social Revolution affecting a shift in the distribution of income and power. For rapid economic progress, immediate elimination of social and economic privileges is pre-essential.19 Land Reforms with particular social purpose besides others would be the first step necessary for releasing the productive energies of the people. In Communist countries, landlordism has been

"In 1922-23, the official policy pursued was to liquidate the disparity between industrial and agricultural prices". Dobb, Soviet Economy Since 1917, p. 181.

"In our judgment, there are a number of under-developed countries where the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of small class rules out the prospect of much economic progress until a social revolution has affected a shift in the distribution of income and power. There cannot be rapid economic progress unless the leaders of a country at all levels desire economic progress for the country and are willing to pay its price, which is the creation of a society from which economic, political and social privileges have been eliminated".-Measures for the Economic Development of the Under-developed countries. U.N.O. Publication, p. 15-16. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukarkanghi to livers of increasing

accomplished without compensation and expropriation of the expropriating class in the field of agriculture. It has been completed within a period of two to four years, with the result that the lands in practice belong to those who actually till the soil and after paying the due share of the state. they themselves are the masters of the fruits of their toils. During a quarter of a century (between 1937 and 1960) nearly, what India has achieved is the abolition of the Zamindary, affecting only 2 per cent of the rural population. Landlordism with all its evils and social stratification is rather more active than before, although within certain restrictions.

Approach to Agricultural Development under the Three Plans

The First Plan, in its agrarian sector, was a Plan of agricultural production and not of agricultural reorganisation. For the achievement of the planned agricultural targets, improvement in noninstitutional factors was considered to be more effective than institutional factors. Completion of the abolition of intermediaries, fixation of an upper limit to the amount of land that an individual might hold and creation of tenancy legislalations for enabling the tenants to become owners. On the organisational side, the policy was to encourage and assist the owners to develop their production and to organise their activities on cooperative lines. Peasant proprietorship remained the corner-stone of the arch of the agrarian pattern.

But in spite of the huge expenditure made on 'Agriculture and Community Development, Irrigation and Multi-purpose irrigation and powerprojects, agriculture remained very touchy and vulnerable throughout the plan-period, sometimes endangering the whole economy. Foodstuffs worth crores of rupees had to be imported, the supply of raw material had to be supplemented from abroad, progress of the Plan had to be hampered by the shortage of foreign exchange, etc. situation is still not better in spite of the Second Five-Year Plan completing its final year. and raw material shortage is the greatest drain and drag on our foreign exchange resources, which if spent otherwise, might have given a great fillip to the tempo of our industrial progress. It is today admitted on all hands that mere improvement

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tural productivity to the desired extent cannot be profess to bring about such reforms within a speof optimum use if institutional factors are not readjusted. The Second Five-Year Plan carried the line of policy of the First Five-Year Plan to its further fruition, but with a little innovation. The close inter-dependence between economic development and certain fundamental social transformations was emphasised. Socialist pattern of society based on the enlargement of public sector and trade, control of private monopoly, promotion of co-operative farms, enlargement of incomes and opportunities at the lower end and the reduction of wealth and privilege at the upper end became the ultimate economic and social goal. It was realised that an almost over-riding compulsion was to explore the possibilities of economic change within the framework of new social relations and with due regard to urges and aspirations of not merely the propertied classes but of the underprivileged masses. The ultimate agrarian organisational pattern according to the Second Five-Year Plan, later on reinforced by the Nagpur Session of the Indian National Congress in January, 1959, was to be a co-operative joint farming but the immediate aim was the establishment of "an agrarian economy based predominantly on peasant proprietorship". The goal of co-operative joint farming was to be achieved through a series of inter-related and inter-dependent land reforms, such as abolition of intermediaries, security tenants, and land redistribution through imposition of ceiling on existing land holdings. Prior to the establishment of co-operative farming a network of service co-operatives in the rural areas was to be set up to buttress and support the newly created peasant proprietors with technical and financial assistance to enable them to contribute to the agricultural efficiency and production. Therefore, the main task set before the Second Five-Year Plan was "to take such essential steps as will provide sound foundation for the development of co-operative farming so that over a period of 10 years or so a substantial portion ^{agricultural} land is cultivated on co-operative lines". Adoption of land holdings is one of such essential steps paving ceilings on land the way for "a co-operative rural economy".

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These are laudable aims in themselves, no doubt, but it must be borne in mind that their haterialization presupposes genuine and honest intention of the people in the seat of power, who

cified period of time. In Communist countries, the Communist Party representing the interest of a single class along with its vast number of trained cadre assisting the bureaucracy at different governmental and administrative levels of the state and the Peasant Associations at the village level were the vanguard of this revolution, whereas in India, the heterogenous character of the party in power is a cause of the lack of that spirit of reform and revolution which animated the Communists elsewhere to achieve the goals within a period of three to five years. Can we avoid such organisations at village level if we want and effective agrarian reforms?

Although the practical experiences First Five-Year Plan and also of the Second Five-Year Plan amply prove that agriculture makes little response to price-mechanism and changes in the price structure do not affect the crop pattern to the extent to which the effect is needed for the fulfilment of the Plan;20 and that the 'volume of marketable surplus' is more important than that of agricultural production from the point of view of the success of the Plan, yet pricemechanism has been the chief instrument of con-The instrument of price-mechanism can never be so reliable and efficacious for enabling the Government to lay its hand on the 'marketable surplus' easily and firmly, so long as agricultural production remains scattered, fragmented and disorganised, subject to the tenets of subsistence farming based on the whims, desires and idiosyncrasies of the individual farmers. What is needed is some sort of organisation at the village level, through which agricultural plans may be executed and the Government agencies may have to deal with only a few such osganisations instead of so many individual farmers, organised, scattered and disunited. The problem is twofold (1) that of the Unit of Management, and (2) that of the Unit of Operation. Expansion in the former is desirable from the point of view of a diversified rural economy and that of the latter from the point of view of Commercial farming. Small peasant holding as the common unit of operation does not provide a good ground for the

^{20. &#}x27;Changes in the price structure do affect the crop pattern'-First Five-Year Plan. People's Edition, p. 77.

practice of Commercial farming.21 Japan has and export. It wants to increase agricultural practised intensive Individual Peasant farming with a very high agricultural productivity and does not need to change it for any sort of cooperative or collective farming because of the fact that perhaps in Japan there is little scope left for expanding the margin of agricultural productivity by way of co-operative or collective farming.22 Service co-operatives, even on the Japanese lines, will meet only the half way the national obligations imposed on agriculture, as the faithful handmaid of industry. And largescale industry would require large-scale farming to satisfy all the existing or developing needs of the industry. Service co-operatives by themselves alone do not warrant these situations.

The Third Five-Year Plan has realised the significance of agriculture in a Planned Economy with emphasis on the development of heavy and basic industry. It has given the first priority to agriculture in order to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains and meet the requirements of industry

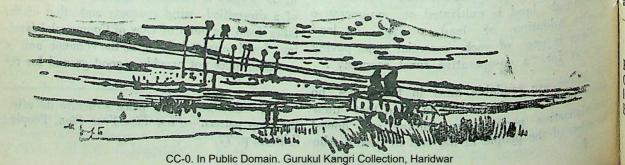
21. "So long as the small holding, often uneconomic and fragmented, remains the unit of management in agriculture, the possibilities of expanding the village economy to create adequate diversity and richness in the occupational structure are severely limited. A distinction should be made between the unit of management and the unit of operation. Even when a larger area or the village as a whole is the unit of management, for many years, the common unit of operation will be the peasant holding. If the village is the unit of planning, there could be cooperation in many operations such as, the use of improved seed, common buying and selling, in soil conservation, in the use of water, in the construction of local works and so so". Second Five-Year Plan, p. 69.

22. Indian Delegation to China on Co-

production to the highest level feasible. It has accepted the inter-dependence of agriculture and industry as 'integral parts of the same process of development'. For creating a self-generating and self-sustaining economy, the role of agriculture has been well realised.23 And yet, measures as prescribed in the Third Five-Year Plan for enabling agriculture to discharge its obligations effectively and efficiently do not cut any new ground. Removal of such impediments to agricultural production as arise from the rural structure inherited from the past, elimination of all elements of exploitation and social injustices within the agrarian system, provision of security for the tiller of the soil and assurance of equality of status and opportunity to all sections of the rural population are a few of the programmes which will take years to complete, much more so when the operation has to be painless. Peasant proprietorship and individual farming is the chief mode of agricultural operation to be assisted by voluntary co-operative bodies for credit, marketing, processing and distribution. Even the words, "Co-operative Farming" have been dropped out. Reliance has been put on the operation of non-institutional factors for increasing agricultural productivity to the extent as envisaged in the Third Five-Year Plan. But so long as the unit of operation does not become sizeable which will ensure the maximum utilization of the non-institutional factors, most of the expenditure on agriculture would be a waste only and the grip of the Government over agricultural production would remain as weak as ever. The optimum use of the size of the provision of noninstitutional facilities has a bearing on the size of the unit of cultivation.

(To be continued)

23. The Third Five-Year Plan—A Droft Outline, p. 23-24.



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TAGORE AT A GLANCE

By JOGES C. BOSE

On the Seventh May, a century back, Rabindranath an identical tune, when Rabindranath was steppperiods of extreme stress and strain for man- of her faithkind; and on the Seventh August, 1941, he passed away full of honours due. There was all over the world, instantly and without any mental reservation, a sense of agonising void. So many and amazingly various were his contributions to enrich culture that he was acknowledged to have played a significant role in moulding the tangled pattern of our civilization. Over the galaxy of her great souls, India felt drawn from a sheer dearness of instinct to travel back to Gautam Buddha and beyond him to the venerable days, when she identify India with Detachment and chanted people's infant yearnings for Light. personality, Tagore stands in the Milky Way, class by himself.

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but in no ivory tower, he never scorned delights nor cramped himself to the tyranny of any school of thought. Vital and resurgent as ever, he lived to function on the dynamics of a creed, he enunciated in two epigramatic lines-

Bairaggya sadhan-e mukti sh-e amar noy Ashankhya bandhan majh-e labhiba muktir swad mahanandamoy.

I seek no deliverance that through renunciation comes, but shall work out the great joy of freedom in a thousand and one responsibilities of life.*

Is it any idle coincidence that another notable poet of Bengal, Miss Taru Dutt,† sang to

*All translations of this article are mine. She died when she was barely twenty-one. then her achievement was such that Edmund Cosse desired a page of the history of English lerature to be dedicated to this fragile exotic blossom of song'.

Tagore was born. He lived an eventful life through ing into his teens? She warbles in the abandon

Not in seclusion, not apart from all, Not in a place elected for its peace, But in the heat and bustle of the world, Amid sorrow, suffering, sickness and sin Must he labour with a loving soul Who strives to enter through the narrow gate.

It has grown almost into a convention to A tion as the highest ideal of life. In the aforesaid master mind, revealing the dignity of an integral lives of Dutt and Tagore—there are good many a others as well—is unfolded another, and no less a leading string of the Hindu philosophy of life, ex-Given over to the scholar's laborious days, patiating a joyful acceptance of the universe in terms of life-affirmation, as opposed to lifenegation or escapism. But the recapture of the spirit of universalism is, more or less, a fruit of the Renaissance in the wake of the East meeting the West in India. Scholars like William Jones, Max Muller and others helping the process, it illumined an eclipsed period of India's cultural history. And, truly, in that light did India cover her transcendental self.

> Tagore, the poet, in his untiring quest for Beauty may have his counterpart in Dante; the philosopher in Rousseau, bewailing a man born free but held down everywhere by iron dogmas; the man of letters, in Goethe for the many-varied gifts and graces of versatility. Who is, however, to measure him in the exquisiteness of lyrics, which elevate and tone up the mind with the faith that to look life in the face is to look God in the face. They are, in extent and quality, by far the supremest efforts made to redeem from decay, what Shelley calls in respect of poetry, the visitations of divinity in man. I have often wondered why the Nobel Committee of 1913 preferred who was then no more Rabindranath Tagore,

who seeks it in all devoutness.

for freedom. Thirty-six years back the day he a success. died, Bengal rose to a man to resist the fiat of British imperialism, dividing her people on the basis of Hindus and Moslems. He plunged headlong into the shifting zones of that upsurge signalised himself by renewing his emphasis national education and the re-making of our villages, where, in fact, the Nation lives. This was avowedly, to fight our supine outlook with its flair for fatalism* and lay the foundation for a sturdy manhood. Self-help in politics, he pleaded, was the sovereign need; and his 'Back to the

read than by only the Bengali-knowing people, to a poet. There was, however, even then a mass of read than by only the bengan-knowing popular genuine appreciation, which hailed him as formu-France, Nobel Laureate, 1921: and W. B. Yeats, lating the shape of things to come. To me it seems Nobel Laureate, 1923: and in the same category that those who intend to serve their country, not might be placed Leo Tolstoy and Thomas Hardy. in the fake glory of parliamentary eloquence, but All of them were then in the hey-day of their in the tongueless obscurity of rural areas, shall popularity in the world, end to end. The why of have enough in these writings to sustain them. popularity in the world, old to can, possibly, be summed up by saying that They are, with the efflux of time, gaining in the Tagore satisfied the test of Walt Whitman's weight of gold. Were the history, how Bengal longed-for 'song of the universal, no poet has shaped to help promote the fight for the freedom chanted amid the measureless grossness and of India, ever written with an eye to balance the slag'. But much more than this, I feel that Tagore's forces, which have decisively influenced the march deathless excellence is in his compelling note of of events, Tagore, the apostle of synthesis and assurance that God's emanation is for everyone, Enlightenment, goes down the pages, paradoxical even if it looks, as the poet and prophet of our Literature apart, Tagore has left imperish- cultural revolt, without which no revolution of a able footprints on the highway of India's struggle submerged people has any the remotest chance of

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The bucolic strain of a Bengal song,

Amar path dhekachh-e mandir-e masjid-e O sai tore dak shun-e jait-e nari,

Ah friend, thy voice I hear, but cannot reach The Temple and the Mosque have my pathway blocked.

Village' is its urbanization by cottage-industry is the inspiring background of his Hibbert lecsupplementing agriculture, and gathering in their ture-The Religion of Man. In line with the heritotality a nucleus for economic democracy. Eco- tage, which has saved Indian culture from toppnomic democracy is, by and large, a way of life ling down, Tagore sums up his address by definand obedience, weaving round mass well-being by ing God in Humanity. He denounces geographico-operative efforts, curbing progressively the cal nationalism which stampedes mankind into individual acquisitive instinct. Furthermore, he hostile combinations, and bids us be of good cheer idealized politics and gave us the vision of to hope and trust that, notwithstanding all that achievement in his character, Dhananjoy Bairagi. augurs ill, the world is, fairly enough, trudging So live a portraiture, Dhananjoy, as a token of for the oneness of tested propinquity. As he said moral force against the might of the sword, is all this with the fervour of idealism, no less conlovingly spoken of as a blueprint of Mahatma scriptive by the appeal of his physical likeness to Gandhi. As it happens with men ahead the time, the Messiah,* the West bowed to him a unique these thoughts so clinching in the design that the second to him a unique these thoughts are given by the design to the design that the second to him a unique was these thoughts, so clinching in outlook, made little welcome. At Copenhagen, illustratively, there was impression upon the content of the little welcome. At Copenhagen, illustratively, There is is, impression upon the contemporary mind. A sec- a torchlight procession in his honour. Nemesis is, tion of the people dismissed them as the fads of however, jealous; and, erelong, he was misunder-

^{*&#}x27;Belief in Karma', says Dr. A. L. Basham, 'must not be confused with fatalism. A fatalist India.

^{*} The Dean of Chichester says, I have never strain often appeared in Hindu thought but most seen anyone before or since who came so near to teachers disapprove of it, The World with the strain of the Dean of Chichester says, I have teachers disapprove of it, The World with the strain of the Dean of Chichester says, I have teachers disapprove of it, The World with the strain of the Dean of Chichester says, I have teachers disapprove of it, The World with the strain of the Dean of Chichester says, I have teachers disapprove of it, The World with the strain of the Dean of Chichester says, I have teachers disapprove of it, The World with the strain of the Dean of Chichester says, I have teachers disapprove of it, The World with the strain of the Dean of Chichester says, I have teachers disapprove of it, The World with the strain of the teachers disapprove of it.'—The Wonder that Was one's ideal of what Jesus of Nazareth must have looked like in the days of his flesh.'

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same, he squared his shoulders and travelled hymn to Sree Aurobinda Ghose, charged bol of that crucial dedication. He desired it to fleshrepresent India 'offering to others the hospitality of her best culture and accepting from others their best'. In doing this, he pegged himself truly and well on India, which has, from the floating mists of time, highlighted Humanity as the sheetanchor of an assimilative civilization, of which the world, with the nuclear challenge ahead, is in manifest need. He visualised Nalanda, Ajanta and Sarnath, to which scholars from all parts of the globe came. Starting from scratch, and in the teeth of overwhelming odds, he tided over, helped in no inconsiderable manner by the resilience of his wife, Mrinalini Tagore, who gave away her ornaments as well, he stuck fast to his ideal with all the devotion of toils and emotional-

By the middle of May, 1907, Rabindranath shifted his residence from Calcutta to Bolepur. Amongst other probable reasons, it was obviously to develop the small school, he had founded some six years back on the pattern of an ashram. He set no limit to his aspiration with regard to this institution. If, therefore, he at all meant to justify himself to this end, it was high time-he was now on the wrong side of forty-that he disentangled himself from the day to day fissiparous politics. It was, however, precisely the time, when the first upheaval of the anti-partition agitation had suffered a set-back. There was the queasy thought that he had possibly given up the fight. His political co-adjutors felt that he had let them down. Leave alone the gutter-snipes, who whipped it up into a feeling of animosity, even the very sedate and friendly-disposed-Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi for instance—joined in charge of 'desertion'. They raked up that he was for sometime warning them against isolationism, and preaching how the history of human race was elaborating a definite synthesis. He now came to be dubbed an internationalist, as if, in negation of the nationalist he was. Events, however, proved that he had not retired to sulk in cosy repose. There was hardly anything vital in Our national struggle he ever shirked to associate with, or on which he hesitated to make his

stood, belittled, lampooned, caricatured. All the impact felt. It was now that he wrote his famous from land to land with his evangel, One World sedition, in which he applauded the spirit of and One Humanity. The Visva-Bharati is a sym-quiet strength, rising above the crucifixion of

> Toma lagi nahe man Nah-e dhan, nah-e sukh; kona khudra dan Kona khudra kripa chaho nai; bhiksha lagi Barauni atur anjali; achho jagi Paripurnatar tar-e sarba badhaheen.

For thee is no power or wealth or any relaxation from the hard, strenuous ways of life; Never hast thou stretched a yearning bowl for

Nor hast thou sought any small gift of mercy: But unwaveringly hast thou kept thyself awake for the solemn realisation of the end*.

There has, in truth, been no line at any time, dividing Tagore's nationalism and internationalism. In the U.K., the U.S.A. or any other country he had gone, he spearheaded our national protest and demand for independence in the context of imperialism as a menace to the peace of the World. And down to the day, when bent with age, he stands at the foot of the Ochterlony Monument, Calcutta, to condemn, what he called 'the concerted, homicidal attack under cover of on the defenceless prisoners of the Hijli Detention Camp'. He minced no matters to say that they were 'undergoing the most barbarous system of incarceration and the nerveracking strain of an indefinitely suspended fate'. In fact, wide awake as he was to what affected the world as a whole, his love of motherland truly adorned his ode of passionate lyricism-

Sharthak janam amar janmechhi ei desh-e Sharthak janam mago tomai bhalobesh-e

The inwardness of the two lines and their

^{*}Aurobinda gave up his prized post at Baroda and came back to Bengal to serve the Nation in exclusive dedication. As Principal of the National College, he used to draw Rs. 75 - p.m. and with this he managed his household, consisting of himself, his wife and sister and invariably one or two fellow workers as guests. He used to sleep on a mat with newspapers rolled into a pillow.

impulse would not yield to alien alphabets. They can, however, be represented as follows-

What an infinite blessing is it for me that I am in this country born: In my love for thee, Motherland, is my life's summum bonum reached.

It is interesting to recall that if during the stormy days of Bengal Partition, Rabindranath incurred the displeasure of a section of his countrymen by urging them to be what Voltaire calls, 'an intelligent patriot and a citizen of the universe', in the no less stormy days of poignant conflict in December, 1921, when the Non-co-operation Movement was at its height, he formally inaugurated the Visva-Bharati. He took courage in both hands to ture.

than which nothing more blighting to destroy the what is essentially her homogeneity of the Hindus can be conceived. Satyam, Sivam and Sundaram. Buddha saved Hindu Culture by going back to unclassable sweetness-

Sunah-e manush bhai, Sabar upar-e manush satya Tahar upar-e nai Hearken ye brother of humanity, Man by himself is the ultimate truth, than him none higher.

And as Christ's very moving 'go to every creature' bade fair to subvert India's own, came in Swami Vivekananda, explaining the cult of Ramkrishna. just having activated the thought-pattern of The Upanishads (The Vedanta)-'You and I are not brothers; You and I are one'. On the intellectual plane, however, the ultimateness of man as the measure of Truth is capable of attainment, Tagore emphasizes, gradually as man learns to approximate in his individual, racial and national The Upanishads' Satyam, the true, Sivam. good and Sundaram, the beautiful.

At a Conference in New York in 1940, Dr. declare that it was there to promote 'the inter- Einstein said on Science and Religion, 'The furnational mission of the present age-the unifica- ther the spiritual evolution of mankind advances, tion of mankind'. Jawaharlal Nehru has done the the more certain it seems to me that the path to right thing to call it a focal point of Indian cul- genuine religion does not lie through the fear of life and the fear of death and blind faith, but For the first time in history, as the Great striving after rational knowledge capable of culti-Truth was revealed to the Rishis of The Upani- vating the good, the true and the beautiful'. It is shads in their moments of illuminated awareness, a sign-post of massive significance that Einstein, they realised the oneness of man and the indivi- a victim to vandalism run amuck, and then scared sibleness of the world. Under the disintegrating as he was by a global war of singular cruelty, forces of time, its life-line snapped and it gave should have jumped into the boat, Tagore had way to Brahmanism, with its truculent caste-system, been rowing upstream, and besought India for own-the ideology of

As I walk round the corridors of the Visva-The Upanishads in order to evolve a democratic Bharati, in the furore of centenary celebrations, state of society on the basis of the equality of I feel sad to reflect if the World is yet in a mood man. Two hundred years before Jesus Christ was to take a full measure of its founder. When he born, to Palestine came Buddhistic monks, and was being initiated into Brahmanism at the age they saturated the sands of Arabia with their new of nine, his father taught him the Savitri Mantra light. To the discerning it is implicit, with God to help realise the bond of union between man super-imposed, in Christ's Gospel, 'who-so-ever and the universe in their encompassing relation shall do the will of my father which is in heaven, to Sachchidananda—the All-Blissful. At the the same is my brother'. From the equality of of thirteen, he is roused to write his first poem, of Truth, such as is, familiarised by the Bengal India could afford to smile, in dire misery of poet Chandidas in his two lines of poet Chandidas in his two lines of unclassed and chains as she was. At the age of twenty, he is elated, to the depth of his being, with the dream that he would sweep past the world to inundate it with the illumination, which is his at the moment of awakening—not unlike the mountainstream, which, as it wakes up, is inebriated with life's first morning light, and starts flowing and

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hreaks down the hurdles of ice accumulated for all impression, steeped me unawares with the conages. The young poet, set on his pilgrimage, sciousness that Rabindranath was breaking down seeks to revalue the concept of life in terms of the haze and barrier between man and God. Their human beings, in their festering slums and habi- mately worked out in histations made of odds and ends. He resolves that he would make their silent, benumbed tongues vocal, and stir up hopes in their tired, broken hearts. He was one of those to inaugurate the Swadeshi movement, but would not subscribe to Boycott,-lest it fed racial aloofness. He made a signal reparation to the lacerated Punjab, but would not perpetuate Jallianwala Bagh lest it perpetuates a barrier between a nation and a nation.

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Teachers of humanity have spoken of the ways of man to God. Tagore is, possibly, in glorious isolation telling us that the Infinite meets the Finite, and what we need to do is to cultivate the sense of preparedness. As in my boyhood. heard Rabindranath's song, Tumi shandhar megh ing men up to heaven and making them as gods santo shudoor . . . etc.

Thou art like a floating cloud of the evening sky, blissfully remote and serene. my desires. my inmost being, all the sweetness I can muster strong as thou hast been wandering aloft in the

vacancy high.

I was at my wit's end in fixing, if it was a lovesong, as spoken to the beloved of flesh and blood, or it was a devotional song and this 'thou' is no other than God. Its self-effacing intentness, which the lover and the devotee share in common, Rabindranath Tagore. He is the Colossus, who gripped me and transmuted flesh into spirit. The bestrode the East and the West and dug in some silver distinctness of a new approach, in its over- forces for the consummation.

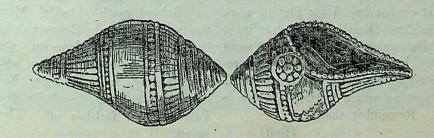
moving skeletons, euphemistically called unified personality is still more finely and inti-

Debotar-e jaha dit-e dei tai pryajan-e; Pryajan-e jaha dit-e pari tai dei debotar-e; Debotar-e prya kari pryar-e debota.

I give the dear ones whatever I can offer unto God: I give God whatever I can lay my hands on for the dear; Thus do I endear God and the dear ones

As I read it, I could not, as of instinct, help testing it on the touchstone of E. B. Havell's dictum that 'the excellence of Indian Art is in rais--Indian Sculpture and Painting.

Apollo played on his flute and Troy rosea mass of vapour to grow into a city. The days are changed, the selfsame Apollo may break his Thou art so intensely mine, the crown of all lungs, but not one brick would stand on another. And as time runs fast, civilization, built up in I have woven round thee all the sweetness of the length of ages, continues to hang on the eruption of a pin-point. The position of mankind is, truly, that of a Faust, outwitted by the ghost of his inventiveness. Should, however, man's greed ever complete its cycle of destructiveness, and the many 'isms', which have riven the world devastatingly in terms of regimentation and deterrent strength for security, coalesce to make room for a new order, based on the human value of things, it behoves posterity to turn back to



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Digitized HATSETPAFORHIASKARAMeGangotri

("The Sun of India")

By Dr. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D. (London) English Translation by Principal Dr. Roma Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxford)

The Section on "The Glory of the Child-Poet"

Jorasanko, Place-Maharhsi-Bhavan Calcutta.

Time-1869 A.D. Morning.

Rabindranath (Aged 8), Boy-servant-Shyam Elderly servant-Iswara, Tailor-Chandra, Neyamat Ali, Milkmaid-Tara.

(Enters Shyam)

Shyam Chandra—It is, indeed, a great good fortune for me that the boy Rabindranath always never escapes away outside. Oftentimes, he remains with us, but does not bother anyone very much. Though deprived of his mother's direct care, he never cries for her. Hence, I get lots of time to play.

(Calling aloud)

O, little Master! Come here.

(Enters Rabindranath, aged 8)

Rabindranath-Here I am! But I am play-

ing now. Why are you calling me?

on other days, do sit inside this circle quietly, today also, till I return.

(Draws a circle around him)

Rabindranath—(Protesting vehemently)

will go away and I shall sit here whole day Ramayana to you at night for a long time. alone? No, that cannot be. I am playing now.

sure to happen. Remember that!

(Exit)

Rabindranath-(Sitting inside the circle in fear.) (Aside.) This is indeed, true! For, it has been stated in the Ramayana that so long as Sita Devi remained inside the circle drawn by Lakshmana, no harm befell her. But as soon as she came out, she was taken away by Ravana. So, I better not go out; I better sit here and look around.

(Enters elderly servant Iswara)

Iswara—(Gravely)

Little Master! On seeing that you are restsits still inside the circle I draw around him, and ing here without manifesting any fickleness, I am experiencing great happiness. Kindly never sojourn out.

Rabindranath—(Smiling, aside) How funny! Iswara loves speaking in the language of books, and my elders always make fun of the same. Today also, he is speaking in the very same manner.

(Aloud) No, no, Iswara, I shall not go any-

where; but stay here.

Iswara (Still more gravely)—Do you have a desire in your mind to drink more milk and eat more 'luchis'?

Rabindranath—(Aside)—If I want more Shyam Chandra—It is getting late. We, too, milk and 'luchis', then that is sure to irritate are busy with our work. So, O little Master, as Iswara—for, his own portion will, then, become

(Aloud) No, no, I don't want to take any-

thing now.

Iswara—(Satisfied)—Really, over-eating is always a great cause of danger and ruins health.

Little Master! Do attempt to be a good boy. Pooh! What kind of thing is this! You I make a solemn promise to read out the

Rabindranath—(Aside) Mercy on us! Who Shyam Chandra—(Raising his forefinger wants him to read Ramayana to us for a long and warning.) Be quiet! Not a single word time? The night advances, we feel so sleepy, more! Don't you know that so long as you re- Iswara continues on and on and does not stop. main inside this circle, no harm can touch you? Luckily my father's man Kishori Chatterjee But as soon as you go out, a terrible disaster is comes off and on, hurriedly recites Dasu Roy's sure to happen Remember that I Then, only are we Panchali and finishes off. saved.

Tagore in the Moscow House of the Peasant



(Left to right) Y. Abdullayeva as Hemnalini, S. Kayumov, people's Artiste of The Uzbek Republic, as Gunada Babu, and K. Khodjayev as Jogen in a scene from "Daughter of the Ganga", based on Fagore's photeletin handward.

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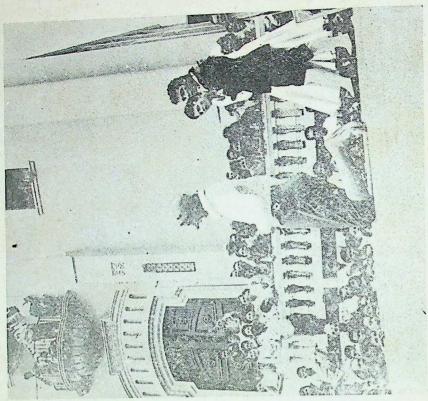
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Students of the University of Puerto Rico performing a drama on the board of an open van



Members of the Ballet de San Juan of Puerto Rico presenting a scene from "Carnet de Baile", a series of 19th century dances

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(Aloud) Very good, very good! Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotti Neyamat Ali—O my little Master! I have (Exit Iswara)

Rabindranath—(Looking out of the windowblinds, and seeing an old pond outsidedelightedly)

And, what is the use of going outside? How beautiful is that pond! To the east of it, there is an old banyan-tree, leaning on the wall; to the south, a row of cocoanut trees. Ah! how beautiful is all this! I do not now feel unhappy at all.

(Clapping)

Oh! What great fun! See, how different persons are bathing in different ways. Some are finishing off their bath very quickly; some, slowly. Some are closing their ears before taking a dip; some are dipping their heads all on a sudden! So many swans and ducks are floating on the water.

I like most this huge sky-kissing banyan tree. An wonderful charm seems to be hidden

inside its dense leaves.

What a huge banyan-tree, With matted roots gliding. Underneath a magic world Lies forever hiding. Merrily, charily blows the wind Swinging green foliage. Leaning on the water green The banyan sees image. On the bosom of the wall Stands the banyan old Showers of leaves rain down, Oh! Through roots hundredfold. Matted roots cover the trunk With deep darkness reigning What a lovely dream-world this

Maddening, capturing. What a wonder-festival Under the tree, this day What a funny play is here

With people unknown, gay. (Clapping delightedly)

Blue leaves, blue clouds, Blue wave-fall.

Blue sky, blue earth,

Blue, blue all. (Enters Tailor Neyamat Ali, with a garment in hand)

brought a coat for you. Just give it a try. I am sure, you will like it.

Rabindranath—(Examining the coat, despondently) - Oh no! I do not like it? Why doesn't it contain a pocket? I have many things of my own-marble-balls, wooden tops etc. Where shall I keep all these?

Nevamat Ali (Smiling affectionately)-Dearie! so many things you possess, my little Master! However, that doesn't matter. When you grow old, you will surely get coats with pockets.

(Exit)

Rabindranath—(Sighing)—Alas! What can I do.

(Enters Milk-maid Tara)

Tara—(Affectionately)—My Darling! What are you doing here all alone? Why do you look so depressed?

Rabindranath—I see the world by seeing the pond.

(Laughing aloud)

Elder sister! I do not feel unhappy now. How lovely is this banyan tree-which has made the world cool, and kept it on its lap. Its blue leaves make me mad. See this path in front of me. Has it gone up through the Heaven and Earth?

Elder Sister! Suddenly the thought has struck me-whence did I come, whither shall I

Tara-Dearest one! Go and ask your elder brothers about all these. They have read many things about the same. They will tell you what you want to know. But, I only know, this much that we all have come from the same place and shall go to the same place. When we are born, we are differentiated as high and low. But when we are dead, we become all alike.

Let that go! Really, what do I know in this respect? Why am I perturbing a small boy by such talks?

Darling! Would you like to have some milk?

Rabindranath-No; no, I don't want any milk. Now, I am feeling very happy.

Tara-Dearie! Why are you sitting here

alone, leaving your mother?

Rabindranath-No, no, I am not alone here. I have many friends here. Just glance around-I have friends everywhere. Don't you see? This pond, that row of cocoanut tree, this banyan tree, that sky, this air, that world all these are my friends. They speak with me, play with me, cut jokes with me. Hence, my mind is full of happiness.

Tara-My darling boy! Conquer the world. Oh! you seem to capture my heart more than my own children. May you be the bliss of the whole world. May you live a hundred years through

the grace of God. Hari! Hari!

(Exit)

The Section on "The Garlanding of Rabindranath by Bankimchandra."

Place—The house of Ramesh Chandra Dutta, the famous Novelist, at 20, Beadon Street, Calcutta.

Time-1882 A.D. A night in the month of Sravana (July-August). The marriage-ceremony of Ramesh Chandra's daughter.

Ramesh Chandra Datta, Bankim Chandra

Chatterji, Rabindranath, other guests.

(Enters Ramesh Chandra with garlands in hand) Ramesh Chandra-What a happy day is this for me! My darling daughter Kamala will be given in marriage tonight in this auspicious month of Sravana to a deserving groom Sri

Pramatha Nath Bose. You, too, have very graciously assembled here to give them your blessings. I am, indeed, honoured. Now, I shall stand at the door to welcome other guests.

(Looking) Oh! My joy knows no bound. For, here comes Sri Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the most famous Litterateur of Bengal today. Oh! it is, indeed, a great honour for me.

(Advancing) Revered Friend! Welcome! It is so very kind of you to accept my humble invitation, and grace the occasion by your august presence.

O great writer! Come! Oh! Come! Welcome to my humble home. Mother Bengal is so joyous Having you as son glorious.

Our honour reached a height dazzling Through your efforts, Literary King! With chests expanded, heads held high, We welcome thee and approach nigh.

(Admiringly)

Oh! Enchantingly various are your activities! You are a Ruler and a Writer, a Realist and an Idealist, a Dealer of stern realities and a Dreamer of dreams, rolled into one. This, indeed, is very rare.

Engaged are you

In work serious.

A Ruler of Districts

Judge courageous.

Busy is thy life

Night and Morning

Still you find time

To serve Goddess Learning

All this is due

To the grace of Mother

Blessed art thou, O my brother!

Bankim Chandra (Smilingly)—Rightly has it been said that "Affection flows downwards" i.e., affection is ordinarily directed towads nondeserving persons! You, my revered friend, prove it anew tonight.

(Returning the Compliment)

O Novelist King! This welcome loving Makes me grateful Vastly blissful. In your heart deep

You constantly keep A Devotion burning.

For Goddess of Learning.

The great knows not, rather Their own worth, brother!

I bow down to you, O King of Litterateurs Have the bridegroom and his party arrived? Are all well?

Ramesh Chandra—(Perturbed, yet happy)

No, not yet. All are well, of course! But:

Though Joy abounds

The Fount of Love flows Though the Couple's Light

Smilingly glows.

Yet rainy season Resounding thunder,

Depresses all—

And, that is no wonder.

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Bankim Chandra—(Assuring him)—That may be true from the outer standpoint. But, from the inner, real standpoint, don't you see-Movement is Life.

Rains cause great joy.

Tears from the eyes, .Wash off alloy.

Day, night and seasons,

And all that happens.

Show His Mercy,

So, love for Him deepens.

Ramesh Chanda—(Jokingly)—As you please. O King of Litterateurs! Everyone fears your. mighty pen, and so, our main task is to keep vou pleased.

(All laugh)

Ramesh Chandra-

त्विय तुष्ठे जगत तुष्ठमृजुना वंकिमे गते। श्रवणे दौर्दिनी धारा राधाया परिणभ्यते ॥ चन्द्रतं शैस्विस्तारि रूपविस्तारि संततम्। वंकिमसंपकति तत्त ब्दावनांगनायते ॥

If thou art pleased,

The world, too, is so.

If "Bankim" (the bent) is straight

What harm can flow.

Then, "Dhara" (Rains) changes

To "Radha" blissful.

"Bankim" with "Chandra" Makes Brindabana full.

Guests—(Delightedly)—Excellent! Excellent! We have all enjoyed so much this enchanting tepartee between these two great persons.

Bankim Chandra—(Smilingly)—Oh Ramapati Ramesh Chandra! Engaged as you are in the contemplation of Radha in Brindabana come back to earth, and think of the hard tealities of life! You "Ramesh Chandra" and I Bankim Chandra" are one and, the same viz., Arishna. So, what controversy can there ever be between You and I?

(All laugh)

Methinks, the time for marriage is drawing hear. So please attend to that—

Ramesh Chandra (Repenting)-

Alas! Being overwhelmed with joy, at the sight of my dearest friend Bankim Chandra, I forgot to garland him. (About to do so).

(Enters Rabindranath)

Ramesh Chandra (Charmed)-Who is he? He shines like the Sun.

Bankim Chandra-You live in a far off place. But, really don't you know him? He is Rabindranath, the rising young Poet, and the son of Maharshi Devendranath.

A new sun has risen In the Poetic Horizon. Whose Golden rays hidden Will brighten the world anon!

(Taking the garland from Ramesh Chandra and putting it on Rabindranath's neck)

He richly deserves it.

Ramesh! Have you read his "Sandhya-Sangita"? Ramesh Chandra-No, I have not.

Bankim Chandra-Then, do. It is a literary product of great value.

How beautiful are the opening lines which I remember well, till now:

(Reciting)

अयि सन्ध्ये ।

अनन्त आकाशतले स्थितका किनी केशविलासिनी। मृद्-मृद्-कथां कां भणसि रहसि स्वतो गोतिवनोदिनी निखिल-वदनावलोकिनी ॥

श्रुतं मया प्रतिदिनम्, अद्यापि वचस्तव बोधागोचरम् । श्रतं मया प्रतिदिनम्, अद्यापि संगीतं तब ज्ञान।दुद्रतरम् ॥

O Lady Eve! Sitting alone in the infinite sky, With flowing locks, What do you mutter to yourself Singing and singing At the face of the world glancing

Everyday have I heard your words, as today.

But failed to understand your call Everyday have I heard your songs, as today But failed to learn these at all.

Ramesh Chandra-Lovely! I shall, course, read it.

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Bankim Chandra—This book of Poems has a freshness of approach, depth of thought, and sweetness of language that have given me great pleasure.

Rabindranath—(Bowing down gratefully)— Revered Sir! I am, indeed, overwhelmed by

your infinite kindness.

O thou image of Knowledge supreme!

This loving welcome is beyond my dream.

My life is blessed

For thy love for me

Accept my respect

I bow down to thee

Bankim Chandra (Affectionately)—My young Poet! May you always follow your heart! May you bring glory and happiness to Mother Bengal, nay, to Mother India.

Rabindranath—I am, indeed, blessed. May I always prove myself to be worthy of your blessings! (Bows down.)

Ramesh Chandra (Smilingly)—I, too, am indeed blessed by the simultaneous presence of the veteran "Moon" (Bankim Chandra) and the rising "Sun" (Rabindranath.) Who has ever seen such a unique union?

Now, let us go inside to participate in the marriage ceremonies. Welcome, Welcome all.

(All Exit)

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SOME BARRIERS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH IN UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

By SHYAM NANDAN SINHA, M.A. (Econ.); M.A. (Pol. Sc.)

Lecturer in Economics, Gaya College, Gaya (Patna University)

IT goes to the credit of the economists of the German Historical School that they were the first to challenge the claims of the classical economists that the uniformities and generalisations discovered by them were universally applicable. The Historical School rightly emphasized that Economics is a social science. Economics is the study of man's action in so far as it is concerned with the satisfaction of wants. The classical economists failed to realise that the nature and content of wants, the attitude of men towards goods, their behaviour pattern and responses are social products and are conditioned by the moves, customs, taboos and values prevalent in a particular society. Indeed, these are the devices through which society canalizes individual behaviour in socially desired channels. Their assumptions that man is always rational and that his behaviour is guided by the motive to maximize his gain and minimize his loss and that human beings are a bundle of fixed and immutable instincts have been proved to be false. The classical economists tried to deduce their theories, like mathematicians, from a few highly abstract axioms. The controversy

between the Historical and the Classical Schools was, however, resolved by Schomoller who said, "Induction and deduction are both needed for scientific thought as the right and the left foot are needed for walking."

But in spite of this the body of economic theory and policy which has developed till now has strict relevance to the mature economies because they were developed in the light of the experience of Western societies.² It is only recently that the attention has been focussed towards the peculiar economic conditions prevailing in the underdeveloped countries—countries of Asia, Africa and most of Latin America. To a great extent this is due to the emergence of a number of Asian and African countries as politically independent entities with a keen desire to develop economically at a rapid rate. In a world of close contacts the high Western standard of living produces

1. Quoted by Marshall in Principles of Economics, London, 1920.

2. Gunnar Myrdal, Economic Theory and Under-Developed Regions, Vora & Co., 1958, pp. 21-22.

countries.3 It is also partly due to the realisation in the economically advanced countries themselves that (a) the poor and want-stricken masses of the under-developed countries may prove to be the hest breeding ground for communism and, (b) the tremendous production capacity in their own countries can be sustained only if sufficient demand is generated in backward countries which embark on the road to industrialisation. poorer countries of the world are now being referred to as under-developed countries whereas previously they were described as backward. As Gunnar Myrdal says, "The change from the static to a dynamic concept implies in the richer countries a registration of a positive attitude to the Great Awakening in the poorer countries."4

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The classical economists suffered from the notion that elements of social reality could be characterized as 'economic factors' and 'noneconomic factors.' Theoretical analysis could be rationally restricted to the interaction of those factors only. The non-economic factors were taken for granted and static.5

Now it is an accepted fact that economic development is not a simple matter which can be analysed only in terms of rate of capital accumulation, technical skill and resources available in a country. Religion, social customs, psychological attitudes and cultural patterns have a direct impact on the process of growth of an economy.

"The growth of output per head depends on

3. James S. Duesenberry, Income Saving and the Theory of Consumer Behaviour. vard, 1949, Ch. III, p. 27. Also R. Nurkse, Problems of Capital Formation in Under-Developed Countries, Oxford, 1953, p. 68 Duesenberry and Nurkse use the phrase in a different context to show that consumers try to imitate the consumption pattern of advanced countries making capital accumulation difficult. But Yamey and Baner in their book, Economics of Under-Developed Countries, London, 1957, pp. 139-140, have argued that there is no reason to suppose that the 'demonstration effect' is limited only to consumption and that it does not impel people in backward countries to save, invest and produce more in imitation of the advanced Western countries.

4. Gunnar Myrdal, op. cit., p. 20. Gunnar Myrdal, op. cit., p. 22.

sort of "demonstration effect" in the backward the one hand on the natural resources available and on the other hand on human behaviour."6

> "Economic development has much to do with human endownments, social attitudes, political conditions and historical accidents. Capital is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of progress."7

> "Economic development is the result of a combination of social, cultural, political and economic changes which in turn bring about further changes."8

> In this article it will be our endeavour to show the economic significance of the customs, beliefs, attitudes and religious codes that prevail and condition the behaviour of individuals in under-developed countries. The illustrations will be mainly from India.

Religion

In a broad sense economic development depends on the individual's will to economize manifested in the spirit of adventure, thrift, riskbearing, nobility and the attitude towards knowledge and its application. The relationship between religion and economic progress has three important aspects-(a) the attitude of man towards his own destiny, (b) the attitude of man towards goods and, (c) the attitude of religious codes towards experiments.

Rapid economic progress takes place in a society where people believe that by their conscious efforts they can improve their lot. People must believe that progress is possible through human efforts and that man is not a helpless waif being tossed like shuttlecock by the blind forces of Fate. In India, the doctrine of Karma, which is a predominant strain in all schools of thought under Hinduism, means that man's destiny is predetermined. One cannot change one's lot howsoever one may strive. This extreme sort of fatalism leads to a mood of resignation. Indian masses have lived in a state of mental torpor through centuries under the influence of this pessimistic doctrine and it has been responsible to a great extent for their economic degeneration.

6. W. A. Lewis, The Theory of Economic Growth, London. 1956, p. 10.

7. Ragnar Nurkse, Problems of Capital Formation in Under-Developed Countries, Oxford.

8. Yamey and Baner, The Economics of Under-Developed Countries, London. 1957, p. 128. Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
Re of Dr. Radha- like worship, rites and ceremonies, charity

Of course, there is, in the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan, an optimistic view also of the doctrine of Karma. It is said that Karma conditions life and does not determine it. Karma is like the hand dealt to each player. Whether a player will lose or win the game will depend upon the individual's ability to make the best use of the cards dealt to him. But it is the pessimistic view which is prevalent amongst the masses.

Religion defines the position of the individual in the cosmic set-up. In India religion teaches that the external world is an illusion, that material goods are transitory, that this life is an opportunity for striving for a higher life, that the supreme bliss lies not in the pursuit of riches or power but in the salvation of the soul. obvious that a religion which discourages interest in the things of this world9 and teaches that the course of the present life cannot be altered as it has been conditioned by the Karma of the past life will reduce the will to improve one's lot in terms of acquisition of material goods. In India accumulation of wealth and money is not supposed to be the highest virtue. The money-lending class, the merchant and the 'banivas' are held in lower social esteem. The popular saying in the rural areas is that 'one will not take away one's wealth along with him', that 'man came to this world empty-handed and will go away emptyhanded'. Aggressive competition is improper. Prof. R. H. Tawney¹⁰ and Weber¹¹ have shown the bearing of the Puritan Ethics on the making of the typical capitalist entrepreneur of the 18th and the 19th centuries -a man devoted to work under iron discipline, daring and adventurous, ceaselessly engaged in feverish activity to fulfil the calling in which he has been placed. Calvinism suggests that success in his calling is a sign that a man has been elected by God for salvation. Self-denial hard work are supposed to discipline the soul.12 In an under-developed country religious practices

pilgrimage play a very important part in the life of the people. This helps the maintenance as well as swells the ranks of priests, mendicants, beggars, 'pandas' and the like who live on gifts made by others. The economic implication is that a large section of the population shares the national wealth without in anyway helping in its production. Relatively a large section of the population is withdrawn from productive enterprises in India, Tibet, Thailand, Burma and other underdeveloped countries and enters the ranks of priests, 'sadhus', beggars, witch-doctors, 'bhikshus' and monks. People who spend their wealth in building temples, undertaking pilgrimages and making charities to monasteries and giving alms injure economic development in two ways. On the one hand, they help to swell the ranks of the idle parasites and on the other, they waste a potential source of investment making the problem of capital accumulation still more acute. In India, Tibet, and other countries of South-East Asia performance of religious rites and pilgrimages is the chief motive for saving in the villages. Some societies indulge in the ritual destruction of wealth owned by a person at the time of his death. In Nepal when the King dies all his personal effects, amounting to millions of Rupees, are donated to priests. Charity, feasting, etc., are essential at the time of religious ceremonies connected with birth, puberty and death. Religious practices to a great extent encourage conspicuous consumption. diverts a large section of the working force into unproductive channels. Compared to this the Puritan theologists, moralists and social reformers regarded beggary as a vice and giving of charities as a sin. Milton's friend Hartlib said that God has ordained that "he that will not work, let him not eat". The British Parliament passed an Act in 1649 under which beggars and vagrants could be whipped. Bishop Berkley said that sturdy beggars should be seized and made slaves to the public for a number of years.13 From Latimer's preaching that poor men have title to rich men's wealth to the Puritan view that Poor Law is the mother of idleness and that poor rate encouraged vice and kept wages high was a far cry.

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^{13.} R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. Penguin, 1948, pp. 261-67.

^{9.} Measures for the Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries, U.N. 1951, p. 13. 10. R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of

Capitalism. Penguin, 1948, Ch. IV and V.

^{11.} Max Weber, The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism. London. 1930.

^{12.} Erich Fromm, Fear of Freedom. Routeledge. London. Ch. II and III.

Innovations are an essential condition for all progress. Innovations require experiments. neriments presuppose a spirit of enquiry, a mind that doubts and a rational outlook. Religion is based on faith and acceptance. Dogmas thrive on fanatic devotion, faith and acceptance. Hence. religious codes prohibit and inhibit experimentation. Unless there is freedom to experiment with new techniques of production, new kinds of goods, to search for new markets and to seek new channels of trade there cannot be any progress in the economic sphere. Religious dogmas will progress if they prevent economic, social, cal and legal institutions to change in a which is conducive to economic growth. During the Middle Ages taking of interest on loan of capital was described as usury or extortion was punishable under the Canon Law.14 also forbids charging of interest on loan of money. It is clear that accumulation of cannot proceed under such circumstances. the building operation is considerably slowed down because the coolies go every spadeful of earth to take out any living organism that might be there.15 Their religion preaches ahimsa as the highest virtue, therefore, they must not kill anything. It is said that the Muslim vine-growers of Cyprus prefer to make raisins from their grapes instead of wine even though the margin of profit is higher in the case of the latter. It is well-known that one of gravest problems facing the cattle in India is their number. It is because Hindus regard cows as sacred and resist the destruction of unproductive cattle15a and prevent their breeding so their number has grown out of all proportion to supply of fodder. The prejudice against artifificial insemination makes it difficult to improve the breed of cattle. 16 In India and other underdeveloped countries religion, on the whole, has tetarded the economic growth. In Western coun-

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tries some religions teach that salvation can be attained through discipline of hard and conscientious work and elevate thrift and productive investment to a moral virtue. As Dr. Radhakrishnan has observed, 'The qualities associated with the Eastern culture makes for life and stability; those characteristic of the West for progress and adventure."

Population

Most of the under-developed regions are characterized with a high rate of population growth. The average rate of growth may be round about 1.5 per cent per annum.18 · It has been calculated that in the under-developed countries the rate of investment is no more than 4 per cent to 5 per cent of the national income. If it is assumed that the capital output ratio is 3.5:1 (in an economy in the early stages of development) the above rate of investment will mean that the economy will remain in a state of stagnation with the population increasing at the rate of 1.5 per cent per annum.19 For a selfgenerating economy nearly 12 per cent to 15 per cent of the national income must be invested.20

No economic growth is possible with the rate of population rising by 1.5 per cent per annum and rate of investment remaining at 5 per cent. Either the rate of population growth should decline or the rate of investment be stepped up. Perhaps, both are needed. As a matter of fact the rate of population growth in the underdeveloped countries is much higher than assumed in the U. N. report. All economic progress will be swamped by increasing numbers if population growth is not checked.

The high rate of population growth in the under-developed countries is due to a complexity of factors. Low level of income, socio-economic

^{14.} R. H. Tawney, op. cit., pp. 155-65.

^{15.} H. Harrer, Seven Years in Tibet, London, 1953, p. 170. Cited in Yaney and Baner. op. cit. Steps to Meet it—Ford Foundation Team, Government of India, 1959, Ch. XI.

beliefs on the process of change see S. C. Dubey, lndias changing villages. London. 1959. Ch. VI.

^{17.} Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Eastern Religion and Western Thought, Oxford, 1940, p. 258.

^{18.} Measure for Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries, U. N. 1951, p. 47.

^{19.} W. W. Rostow, The Take off into Self-sustained Growth. *The Economic Journal*, March, 1956.

^{20.} W. A. Lewis, Economic Development with Unlimited Supply of Labour. The Manchester School, May, 1954.

factors, physiological and climatic factors and religious attitudes-all produce their effects in varying degrees. All these causes act and react upon each other. These factors are at the same time the cause for high rate of population growth and its effect. So far as the religious attitude is concerned the average Indian is deeply fatalistic about births and deaths. Births and deaths It is a sin to control are willed by the Lord. birth. The Lord who gives the mouth will also feed it. Moksha is not possible without a son. Social customs prescribe early marriage. A barren woman is despised and reduced in social According to Prof. Harvey Leibenstein the aggregate utility of a child of a given birth order is composed of three items: (a) the utility of the child as a consumption item, (b) the utility of the child as a source of security for the parents in the old age and, (c) the utility of the child as a productive agent.21 Prof. Leibenstein argues that the aggregate utility of a child of a given birth order will decline with the rise in per capita income and the rise in the indirect opportunity cost of rearing up children and will be high in an under-developed country where the per capita income is very low. This explains the high rate of birth prevalent in the economically under-developed countries. However, prior to the 19th century the high birth-rate (40 per thousand or more) was neutralised by the equally heavy death-rate (35 per thousand or more) and the net addition to population was not great.22 As a matter of fact in some of the Western countries which were in the phase of rapid industrialization, population was increasing at a much higher rate. For example, during the first-half of the 19th century population in the U.S.A. was increasing at the rate of 3.5 per cent per annum and in the United Kingdom at the rate of 1.5 per cent per annum.23 As

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri factors and economic growth takes place lines of communication improve and preventive medicines develop and death-rate is drastically reduced widening the gap between the death and the birth-rates. with the birth-rates remaining constant or even increasing for the time-being. The population enters the second phase of the logistic curve and a population humph occurs. With the progress of industrialization and the rise in the per capita income the birth-rate is gradually reduced and it has a tendency to coincide with the death-rate. Broadly speaking the reduction in birth-rate is the result of a change in the attitude of people towards child bearing which itself is the product of the cultural effects of modernization. Urbanization, greater variety and more opportunity for enjoyment of leisure, rise in the social status of women, higher indirect opportunity, cost raising children, greater survival chances babies, legislative ban against employment children and a more rational outlook have all combined to bring about this attitude. Here we may safely assert that the high rate of population growth is a cause as well as a consequence of under-development. This in short is the theory of "demographic transition". The social ethos of earlier periods encouraging begetting of children was the product of an age when the chances of survival were bleak and when the strength and security of the tribe or nation lay in larger numbers. The same attitude which persists even now is a hangover of the past and is a sign of "cultural lag", strangely, in Western Church is still not countries too the Catholic reconciled to the practice of birth-control by means of contraceptives. Nevertheless the underon the oars developed countries cannot rest hoping that the cultural effects of modernization will bring the secular trend of population growth to an even keel. It may take two or three generations before birth-rate balances rate again. In the meantime much harm may have been done specially when we consider that in countries like India and China 2 per cent per annum rise in population will mean a very large

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^{21.} Harvey Leibenstein, Economic Backwardness and Economic Growth. John Wiley and Sons, 1957.

^{22.} Between 1891-1901 the birth and deathrates, were 45.8 and 44.4 respectively, in India. Kingsley Davis, Population of India and Pakistan. Princeton, p. 85.

In Advanced Countries'. Proceedings of the World has revealed that population has grown at the Population Conference, Papers Vol. V. H.N. 1054

According to a recent preliminary report of 23. Simon Kuznets, The Pre-industrial Phase the U. S. Census Bureau, March 1960, Census at the Population Conference, Papers Vol. V, U.N. 1954. rate of 1.85 per cent in U. S. during 1950-60.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri terms^{2‡} creating "demogra-flaving been brought up in the environment of the family-work he will get trained automatically.

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In what has been said above it has been assumed that the under-developed countries are suffering from relative over-population so output per head declines as population grows if the capital and technology do not improve simultaneously. But there are countries which suffer from under-utilization of resources because of manpower shortage. Northern Rhodesia and Nigeria are cases in point. In such countries increase in population either through domestic sources or by immigration will boost production. But generally the most important growth-retarding factor in the under-developed countries, according to Prof. H. Leibenstein is population. A stagnating economy requires a certain amount of effort to launch it on the road to development. Harvey Leibenstein calls this amount of effort "critical minimum effort". A lesser effort will keep the economy in a state of stagnation as a slow increase in income will be swamped by rising population.26

Caste System

From the economic point of view the Indian caste system has implications similar to those of the guild system of the Middle Ages, or of social groups based on religion, race or place of birth. Apart from the theological explanation of the four varnas originating from the different limbs of Brahma, the creator, the four varnas and their different sub-sections had their basis in the principle of division of labour and specialization. This will be clear when we consider that sub-castes and occupations are synonymous, e.g., Luhar (blacksmith), Barhai (carpenter), Chamar (leather-worker), Mali, (gardener), etc. A son will naturally follow the occupation of his father and grandfather because he inherits their dexterity and skill.

family-work he will get trained automatically. Moreover he will inherit the tools, equipments, stocks, clients and the goodwill earned by the family. With the degeneration of society this functional division of society became rigid. The dogma grew up that the son must follow the occupation of his forefathers. Each caste and sub-caste became a dogmatic sect. Inter-marriage and inter-dining were stopped not only between one caste and another but also between different sub-castes within the same caste. It became a sacrilege for the member of a particular caste to. enter any occupation other than that to which he was born. Members of the upper castes— Bramhins and Kshatriyas should not do manual work. A Bramhin ploughing his fields and a Shudra trying to learn reading and writing would be equally sacrilegious. A caste-ridden society is an extreme case of status-type society.

Now economic growth requires risk taking including the risk involved in changing jobs, occupations and places of work. In other words mobility-both vertical and horizontal mobility -is a pre-requisite for economic development. Vertical mobility means that a man can rise from the lowest social scale to the highest social scale if he has the requisite merit, that accident of birth or race or religion will not inhibit his This cross fertilization of cultures maintains the vigour of the ruling class. In a feudal society the ruling class lives on the surplus created by the serfs, slaves or the Shudras. The cultural trait of the ruling class is such that manual work thrift is ridiculed, experiments are is despised, regarded as heresy and indulgence in conspicuous consumption is encouraged. For economic growth it is essential that new men with the spirit of adventure, with the ability and willingness to take risks, with the will to economize and backed by a new ethical dogma in which hard and honest work for material advancement is regarded as virtue is able to ascend at the top. Horizontal mobility means that workers are willing and able to change occupations in which remuneration is low and enter occupations where remuneration is higher, for example a carpenter becoming a blacksmith. The caste system prevents this type of mobility. This is a serious impediment in the way of a proper allocation of resources and hence inimical to growth. But this is not something very

^{24.} Yamey and Baner, Economics of Under-Developed Countries, London, 1957, pp. 63-64. 25. The phrase is borrowed from the title of Dr. S. Chandrasekhar's article—Commerce, Annual Number, 1959, p. 102.

^{26.} The Critical Minimum Effort Thesis:
Arth Vijnana, Vol. I. June, 1959. Journal of the Poona.
Institute of Politics and Economics,

the way of ideal allocation of resources in the ad- logy are all pressed into service to discourage vanced countries also. There are non-competing travelling. One of the prejudices which was quite labour groups and restrictive trade union prac- strong till recently was against crossing the seas. tices in the developd countries too. In India and Almanacs and Astrologers must be consulted other under-developed countries social rigidity before travelling. Planets, the constellation of may prevent workers from selecting jobs accord- stars, the position of the moon, the day of the ing to their aptitudes which is the first principle week, the direction of travel are all taken into of division of labour. Mobility involves a kind of account in fixing the moment of departure and risk which will be constantly demanded from the arrival. One cannot change one's residence during workers in a society in the process of economic growth. If a society is based upon status social mobility will be impeded. Status may be based on caste as it may be based on race, slavery, family, place of birth, occupation or wealth. In an exchange economy status relationships gradually dissolve giving place to contract relationships. This does not mean that in industrial societies there are no social hierarchies. England still has its nobility and status is emerging in the U.S.A. too.27 What is important from the point of view of economic growth is that society is sufficiently open so that vertical and horizontal movements are possible. Indeed, in an exchange economy where social relations are fluid and where social hierarchies are determined by wealth, competition may stimulate people in the lower ladder to work harder. Wealth can be acquired by dint of hard work, discipline, iron-will and abstinence caste or place of birth or race cannot be changed.

Geographical Mobility

In a static society characterized by a low income stagnating economy another kind of movement which has direct and indirect bearnig on economic growth is severely restrained. That is geographical mobility. Journeys, travels and explorations into unknown realms through land and sea, presupposes a spirit of adventure which is also a pre-requisite for economic growth. Merchants and traders, explorers and navigators, prospectors and planters, settlers and colonisers preceded as well as accelerated industrialisation in Europe. Bacon, Drake and Calvin were thrown up by renaissance and were the products of the same historical process. By contrast, in India and under-developed countries, geographical mobility is inhibited by elaborate devices.

27. Vance Packard, The Status Seekers, U.S.A. 1959.

unique because there are various impediments in tom, Astrology, folklore, superstition and Theocertain months of the year. In the folklore the prince is always warned against going southwards. Women prohibit their husbands from going eastwards which is the land of belles with magical powers. Omens are elaborately classified into good and evil. Even if the day and hour of departure have been carefully decided after elaborate consultation of the almanac, journey shall have to be postponed if some ill omen, like somebody sneezing or a cat crossing the road in front, appears at the time of departure. Now, growth implies movement, including geographical movement. magnitude of this movement will depend on the pace of growth. In a feudal society agriculture is the only occupation and the self-sufficient family or the village is the economic unit and the tent of the market is confined within the village boundary. Hence, normally journey was necessary for the bulk of the civil population. With transport and communication undeveloped and in the absence of a strong central administration it was very hazardous too. The prejudice against travel had its bearing in the economic conditions of the times. But with the growth of industralization and specialization the self-sufficiency of the village breaks and the market is extended to national and international regions. Frequent travelling is required because of change of place of work and change of occupation as also for conferences, inspection, observation and sell-Today even tourism has become a cult and many countries are making a living from their tourist industry.

Joint-Family

institutions One of the most peculiar social India and in the under-developed countries like which has the countries of South-West Africa, very significant economic implications is institution joint-family institution of the joint-family. In a

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the earning members have to maintain a large prove one's lot economically because the fruits munism of the extended family each works accord- Indeed the higher the position and greater the joint-family pool need not be proportionate to the contribution he makes to the family income. Indeed the non-working or unemployed dependent consumes nearly as much as the working member. The joint-family flourished in an age when farm surpluses could not be marketed and hence people were willing to make a gift of their surpluses. Under the joint-family system the size of the agricultural holdings are maintained. It prevents sub-division and fragmentation of land holdings and thus serves a great economic purpose. Joint-family is also a great instrument for providing 'social security' in a society where other private and public institutions do not provide even rudimentary social services. The state in an under-developed society is financially, technically and administratively incapable of providing social security to its citizens. The joint-family looks after its members during old age, sickness, unemployment and infirmity. As Yamey and Baner say, "The extended family system serves as an insurance fund, as an informal poor law, as a means for pooling and circulating capital within a group, and also as an outlet for charity and generosity."28 It is said that in South-West Africa promising students of the family are educated from family funds which is also used for helping a member of the family in setting up business. source of saving is whittled away making the surroundings. Thus the economically efficient problem of capital accumulation still worse. Joint-

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number of dependents and relatives. The total earn- of one's industry will have to be shared with a ing of the family is kept in one pool. In the com- large number of relations both near and distant. ing to his ability and consumes according to his wealth accumulated by a person the more the needs. The consumption of one individual from demand of relations and dependents increases for monetary help and securing jobs. Banking habit is discouraged because bank accounts may be revealed to relations.

So far as the dependents are concerned, joint-family has adverse psychological and econoeffects. Psychologically, the joint-family dampens the spirit of adventure and breeds a sense of irresponsibility. If one is assured of bare necessities of life one feels reluctant to move out and incur risks in search of work. If one is morally responsible for a large number of dependents one is bound to play safe and avoid undue risks. If one has to travel far one must travel light.

The joint-family is also responsible for much disguised and voluntary unemployment in rural sector. Disguised unemployment means that labour can be withdrawn from agriculture without in any way adversely affecting output, other things remaining the same. 30 In the jointfamily unemployment is camouflaged. All the dependents are given some sort of occupation in the family farm or the family shop so that the census classifies them as occupied.

It has been said above that the members of the joint-family, even though they are unemployed or under-employed, enjoy an income which is far greater than the value of the output produced On the other hand joint-family also serves as a by them. They enjoy a certain standard of living. drag and impediment in the process of growth. This sets up a minimum reserve price for their In a developing economy the institution of joint- labour. 31 They would not be willing to work elsefamily is a serious hurdle. In a joint-family where where unless the wage offered is above this minigenerally one man works supporting a large mum reserve price, because working outside will number of dependents it means that he and his own mean certain incidental expenditures by way of are consuming only a part of his income. house-rent, etc. Some additional payment will also hest of his income is employed in maintaining a be required to overcome the psychological resislarge number of dependents. Thus a potential tance involved in leaving home and the pastoral

family dampens the will to save, invest and im-

^{29.} The modern concept of the family is loped Countries, U.N. 1951, p. 7. husband, wife and minor children.

^{30.} Bhabatosh Datta, Economics of Industrialisation, Calcutta, 1957, p. 72. Also Measures 28. Yamey and Baner, op. cit., p. 65. for the Economic Development of Under-Deve-

^{31.} Yamey and Baner, op. cit., p. 77.

work would be higher than the value of their personal output. This means that there will be a large number of voluntarily unemployed workers at the equilibrium wage level.

Dependents consuming the joint-family products without working means that the marketable farm surplus is reduced in quantity. In an underdeveloped country where agriculture constitutes the major sector of the economy, farm surplus is the chief source for financing economic development. This is clear from the experience of the U.S.S.R. and Japan.32 On the other hand reduced farm surplus means that developmental expenditures

32. B. F. Johnston, Agricultural Productivity and Economic Development in Japan, Journal of Political Economy, December, 1951. Also W. A. Lewis, The Theory of Economic Growth. London, 1956, pp. 230-231.

use of the workers is frustrated because the on capital projects in other sectors will create inopportunity cost of transferring them to other flation because of the short supply of food which is the main wage-good in a poor country. But there is a way out of this difficulty as suggested by Nurkse. 33 If the non-working dependents are mobilised to work on capital projects like dams. bridges, railways, etc., their wage-incomes will not generate inflationary pressure because the farm produce which they were previously consuming as non-working dependents in the joint-family will now be available in the market. Thus disguised unemployment in the under-developed countries represent potential source of saving and capital formation.34

> 33. Ragnar Nurkse, Capital Formation in Under-Developed Countries, Oxford, pp. 37-47.

> 34. Ragnar Nurkse, Reflections on India's Development Plan, Quarterly Journal of Economics. (May, 1957), pp. 192-202.

THE CONGO STORY

6. Impact on the U.N. and Africa

BY CHANAKYA SEN

DURING the first part of the 15th Session of the to the General Assembly in spite of the opposi-U.N. Assembly the Congo question came frequently before the world bar. The only positive action that was taken amounted to U.N. recognition of Mr. Kasavubu as President of the Congo Republic. This is an important landmark in the chaotic course of the Congo's history. In the confused political kaleidoscope, Kasavubu had remained, however extraordinarily, the only continuing symbol of the Congo's sovereignty. He had been elected President by Parliament, and although Col. Mobutu had "dismissed" him, along with Mr. Lumumba, it had transpired within a few days of the army coup that Mobutu was functioning under Kasavubu's patronage. While the Afro-Asian powers were demanding the restoration of Mr. Lumumba to Prime Ministership and still recognized him as the legitimate Premier, they could not altogether ignore President Kasavubu. The Western powers were anxious to get him recognized by the United Nations as a countervailing factor against Mr. Lumumba and they succeeded in getting his delegation admitted

tion of the majority of Afro-Asian powers.

A bitter debate raged in the U.N. Assembly over the Congo's representation. Two rival delegations were in the corridors waiting for admis sion and the delegation chosen by Mr. Kasavubu had Western support. When the debate opened in the first week of November, the delegate of Guinea, supported by the United Arab Republic, Morocco and Mali, proposed that Mr. Lumumba's delega tion be given the seat. He was immediately opposed by the United States, and it became evident that the West had the support of the African countries of the French Community. In his address to the U.N. Assembly shortly after he arrived in New York, Mr. Kasavubu had promised full co operation with the world body. That oratory was obviously aimed at creating a favourable climate for the acceptance of his delegation by the dentials Committee, which has a majority of pro-Western votes.

Despite Western opposition, the debate was briefly adjourned to enable the U.N. Conciliation

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e was liation Commission to go to the Congo until his own delegation was accepted by the United Nations. The Belgian Government itself joined the issue by threatening to "reconsider" its attitude to the United Nations if its role in the Congo continued to be "misrepresented and misconstrued." The Conciliation Commission held several meetings and at one stage it was prepared to leave immediately for the Congo. The Credentials Committee by a majority vote approved Mr. Kasavubu's delegation. But this had to go to the General Assembly for confirmation. When it came up, Ghana sought to adjourn the debate but was defeated. The climate was now clearly in favour of Mr. Kasavubu. The voting in the Assembly came on Novem-

ber 22. There were 50 votes in favour of Kasavubu's delegation and 32 against. Fourteen countries abstained. This was a turning point in the U.N.'s handling of the Congo question. Rather strangely, the immediate consequence was the cancellation of the decision of the Conciliation Committee to fly immediately to Leopoldville. As soon as his delegation was approved by the Assembly, Mr. Kasavubu sent a letter to Mr. Hammarskjoeld strongly objecting to the Commission's journey and Mr. Hammarskjoeld apparently took the decision that the journey should be put off.

A wave of new violence broke out in the Congo, and there also came a new agreement between Mr. Tshombe and a delegation sent to Elisabethville by the Leopoldville Government. Kasavubu who was on his way back home told correspondents in London that he was thinking in terms of a round-table conference of Congolese ^{leaders} to which Mr. Lumumba would also be invited. A few days later, he, Col. Mobutu and Mr. Tshombe gathered together at Brazzaville, capital of the former French Congo. The occasion was the independence celebrations of this which is also called the Congo Republic. The three leaders conferred together and it was here that the plan for the dismemberment of the Congo and the substitution of the unitary state by a confederation of semi-sovereign states was laid.

The indomitable Mr. Lumumba was by no means passive. For six weeks he had been under

Commission to study the matter. Mr. Kasavubu house arrest, his residence in Leopoldville being besieged by Mobutu's troops. But when Kasavubu, Mobutu and Tshombe were in Brazzaville, he made good his escape on November 28, evading the armed guards or perhaps with their connivance. First reports said that he was heading for Stanleyville, his birth-place where he had solid support. The reason for his journey was given to be his desire to attend the burial of his baby daughter who had died a few days ago in Switzerland. But soon Western correspondents were alerted and reports were sent out that Mr. Lumumba had a great political design. A manhunt was immediately started. The U.N. Command declared that after his escape Mr. Lumumba no longer enjoyed U.N. protection.

Mobutu returned to Leopoldville immediately on receiving the news of Mr. Lumumba's escape. The Congolese leader was arrested by Mobutu's men on December 2, in Kasai province at a place about half-way between Leopoldville and Stanleyville. Moscow Radio claimed that Mr. Lumumba was actually captured by U.N. troops and handed over to Mobutu's men, but this was firmly denied the U.N. Command in Leopoldville. Mr. Lumumba was handed to Mobutu's paratroopers who tied his hands to the back and tortured him all the way from Kasai to Leopoldville. Pictures of Mr. Lumumba's tortured face were published in the press all over the world. He was not, however, kept in Leopoldville but was immediately transferred to an army camp in Thysville, an area supposed to be hostile to his leadership.

The Security Council met on December 7, at an urgent Soviet request, to consider the arrest of Mr. Lumumba. Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal had, in the meantime, sent a report to Mr. Hammarskjoeld about the conditions in which Mr. Lumumba had been kept in prison. His head had been shaved and his hands remained tied. He was suffering from serious injuries and the condition in his cell in which he was in solitary confinement, was most unhygienic. Mr. Dayal, on his own, had lodged a protest with the Congolese authorities, pointing out that Mr. Lumumba, as a member of Parliament, enjoyed immunity from arrest and that by capturing him the authorities had violated the country's laws. Mr. Hammarskjoeld wrote a number of letters to President Kasavubu urging "humane treatment" for Mr. Lumumba and also member of Parliament.

Congo. The second, tabled by Britain, the United cognition to President Kasavubu. States, Italy and Argentina, said that the Interall the people detained in the Congo.

In the Congo itself, grave disorders broke out in Orientale province following Mr. Lumumba's arrest. It was placed under martial law by President Kasavubu, although the writ of the Leopoldville Government did not run beyond Leopoldville province at the time. There were several other important developments too. Mr. Tshombe had gone to Brussels for the first time since the Congo's ing in that country.

gest possible terms accusing him of complicity before since July. in the arrest of Mr. Lumumba. It was during The Security Council was not able to adopt Council on December 9, that the Congolese autho- quate support. rities had the right to arrest Mr. Lumumba and

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri suggesting that the due processes of law be Once the Congolese leader could reach Stanley. observed in his case. He did not clearly demand ville, he would have tried to establish a separate his release although he did point out that the regime with Soviet support. It was the failure of arrest violated Mr. Lumumba's immunity as a this plan, said Mr. Wadsworth, which had made the Soviet Union so angry. The U.S. delegate The Security Council met in a tense atmos- added that the U.N.'s objective in the Congo, as phere. It had two resolutions before it. The first, his country saw it, was to establish conditions from the Soviet Union, asked Mr. Hammarskjoeld which would promote law and order and a to secure the immediate release of Mr. Lumumba. general observance of fundamental human rights. It also called for disarming Mobutu's forces and This purpose would be significantly advanced if for the withdrawal of all Belgians from the all members would give full support and re-

This was a new interpretation of the U.N. national Red Cross should be allowed to visit role in the Congo. The Congo's integrity and sovereignty were no longer the foremost issues.

The Afro-Asian position was explained by Ceylon, India and several other countries. The Ceylonese delegate called for a broader mandate from the Security Council for U.N. efforts to restore order. He said, it was a mistake to believe that order could be restored by a policy of neutrality. In fact, the U.N. effort to be neutral in the Congo's political quarrels had landed the "independence" and was discussing with the Belgian organization in its present plight. Neutrality Government plans for greater Belgian help for would mean surrendering the Congo to chaos his regime. The United Arab Republic and and confusion and its disintegration. The Indian Yugoslavia had announced their decision to with- delegate, Mr. Krishna Menon, agreed with the draw their personnel serving with the United Ceylonese delegate and urged that the U.N. should Nations force in the Congo. Both countries told take steps to reconvene the Congolese parliament. Mr. Hammarskjoeld that they did not wish to be The primary thing to be done was to get associated in any way with what was then happen- Belgium out of the country. The Security Council had repeatedly called for complete In the Security Council debate the Soviet Belgian withdrawal, but strangely enough, there Union attacked Mr. Hammarskjoeld in the stron- were now more Belgians in the Congo than ever

this debate that the United States made the any resolution. The Red Cross resolution of the clearest statement yet of its Congo policy. The West was vetoed by the Soviet Union, while the American delegate, Mr. Wadsworth, told the Soviet resolution fell through for lack of ade-

The matter went back to the General all that he could expect was humane treatment. Assembly. But a change was coming over the Mr. Lumumba's political status was a problem Security Council itself which rather perturbed of internal Congolese jurisdiction and it should the Western powers. In the election to the vacant be left to be decided by the people of the Congo. seats on the Council the West encountered the The United States however for The United States, however, fully accepted the strongest Afro-Asian opposition to the nomination of Mr. Kasayuku that Mr. position of Mr. Kasavubu that Mr. Lumumba's nation of Portugal for its colonial record. And removal from his former office had been accepted the strongest Afro-Asian opposition to removal from his former office had been accepted the strongest Afro-Asian opposition to removal from his former office had been accepted the strongest Afro-Asian opposition to removal from his former office had been accepted the strongest Afro-Asian opposition to remove the colonial record. removal from his former office had been fully when the election took place the composition of legal. Mr. Wadsworth accused the S. in The control of the composition of legal. legal. Mr. Wadsworth accused the Soviet Union the Council reflected to a certain extent the of preparing plans for Mr. Lumumba's escape. changed mood of the United Nations. Poland was

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President Nkrumah separately proposed a made in the Assembly on the Congo problem. seven-point plan to resolve the Congo crisis. It drawal of all Belgian personnel.

frequently punctuated by open clashes between U.N. force should withdraw.

Mr. Hammarskjoeld and various Afro-Asian

a year, giving the Council two representing the countries of Africa and Asia. In Communist votes. The three Afro-Asian countries the early stage of the debate, Mr. Hammarskjoeld elected were Ceylon, Liberia and the United Arab intervened to emphasize that the U.N. force had Republic, all of them belonging, more or less, to no mandate to take any military initiative; it the non-aligned camp. The Western group could could act only in defence. He explained why the command only six votes, one short of seven which United Nations could not secure the release of is required to get any resolution passed if it is Mr. Lumumba. Any attempt to free Mr. Lumumba, not opposed by any of the permanent members. said the Secretary-General, meant taking a For the first time, thus, since the inception of military initiative. Nor did he relish the frequent the Security Council, the West lost control over references by Afro-Asian speakers to the promptthe most vital organ of the United Nations. It ness with which the U.N. Command had always was no longer possible for them to carry through intervened to secure the protection and safety any resolution they wished, once the obstacle of European personnel in the Congo. Mr. of the Soviet veto could be surmounted. It was Hammarskjoeld said, there could be no comthis important change in the composition of the parison between Mr. Lumumba and the belea-Security Council which enabled it, in February, guered European population in isolated parts of to adopt a very different resolution on the Congo. this sprawling country. To secure the release of But that was much later, and, in the meantime, Europeans the U.N. took a "defensive initiative". the old Council functioned for several more and not a military initiative. He deplored what weeks. It was in a state of paralysis. In the he called the "inverted racism" displayed by General Assembly, Yugoslavia and six Asian- Afro-Asian spokesmen. Finally, he said, if he were African countries, including India, introduced a asked to take so-called necessary measures which resolution on the Congo on December 16. The were in fact illegal, his reply would be, "I will

Republic, Iraq, Indonesia and Ghana. It called
It became evident that the Afro-Asian upon the United Nations to arrest the deteriora- countries were no longer in a mood to approve tion in the law and order situation in the Congo the U.N. action without much criticism as they and take measures for the economic rehabilita- had done so far. Mr. Krishna Menon, the Indian tion of its people. It suggested that all political delegate, accused Mr. Hammarskjoeld on Decemprisoners, particularly members of the dismissed ber 19 of taking sides in the Congo dispute. In Central Government, be released and Parliament a two-hour speech on the resolution tabled by reconvened. The resolution also demanded that the Afro-Asian countries, he called for a deleimmediate measures be taken to disband armed gation of specially qualified members to work in units and secure the return of Belgians from that the Congo and to advise on the U.N. operations. Mr. Menon's was one of the most pungent speeches

The Secretary-General was against the use provided for the formation of a U.N. Committee, of force by the United Nations in any circumsconsisting mostly of Asian and African countries, tance in the Congo. In another intervention in to control the situation in the Congo. It also the debate he gave the warning that if civil war provided for the restoration of the Lumumba broke out in the Congo, he would ask the Government and complete and immediate with- Security Council whether the U.N. force should withdraw or whether they should intervene with The debates were acrimonious. They were force. He indicated that, in his own view, the

The Assembly had also before it a counter delegates. Mr. Hammarskjoeld was not in favour resolution moved by the Western powers, includof the Afro-Asian resolution and he made no ing the United States. In its revised form this secret of his dislike of it. The U.N. operations resolution asked the Secretary-General to help were strongly criticized by speaker after speaker President Kasavubu recall Parliament (this was

that the Red Cross would be able to visit political prisoners and asked the Secretary-General to continue to keep out foreign military or paramilitary personnel. The resolution amounted to a vote of complete confidence in Mr. Hammarskjoeld, leaving him free to conduct the U.N. operations. It also recognized President Kasavubu as the sole agency in the Congo through which the U.N. could function on the political level. It neither called for immediate Belgian withdrawal, nor did it betray any signs of concern over the continued detention of Mr. Lumumba and the increasing tempo of lawlessness that was prevail-

ing in vast parts of the country.

The vote was taken on the last day of the Assembly's 1960 session. It had been decided to adjourn the session for three months December 20. On the last day, it voted on two important issues: the Congo and Algeria. Neither vote was a complete victory for any groups of nations in the U.N. The vote on the Congo showed the state of paralysis in which the world organization now found itself. The Afro-Asian resolution was unable to secure even half the total Only 28 countries voted in favour and 42 against. By rejecting the resolution, the Assembly refused to assume power to order the release of all political prisoners, to convene Parliament and enforce withdrawal of Belgians. The Western resolution failed by a single vote. It had the support of 43 countries; 23 nations voted against. The most important phenomenon was the huge abstentions. As many as 32 countries abstained on the Western resolution and 27 on the Afro-Asian resolution. All the new African states, including Nigeria, refused to vote for either. The significance of the single-vote defeat was nevertheless important. The Western resolution, as noted, would have given an almost blank cheque to Mr. Hammarskjoeld, had it been approved.

United Nations. Neither the Security Council receive a tremendous fillip and western correspondent said, "Short of money continent

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a concession made to the Afro-Asian countries with conflicting advice setting upon him and with who had unanimously emphasized the urgency of his international force seriously depleted, the who had unanimously emphasized the discharge secretary-General is left to pick his own way out of the mess".

Mr. Hammarskjoeld hastened to make it clear to the dispersing delegates that in the absence of a new mandate the old mandate stood and that the failure of the Assembly and the Security Council to give a new lead in the Congo only meant that the Secretary-General had to proceed on the lines already laid down.

The failure of the United Nations in the Congo was mostly an African failure. If the African countries which controlled as many as twenty-five votes in the Assembly, could act together they could have carried the majority of the Asian nations; with Soviet support, they could have made their point of view prevail : the U.N. Assembly. But as the Congo crisis pregressively meandered into a tragic stalemate, the African nations stood sadly split, two major groups pulling in opposite directions. On the one side stood countries like Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the United Arab Republic and Morocco trying to project the 'African personality'; on the otherwas the more or less pro-Western group consisting of countries of the French Community and others like Tunisia, who did not want a break with the West.

It has been seen throughout the Congo crisic that the first group of countries have tried to look upon the problem as an issue between African nationalism and Western colonialism. They insisted on the immediate complete withdrawal of all Belgian forces and wanted to keep the Congo out of the Cold War. To them Mr. Lumumba was the only Congolese leader who could hold the country together and give a fight against the collective colonialism of the West.

No less were they concerned over the prospects of the Congo's dismemberment. The integrity and unity of the Congo was to them a matter of the utmost importance. Once this huge country in the heart of Africa was allowed to break up into a number of semi-independent units, forces The voting revealed a deep split in the of disintegration throughout the continent would ed Nations. Neither the Security Co. Africa would nor the General Assembly was able to act again be balkanized. Already the Scramble for decisively. Both left the UN council receive a tremendous fillip and Alleady the Scramble for decisively. decisively. Both left the U.N. operations in the Africa in the latter part of the nineteenth Congo without moral and political support. A century had led to the parcelling out of western correspondent said "Short and political support." A century had led to the parcelling out of European European CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar of number

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powers. International boundaries had been drawn was trying to secure the withdrawal of Belgium independence and pulled down their national frontiers to make union a reality. Nevertheless, African statesmen realize that one of the greatest potential dangers facing their continent is disintegration balkanization.

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It is significant that wherever Africans have thought in terms of unity and amalgamation they have stood against the conduct of the U.N. in the Congo. They had welcomed the United Nations intervention only because they had hoped to see the Congo's independence integrity preserved. That was the mandate the Security Council gave to the U.N. Command from the very beginning. Not only was this mandate not carried out; they witnessed the huge Congo Rupublic break into pieces before the very eyes of the United Nations.

Support for the U.N. operation came mostly from those African countries which are opposed ^{to} what Dr. Nkrumah has called an "African personality". This group may be described as countries favouring balkanization of Africa. To this group belong all the small African states, as well as the members of the French Community which are, for the time being, run by a group of Western-oriented leaders who believe in cooperation with the French and with the West generally.

It has been noticed throughout this study that since the dawn of independence the Congo's

with scant regard for national sentiment or and establish the integrity of his country he ethnic, cultural or economic factors. As a result, received solid support from Ghana, Guinea, Africa has the longest international frontiers in Morocco, Mali and the United Arab Republic. any continent. Quite a few of the countries now There had even been occasions when these emerging into freedom have neither the territo- countries were prepared to intervene indepenrial nor the economic means to sustain their dently of the United Nations on Mr. Lumumba's gather strength and power. behalf. They did not do so because they were Hence the movement for integration. But national atraid of clashing with the U.N.; nor was Mr. frontiers do not easily melt. Each political entity Lumumba strong enough to brave the risk of has its own vested interests that stand in the way unilateral African action against Belgium. But of merger. That explains the comparative un- as soon as Mr. Lumumba was thrown out of the success of the integrating movement. Resolutions political scene, relations between the Congo have been passed and agreements signed for authorities and countries like Ghana and the U.A.R. forming several unions of African countries; deteriorated. A series of incidents involving the there is a growing Pan-African movement; but envoys of the Ghana and the U.A.R. led to a breakin actual practice, no two countries have yet ing off of diplomatic relations between Leopoldville and Cairo and Accra. Dr. Nkrumah repeatedly called for an African Command taking over the Congo operations. He made it clear that the U.N. set-up in the Congo was so incongruous that it could only function on mutually contradictory lines. Mr. Hammarskjoeld's chief political representative was Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal, a man disliked by the anti-Lumumba Congolese leaders as well as by most Western powers. He had nothing to do with the military operations. In charge of these operations was the Swedish General, Van Horn, who was replaced by the Irish Chief of Staff in January in 1961. Neither of them could earn the encomium of the more important African nations. The General's military adviser was Brigadier Rikhye of India, who again has had nothing to do with the conduct of the military operations. Thus there were built-in weaknesses in the U.N. set-up which repeatedly revealed themselves in the way the U.N. handled the Congo crisis since July.

> The African split came to a finality in December, outside the United Nations.

A conference of African countries was held · in Brazzaville in the middle of December. Attending it were the Heads of twelve Frenchspeaking African states, members of the French Community. The result of their deliberations had an important bearing on the final phase of the U.N. debate on the Congo. After a week-long telations with the "African personality" group discussion they invited Congolese leaders to join have varied with the ups and downs of Mr. them. Both Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Tshombe Lumumba's political fortune. When Mr. Lumumba attended the meeting. This conference which is

known as the Brazzaville Conference adopted a resolution favouring a Congo Confederation. In other words, it stood for splitting up the Congo into five or six near-sovereign states and it gave an immediate fillip to similar movements current in other parts of Africa.

During the U.N. Assembly debate delegates of the French Community countries repeatedly referred to the Brazzaville recommendation and this exercised considerable influence on the outcome of the voting. Their plea had Western sympathy. As we have already noted, the Western countries were able to count upon the passive support of the Brazzaville group in putting forward their own point of view with regard to the Congo problem.

In the first week of January another important African summit conference was held, this time in Casablanca. It was called by the late monarch of Morocco and was attended by the Heads of the sate of Morocco, the United Arab Republic, Ghana, Guinea and Mali. The Prime Minister of the Algerian Provisional Government, Mr. Ferhat Abbas, was also there. There was a ministerial delegate from Libya and an observer from an Asian country, Ceylon. Perhaps the most important work of the Casablanca Conference was the drawing up of an African Charter, providing for an African consultative assembly, creation of African political, economic and cultural committees and the setting up of a joint African high command which should meet periodically with a view to "ensuring the common defence of African cases of aggression against any part of this continent and with a view to safeguarding the independence of African states".

The resolution adopted on the Congo deserves to be fully quoted. The Conference, it said: (1) Declares the intention and determination of the respective governments represented to withdraw their troops and other military personnel placed under the United Nations Operational Command in the Congo. (2) Reaffirms their recognition of the elected Parliament and legally constituted government of the Republic of Congo which came into being on June 30, 1960. (3) Convinced that the only justification for the presence of the United Nations troops in the Congo is:

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vegerance adopted a (a) to answer the appeals of the legitimate Government of the Republic of the Congo at whose request the United Nations decided to create its Operational Command:

(b) to implement the decisions of the Security Council in respect of the situation in the

(c) to safeguard the unity and independence of the Republic of the Congo and preserve its territorial integrity.

(4) Urges the United Nations to act immediately

- (a) disarm and disband the lawless bands of Mobutu:
- (b) release from prison and detention all members of the Parliament and legitimate Government of the Republic of the Congo;
- (c) reconvene the Parliament of the Republic of the Congo;
- (d) eliminate from the Congo all Belgian and other foreign military and para-military personnel not belonging to the United Nations Operational Command whether operating as such or in disguise;

(e) release to legitimate Government of the Congo all civil and military airports, radio stations and other establishments, now unlawfully withheld from that Government;

(f) prevent the Belgians from using the United Nations Trust Territory of Ruanda Urundi as a base to commit aggression direct or indirect to launch armed attacks against the Congolese Republic.

(5) Besides that, if the purposes and principles which justified the presence of the United Nations Operational Command in the Republic of the Congo are not realized and respected, then the states here represented reserve the right to take appropriate action."

As the year 1960 ended, the consequences of the Congo were more or less clear. It had split the United Nations and it had split Africa. The independence of the Congo was now only an illusion. The country stood humbled, prostrate and broken. All the tribal passions had been let loose. There was complete political confusion. The economy was at the lowest ebb; hunger and destitution was widespread. The U.N. had no money even A finance its operations. Its treasury was empty. A fairly share by th on ar

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fairly large number of countries had refused to not the share the cost. Whatever money came was given cause.*

by the United States and other Western countries on an ad hoc basis.

The paralysis of the U.N. was broken by a severe jolt in the month of February. Mr. Lumumba was put to death by his political enemies. It was

Digitized by Arva Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri fairly large number of countries had refused to not the death of a man but of a country and a large the cost. Whatever money came was given cause.*

[*In his concluding article next month, Chanakya Sen will review the U.N. handling of the Congo problem since the death of Mr. Lumumba and examine India's approach to the crisis. There will also be a summing up of the consequences of the Congo problem.—Editor, M.R.]

THE BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE OF 1888

By KALYAN SEN

It was the Indian National Congress that led people to think of their political emancipation and also to strive to achieve it. As it has been remarked, "the history of the Indian National Congress is the history of the origin and development of national life in India." However, the Congress always tried to maintain an all-India character. From the very beginning, the leaders of the Congress declined to deal with problems which they considered to be of a local character and not of national importance. Thus arose a need for a Provincial Conference through which the attention of the public could be focussed on questions that the National Congress was not willing to consider.

The problem of the tea garden labourers of Assam, or "coolies", as they used to be called, was sought to be raised at the Madras session of the Congress in 1887, and the Allahabad session of the Congress in 1888. On both the occasions, it was excluded from the agenda on the ground of "provinciality". It is difficult to agree with the judgment of the leaders that this was not a fit question to be discussed at the national level. The conditions in which the "coolies" had to pass their days are hard to believe now. They were treated like beasts by the European proprietors who felt no concern for their welfare. The labourers were recruited mostly from backward areas like Chhotanagpur, Hazaribagh and the Eastern States Agency. They were supposed to come under "agreements", the terms or consequences of which they hardly ever understood. Agents of the tea gardens maintained a big organisation for recruiting them, and for transporting them to Assam. Cases of kidnapping of women and children were also not rare. Once in Assam, they Were completely at the mercy of the European

Manager, and they had no way of escape. The law, far from protecting the "coolies", was actually against them. An Act of 1859 (No. XIII of 1859) laid down that for a breach of the contract of service, a "coolie" was liable to be prosecuted. The Inland Emigration Act, (No. I of 1882), "passed in the face of strong opposition on the part of the native community led by the late Kristo Das Pal who was then a member of Viceregal Council", empowered the employer to arrest a runaway "coolie" without warrant, if he was found within five miles of his garden. The "coolie" expected or got little help or protection from the police.

Stories of oppression and high-handedness of the Managers of tea gardens used to trickle out. The leaders of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and the Indian Association were the first to take up this issue in 1886. Dwarakanath Ganguli, self-denying worker of the Brahmo Samaj, visited a number of tea gardens in Assam, and began to give wide publicity to the horrible conditions obtaining there. Pandit Ramkumar Vidyaratna, a preacher of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, published in Bengali a book, "Kuli Kahini", ("the story of the coolie") which created a sensation. Surendra Nath Banerjea, in his "Bengalee", and Krishna Kumar Mitra (also of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj), in his "Sanjivani", carried on a campaign for the punishment of the miscreant managers and for a reform of the law. Contemporary newspapers contained many stories cruelty. In October, 1888, the Amrita Bazar Patrika reported an incident of a woman dying of brutal flogging. Five more workers succumbed to the injuries caused by flogging, and about two hundred workers went to the Magistrate of Dibrugarh to seek redress. The "Bengalee" men-

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en to pty. A was thrashed to death by the Manager of one Messaijan Tea Estate. The "coolies" had to live in sub-human conditions in the estates. Surendra Nath Banerjea showed from a government report that ten out of eighteen gardens in the South Sylhet Sub-division were veritable death traps. The labourers did not always get their full wages either-the Manager would make deductions on flimsy pretexts.

The public men of Bengal had been agitating against certain other social evils as well. For instance, there was the problem of the "out-still" system. "Out-still" is a technical term of the Excise Department of the Government, and by it, they mean an indigenous distillery for making spirituous liquor. Such distilleries were left outside the control of the Government. One who ran an "out-still", received a manufacturing as well as a selling licence. A fee had to be paid for obtaining this licence, but otherwise, the licence owed no other obligation to the Government. "Out-stills" were set up in the villages of Hooghly and Howrah Districts in 1886, flouting the policy recommended by the Excise Commission of 1883. This had a very bad effect and the habit of drinking started, spreading even among young children. Surendra Nath Banerjea and his associates embarked on a campaign against this evil. The Indian Association sent out a questionnaire to the districts, and some of the leaders went to the villages to make personal enquiries. On the basis of the reports received, it sent a memorandum to the Provincial Government which gives an idea of the magnitude of the evil: "From almost everywhere, the same tale is heard-of persons lying dead-drunk on the roads in the vicinity of the "out-still', of the attempted outrages on the passers-by, of quarrels and fights, and of so in the nature of things. The liquor has been cheapened by nearly three-fourths. A bottle of liquor which formerly cost a rupee, may now be had for four annas." Then there were certain problems facing the Municipalities and District at local conferences for a long time to come. The Provincial Government of Bengal

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennaj and e Gangotti Punjab, took to task the —a woman, who had been delivered of a child, Municipalities of that province for not spending enough money for education, in Bengal, Municipalities were not receiving adequate grants from the Government for this purpose.

Problems of this type had failed to find a place in the agenda of the National Congress on grounds of "provinciality". And so the leaders of Bengal came to the conclusion that they must have a platform of their own to give publicity to This was the genesis of the their problems. Bengal Provincial Conference.

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The first Conference met in Calcutta from 25th to the 27th of October, 1888. Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar was elcted President. About one hundred delegates attended the Conference from twenty-four districts of the Presidency of Bengal. The delegates from the districts took the lead and it was remarked that they represented "the wealth, the intelligence, and the public spirit of the Province". Among the delegates were, besides Surendra Nath Banerjea and Bepin Chandra Pal, men like Dwaraka Nath Ganguli, Woomesh Chandra Datta, Janaki Nath Ghoshal, Narendra Nath Sen, and Baikuntha Nath Hazra.

The Conference adopted twelve resolutions. The first resolution made a demand for the appointment of an independent commission for enquiring into the condition of the Assam "coolies". Another resolution recorded a protest against the interference of the local government in the administration of Municipalities, as for instance, the practice of revising the budgets made by the Municipalities. Another resolution demanded some reforms in the police system, and made a specific suggestion for raising the pay of the subordinate officials. Other demands were that a Royal Commission be appointed to enquire into Indian affairs, that the Arms Act be revised, that the Legislative Council be reconstituted on a the general increase in crime. It must indeed be representative basis, that the Judiciary be separated from the Executive, and that the system of trial by Jury be established. These were not "provincial" questions, and they were to become "hardy annuals" at the National Congress as also

There was a proposal that technical educawas not providing enough money to these bodies tion should be imparted to the people. But the for maintaining schools. Surendra Nath Banerjea President, Dr. Sircar, opposed this on the ground pointed out that while Sir James Lyall, the Lieu- that unless basic scientific knowledge was

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri seminated first, technical education would prove a Provincial Conference. It was remarked that abortive.

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There was a resolution conveying good wishes to the National Congress and suggesting some subjects for inclusion in the agenda of its next meeting scheduled for December. A Standing Committee was appointed to organise the Conference, and Janaki Nath Ghoshal and Surendra Nath Banerjea were appointed Joint-Secretaries.

The leaders of Bengal were very pleased with the success of the Conference, Surendra Nath wrote in his Bengalee: "What we had earnestly pleaded for in these columns has at last been realised as an accomplished fact. The Bengal British Indian Association's rooms and discussed Ten years ago, a gathering of this kind important were to be regarded as "feeders of the great Bengali at National The example inspired the people of in Bengal is another interesting study. Bombay to organise the Bombay Provincial Conference. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in starting the Provincial Conference was necessary to bring together in a Provincial Conference the representatives of the leading towns and districts of the Presidency to discuss certain points and lay down certain lines of action".

The National Congress was something remote to the people of the far-flung districts of India. The railway age was still in its infancy. Whereas, not many could afford the time or the money to attend the National Congress, it was much easier to attend a Provincial Conference. The delegates at a Provincial Conference had stronger bonds amongst themselves, and the problems that they discussed, directly concerned them. One who could not hope to be anything more than a back-bench delegate at the National Congress, could aspire to play a leading role at

at the first Bengal Provincial Conference, delegates came from the mofussils, "at considerable exand inconvenience, giving up holidays". The delegates of a Provincial Conference could talk amongst themselves in their own language. The National Congress, in its early days, was not broad-based, not to mention that it had no contact with the masses. Provincial Conferences were instrumental in making the National Congress better known to the common people, and in awakening their political consciousness. How progressively common people started taking an interest in political questions, under the influence of periodical conferences. Provincial Conference met last week in the and how the masses were ultimately drawn into politics, remain to be traced. The use of vernathe most important public questions of the day. culars in meetings and conferences played an part in bringing this about. would have been impossible. It might have been beginning was made in this very period. a dream in the minds of a few ardent patriots, Surendra Nath, while agitating against the "outbut the dream has now been realised. A new poli- still" system, used to hold meetings in villages. tical force has been created". What was this new Along with Krishna Kumar Mitra, Kali Sankar political force? Dr. Sircar, in his presidential Sukul, and Barada Prasanna Ray (singer and address, had said that Conferences of this type orator, from Barisal), he delivered speeches in those meetings. He acknowledged Congress-converging streams as it later on that this practice of addressing meetings were, that will swell the tide of that genuine in Bengali, stood him in good stead at the time national movement." It was in this light that of the Swadeshi movement. How Bengali came the people of other provinces viewed this Con- to be the language of the Provincial Conference

It is true that the immediate occasion for a circular said, "(we think) that it will be neglect of questions that were dubbed as "provincial" by the National Congress at this time. But one cannot deny that some, at least of these so-called provincial questions, had an all-India importance. The problem of the "coolie" Assam was by no means a provincial matter. The "out-still" system, or the problems Municipalities and District Boards, although local problems, had a national importance. Moreover, to awaken the people of a country like India which had vast dimensions and wide diversities on one side, and no traditions of political consciousness on the other, having lived under subjection for hundreds of years, local conferences were highly necessary. The Provincial Conference may be claimed as a specific contribution of Bengal to the movement for freedom.

THE PLACE OF ORNITHOLOGY IN AGRICULTURAL PLANNING

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri BY SUDHINDRA LAL ROY

has been given the second place of import- beings" also from Assam into West Bengal. ance. The stress seems to be on the protwo successive years. This basic natural for equitable distribution of wealth." despite bumper crops.

this borrowed made to apply scientific principles stressing ground. Time will show. I quote human beings".

Before a year had elapsed since these prophetic words were uttered by the savant, locusts did arrive in India in unprecedented and the States had been found unprepared

In the Third Five-Year Plan, Agriculture there has been a "movement of human

That neither the advice of a scientist. duction of food. In all the talks and lite- nor the invasion of locusts have had any rature on the subject, I have not seen any effect on the Union Ministers is apparent reference to the problem of conservation from the following remarks of Union and preservation of agricultural products. Minister, J. Ram, at the Bhavnagar Congress From the field to the granary, food-crops session, as reported in the newspapers on are exposed to the ravages of destructive the 7th January, 1961.—"The country's proinsects, animals and other pests. It is a duction must be continuously increased. well-known fact that a bumper crop in any But that would not be enough. Along with year produces enough for a population for increasing production steps should be taken fact has been lost sight of by our planners. tween production and distribution there is An unimaginative ministry, has given no a vast gulf, within which food is destroyed attention to crop-destroying pests including by insects and animals. Rats and mice, for profiteer pests who keep up food prices example, do enormous damage to crops and agricultural produce. "The ravages of the Speaking at the Demographic Training Sind Mole-Rat in the rice-growing tracts of and Research Centre in Bombay on the 27th the Indus Delta have been estimated by a June, 1959, India's Union Health Minister, competent authority as between 10 and 50 Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, gave utterance to per cent of the entire paddy crop." (Salim cliche—"The population Ali, Book of Indian Birds, problem is perhaps the most urgent prob- Locusts, says Salim Ali, have prodigious lem of our country, etc." But the great appetites and are notorious for their prolific biologist, J. B. S. Haldane, who is endowed reproduction. The Government in India with rational thinking and whose life is have taken no serious measures to control devoted not to political career-making but this pest. There is only one air-plane for to the pursuit of science, said in reply- spraying insecticide chemicals in the whole "As a biologist, I disagree with this. The of India. Mere spraying will not check its food problem is more urgent and it can be reproduction. I am afraid that locusts are solved in five years if a serious attempt is attempting to make India their breeding the importance of animal demography in from Salim Ali's book. "The female locust the context of food production." Prof. lays its eggs in capsules underground, each Haldane said further—"The growth and capsule containing about 100 eggs, and movement of insect and animal life were several capsules are laid by each individual. not merely an academic problem but were On a farm in S. Africa measuring 3,300 acres, of great practical application. The move- no less than 14 tons of eggs have been dug ment of a large swarm of locusts from the up at one time, estimated to have produced Western Frontier may do more harm to 1,250 million locusts." (Ibid, pp. 223-24). India's economy than the movement of Sprayed chemicals cannot touch the underground egg-capsules.

Chemical insecticides cannot be relied on in eradicating insect pests. This is a demonstrated truth. Although swarms but the governments of the Union insecticides have added to our welfare, they are not unmixed blessings. Peter Farb to combat this menace. Strangely enough says—"Witness how, in some species, DDT

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has bred a race of super pests tougher than ever to kill. Many house-flies can now stand a dose of DDT 1,000 times stronger than was needed to kill their ancestors ten years ago. Chemicals also have been responsible for an upsurge of minor pestsmites, scale insects, aphids—which were formerly kept at low population levels by natural enemies. Unwise blanket sprays have in some cases killed our insect friends faster than our enemies..... As the insects build up resistance, we have turned to more potent chemicals. The newest, the organic phosphorus, are the deadliest." Now remember these words-"So concerned are scientists about the indiscriminate use of insecticidal poisons on our food-stuff thatin America-stringent official controls have been tightened up to protect the consumer." (Readers Digest, Sept. 1957).

Living insecticides have no harmful 1941: effect on foods. They attack only the insects to be destroyed and the pests cannot become immune to them. The U.S. that a Department of Agriculture entomologists man a have done and are doing remarkable research work in biological control. About locust four decades ago Koebele, a self-taught also sentomologist, went to Australia to find an enemy of the insect that had almost destroyed the Citrus industry in California. The value only on those scales. This beetle in two years brought the scale under control.

This was not the first effort in biological control. In the last Century when the British started sugar-cane growing in Fiji, they found an insect destroying sugar-cane. It was found on observation that the Common Mynah (Acridotheres tristis) was an enemy of this pest and they imported into Fiji a large number of these birds which were effective in controlling the sugar-cane pest.

Both the entomologist and the ornithologist have to be consulted if agricultural planning is to be made successful. Both in England and America, research work in biological control is being carried out intensively and with remarkable success. They have discovered spores that attack grubs of Japanese beetles which once ravaged crops,

fruits and vegetables. Chemical insecticides seemed to increase their numbers. In Britain many tomato-growers are now attacking their enemy the green-house white-fly with a specially-reared wasplike parasite, Encassia formosa. The European pine saw-fly was destroying timber wealth of Canada. Swedish entomologists provided the Canadians with a disease-virus of this insect which is now in perfect control.

The entomologist has very largely and effectively developed biological control techniques. The ornithologist has not yet been requisitioned by agricultural planners, though he has already done much work, the result of which are now available to the authorities.

Let me quote again from Salim Ali's book which has been before the Ministers and Directors of Agriculture in India since 1941:

"A large proportion of the normal food of birds consists of insects including many that are in the highest degree injurious to man and his concerns. Birds of many species not only take heavy toll of marauding locust hordes all along their flight lines but also scratch up and devour their eggs in vast quantities, as well as the different stages of the young locust after hatching. The white stork is a well-known locust destroyer, and the enormous nesting colonies of the Rosy Pastor live and feed their young exclusively upon these insects on their common breeding ground in Central Asia." In November, 1961, when the locust hordes were passing through Patna district, I noticed an enormous flock of these storks circling high overhead at a height of about 1,000 feet. I counted 160 of them. Evidently, they were following the locusts. Both in Patria and Gaya towns these storks used to breed on tree-tops. They have been driven out by unintelligent people with the use of guns, despite the Arms Act.

"Owls, kestrels and hawks are nature's checks on rats and mice. A pair of rats destroyed by birds means the annual suppression of a potential increase of 880 rats."

t attack grubs of About fifty years ago, the then British ace ravaged crops, Government employed Mason & Lefroy to CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

subject and it is for this reason that we find Agricultural Planning. that Haldane, who has become an Indian --:0:-

study the stomach of birds to find out the citizen, has not been invited to any comspecies that ate injurious insects as also mittee on Agricultural Planning. After the those that destroyed insects beneficial to First World War when devastated Belgium agriculture. Their book, Food of Birds, was being reconstructed, the Belgian Republished by the then Agricultural Depart. paration Committee invited a member of ment of India, is out of print and further the British Ornithological Union to suggest research on this subject has not been what birds were to be encouraged for the undertaken by the said Department in in- benefit of crops, fruits and trees. Neither dependent India. Our Ministers also, un- Haldane nor any entomologist and ornihappily for India, are indifferent to this thologist are in any of the committees on

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SIERRA LEONE*

He Took the First Settlers to Sierra Leone

By CHRISTOPHER FYFE

It was through Granville Sharp that British man of steadfast principles. When the War of

Granville Sharp, who led the orinigal party of settlers to Sierra Leone ra Leone independence. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

settlers first went to Sierra Leone. Sharp was a American Independence broke out he resigned his employment in the Board of Ordnance because he sympathised with American aspirations. Single-mindedly devoted to any cause he espoused, he championed the oppressed and neglected wherever he saw them, and spent many years fighting slavery and the slave trade.

> It was he who arranged for James Somerset, a runaway slave claimed back by his master, to be brought before the English courts. After long deliberation Lord Mansfield, the Lord Chief Justice, held in 1772 that slavery was unknown to English law, and that Somerset was a free man.

There were many Africans, most of them servants, in London in the 18th century. Some had escaped from slavery across the Atlantic. After the American War of Independence many

*Sierra Leone attained independence on April 27, 1961. A British protectorate since 1896, this West African territory of about 2,300,000 people, has made much orderly progress in recent years and is now well-equipped to face the challenge of

former slaves who had won their freedom by serving in the British forces joined them, and these ex-soldiers had no work or protector and wandered the streets in misery.

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Sharp became their champion. A committee was formed to raise money to relieve them, but, not content with relief, Sharp dreamed of resettling these unhappy migrants in a home of their own in Africa, whence they or their ancestors had originally been taken as slaves. He persuaded the British Government (which wanted them moved from London) to ship them to Sierra Leone and establish them there.

In May, 1787, a naval convoy brought 411 settlers to Sierra Leone. King Tom, a Temne ruler (still commemorated in King Tom Peninsula adjoining Freetown), granted them land. There on the site of the present Government House they founded their settlement, calling it Granville Town after Granville Sharp.

The British Government sent the settlers to Sierra Leone but did not rule them. Once the naval convoy left they ruled themselves. Sharp had drawn up a Constitution for them, on the democratic lines current among advanced thinkers in the 18th century. The citizens of the Province of Freedom (as Sharp styled it) elected their own Governor, Magistrate and Council.

The history of the Province of Freedom is brief and unhappy. The settlers arrived at the beginning of the rains; fever broke out and many died; the soil was unsuited for agriculture; they had no capital to trade with; in 1789, they quarrelled with King Tom's successor, King Jimmy; he burnt their town and dispersed them over the countryside.

Sharp tried to persuade the Government to re-establish the settlement, but having moved the settlers from London they had no further interest in them. Sharp could not afford to re-establish it himself, for as it was, he had spent nearly £2,000 on it. So he decided to persuade some rich friends to form a company to sponsor it.

The Sierra Leone Company, incorporated in 1791, was a business venture. The Directors (Wilberforce was one of them) were opponents of the slave trade, who wanted to bring Western civilization to Africa, but they also hoped to make money by trade. Over £200,000 capital was subscribed. They could not allow the control of so large a sum to pass into the hands of the settlers of distant Sierra Leone, and Sharp's

Constitution was abandoned. The settlement ceased to be self-governing, and was ruled instead by the Company's officials.

Sharp was bitterly disappointed. But though he was himself a Director of the company, he could not persuade his colleagues to revive the Province of Freedom. Henceforth, he had little more to do with Sierra Leone. Even his name vanished from it. Granville Town was renamed Freetown, and another Granville Town founded a few miles to the east faded away after a few years.

Yet he has an important place in Sierra Leone. His sympathy with the distressed Africans in London was responsible for the first British settlement there. And today we may also recognise and admire the faith which underlay his determination that the settlement should not be a colony, ruled by remote absentees, but a self-governing state founded on democratic principles.

II

The Doctor Who Led the Way to Independence

By DAVID WILLIAMS

Nine years after his election to lead the Government of Sierra Leone, Sir Milton Margai, now Prime Minister, is more firmly in the saddle than ever. He is 65, yet even 10 years ago many said, the "Doctor" was only holding the fort for his brother. Today nobody dare predict who will take over, or when. The "Doctor" is not only the undisputed leader of his Sierra Leone People's Party; he leads a United Front in which most Sierra Leone politicians joined for the successful negotiations about independence a year ago, and for steering the country through independence.

He was educated in Freetown, went to Fourah Bay College (now the University College of Sierra Leone); took his medical degree at Durham, England, in 1926. He was in private practice before entering government service, to retire in 1950 as Senior Medical Officer, Bo, capital of the Protectorate.

Sir Milton's political career must be seen against an historical background. It was not until 1896 that the great "Protectorate" of Sierra Leone (now "the Provinces") was joined to the "Colony", established by Britain in 1787.

Sir Milton is a real Protectorate Man. His father was a trader, his grandfather a warrior chief; and he has immense prestige as the Protectorate's first doctor.



Sir Milton Margai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone

The Sierra Leone Organisation Society, planned to promote agricultural co-operation in the Protectorate, became, under him, an organisation to safeguard Protectorate rights. He never, however, argued that the Protectorate should exercise dictatorship over the small Colony, and the Sierra Leone People's Party was formed with a view to bridge the widening gap between the two. He joined with Mr. Laminah Sankoh, a Colony man, to form this national party, of which the major aim was political unification, an aim now achieved.

The "Doctor" is a gradualist and has the medical man's dislike of hasty judgments and rash action. When he told the Colonial Office that the time had come for independence, it was difficult for them to deny it—Mr. Macleod indeed, has indicated as much. Nor has Sir Milton Margai ever forgotten that the object of politics should be the welfare of the people.

The Sierra Leone People's Party Government, formed in 1952, has not had an easy time

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ectorate Man. His adfather a warrior prestige as the prestige a

III

Sierra Leone Makes Great Strides In Social Services

By DON TAYLOR, EDITOR OF New Commonwealth, London.

The steady and strangely under-publicised progress of Sierra Leone since World War II provides one of the most satisfying successes of British colonial policy. There has been little that was dramatic or spectacular about it, but all the time this West African country of about 2,300,000 people has moved steadily along, and it is better equipped than quite a number of other African countries to face the challenge of independence.

This is particularly apparent in the field of social welfare. The figures show that progress here has been very marked. For example, take education. In the eight years between 1950 and 1958 the number of primary schools increased from 277 to 522, and the number of children at those schools from 34,520 to 69,276. The number of children at secondary schools was more than doubled in the same period, reaching a figure of nearly 6,000 by 1958.

Technical training has received particular attention, and more than 1,100 were receiving full or part-time training by 1958. Teacher training has been another sphere in which rapid expansion has taken place, and by the end of the same year more than 600 students were attending Fourah Bay College or the other institutes in Sierra Leone.

of politics should pride of the country. For many years it has been producing arts graduates, but for two years past there have been courses in pure science and also in engineering. Moreover, there are over CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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1,000 students from Sierra Leone studying in Britain.

These education figures may not appear startling to citizens of the more advanced countries

Another aspect of the social services which has been hearteningly successful is community development. Although there is central administration, the financial and political control of



Pupils in the grounds of the Government Secondary School, Bo, South West Province

of the world, but they are heartening for an African country. What is even more significant is that Sierra Leone has an official goal of free compulsory and universal education for all, and is devoting an increasing proportion of its income to that end.

The same determination to expand is clearly evident in the health services. The framework here consists of base and rural hospitals, backed up by health centres, which consist of a dispensary, a small maternity and child welfare unit, and a sanitary office. In addition, there is the important Endemic Diseases Control Unit, which in two years treated no fewer than 450,000 people for yaws.

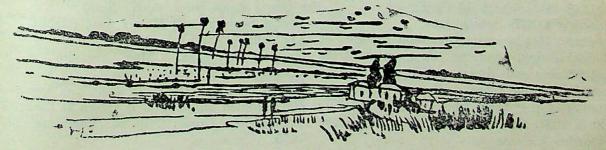
areas are exercised by district councils, who are advised by social development officers. Sixmonth training courses are held at Bo for community development workers. Community development covers a large area of activity, but two of the more notable aspects are the improvement of village sanitation and the construction of feeder roads.

How has Sierra Leone been able to provide for this postwar expansion of the social services? First of all, because of the increased prosperity of the country; secondly, because of the assistance given from Britain's Colonial Development and Welfare funds. To give but two examples: since the end of the war a total of £850,000 was allocated to Fourah Bay College;

five new hospitals and a large number of health centres were completed under Colonial Development and Welfare schemes.

Clearly, Sierra Leone has still a long way to go, and the progress of social services will depend on the continued prosperity of the country and on continued assistance from Britain—which will certainly be given. A literate and healthy population is the main key to progress and the emergence of such a population does not come about overnight.

But Sierra Leone has laid the foundations carefully and thoroughly, and the emphasis put on the social services—particularly in the last decade—is going to pay dividends in the era of independence.



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ROORNED by ANA SINGUNEER UNG THE CENTRE

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

ROORKEE, a well-known place in India, has become popular after the 48th Session of the Indian Science Congress, held during the first part of January, 1961. Once it was the capital of a Paragana but during Emperor Akbar's reign was relegated

during Emperor Akbar s regarded to the second secon

University Campus, Roorkee

to the status of a mud-built village, but again in about 1840 A.D., with the commencement of the work on the Ganga Canal, its glory and prosperity have been steadily growing.

Like many places the name of Roorkee also has a beginning. According to a certain account the name owes its orgin to Ruri, the wife of a Rajput chieftain.

The history of modern Roorkee dates back to 1840 A.D., when work on the Ganga Canal started. Afterwards the establishment of Canal Workshops and Iron Foundry (1845-46), School of Civil Engineering (1847) which later

on became the famous Thompson College of Civil Engineering, and the Cantonment of the Bengal Sappers and Miners (1853) added to the importance of the place. All these raised the population of the town from 5,511 in 1847 to 33,000 in 1951. The census of 1961 will certainly show further increase.

For those who are interested in geographical accounts it must be mentioned that Roorkee, situated at 29° 51′ N and 77° 53′ E, is elevated to the height of 880 ft. (268 meters) m. s. l. Temperature variation between winter

and summer is 2.5° C to 34° C; and 13° C to 45° C. Average rainfall is 1,016 m.m. (40 inches.)

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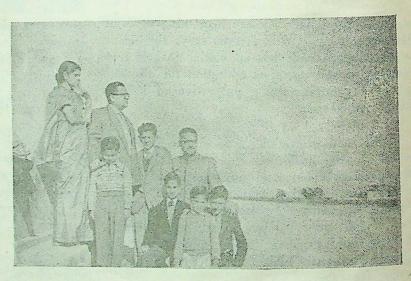
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Although Roorkee's height is only 880 ft., one can have from this place a clear view of many snow-clad peaks, such as Nanda Devi (25,645 ft.), Dunagiri (23,184 ft.), Kedarnath (22,770 ft.), Kharcha Kund (21,685 ft.), and a few more.

Roorkee is well connected by railways and roads. All mail trains stop here.

There are many Government Institutions of which Bengal Engineering Centre is an important one. Soon after the end of the Sikh War, the



The Ganga Canal Bifurcating, Roorkee

Bengal Sappers and Miners was established at Ludhiana (Punjab) in 1849. Then it moved to Roorkee in 1853. After assuming a few designations it became King George V's Own Bengal Group in 1946. For sometimes known as Royal Indian Engineers it is known as the Bengal Engineering Group, Corp. of Engineers since 1950.

Then there is the Central Building Research Institute which is one of the C.S.I.R. laboratories. As the name suggests, the Institute devotes its research to buildings, designs, structures, and

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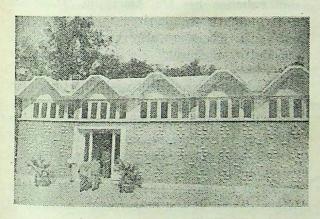
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C.B.R.I. Main Building, Roorkee

economics. This enumeration is by no means exhaustive. It also helps the Building industry by supplying scientific informations, development of new materials and techniques.

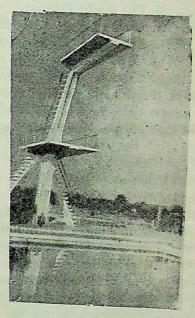


C. B. R. I Model Exhibition Hall, Roonkee

Of all the institutions, the University of Roorkee is, however, the most important one. Formerly known as the Thompson Engineering College, named after its founder—the Lt. Governor of U.P. (1843 to 1853) it was raised to the status of a University and renamed as the University of Roorkee in 1949. It was started with a handful of students in 1845 with a view to training Indian youths in engineering for assistance to the public work. The number of students was 1,749 in 1960 and the authorities are determind to raise the figure to 3,000 by 1964. The students are required to stay in the Campus.

The University prescribes undergraduate courses to train students for bachelor's degree in civil, electrical, mechanical engineering and architecture, and also has special post-graduate courses on these subjects. In 1957 the Water Resources Development Training Centre was established with the help of the Ford Foundation and the UNESCO to train Indian engineers and senior engineers from the Far Eastern countries. The term of this course is one year and the successful students get their M.Sc. degree.

Apart from these Government Institutions, in Roorkee there is a network of instrument-making concerns. They have grown as small-scale industries. There are more than one hundred units employing more than thousand workmen and is reported to have achieved the annual



Swimming Pool, Roorkee

production figure of Rs. 3,000,000. More than 250 varieties of instruments are made in these units and the items include both optical and mathematical instruments. In an exhibition arranged during the last Indian Science Congress, the instrument makers in Roorkee, Ambala, Calcutta, and other places of India displayed their instruments. These were shown side by side with some foreign products. Although the efforts of our instrument makers are quite encouraging, the gap between our actual requirements and supply is vast. Even some of the instruments which have 'Made in India' label have some important components of imported variety.

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Although the town of Roorkee is comparatively a small one, the people are educationally
conscious and a good number of educational
institutions are run there. The town itself

The town itself of the presents a near for beautiful.*

Photos used to still the presents a near for beautiful.

Although the town of Roorkee is compara- presents a neat look and its surroundings are beautiful.*

*Photos used in this article are taken by Sri P. C. Mukherjee

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THE CRISIS IN LAOS

By R. K. VASIL, M.A., Ph.D.

The leader of the 9th August, 1960 coup in Laos, Capt. Kong Le, who was only in his late twenties at the time of the coup, has been described in the following words by a special correspondent of The Daily Telegraph:

"He struck me as a pleasant honest soldier. His knowledge of politics seemed minimal. While I do not believe the story that he is alleged to have asked someone the meaning of the word 'neutrality' after he had used it several times in speeches, there can be no doubt that his political awareness is rudimentary. . . . But this very innocence of political realities has been and still is dangerous. It has meant that a group of amply indoctrinated young Communists and quasi-Communists and fellow-travellers have been able to impress on him that he holds the key to the real liberation of Laos, i.e., its liberation from 'American imperialism'.

These young leftist agitators—several of whom have travelled to Communist countries—were much in evidence during the demonstrations outside the National Assembly building and the Prime Minister's office."

Following the coup, Capt. Kong Le installed a "revolutionary committee" in Vientiane which declared its loyalty to the King of Laos. It was announced that "the military coup was aimed at consolidating the nation, religion, throne and constitution." The committee declared that its programme would include: (i) end of corruption and a purge of corrupt elements from the National Assembly and the administrative services; (ii) combating all foreign interference and expulsion of all foreign troops from the

country; (iii) "respect for the United Nations Charter and for neutrality", maintenance of friendly relations with all countries and acceptance of aid from all if offered without strings; and (iv) end of civil war and settlement with the Pathet Lao. Capt. Kong Le declared in a radio broadcast:

"The infiltrations of a Great Power are increasing daily. Every organisation in the country has a group attached to it. Even my own battalion has ten Americans whom the Government has authorized to infiltrate into our ranks. There are also many cases of this outside my regiment."

An Indian correspondent analysing the causes of the coup states:

"This land-locked kingdom . . . has had a quick change of government in recent months. Each change has taken Laos closer and closer to the West. While retaining the semblance of neutrality, Laos has moved into the Western camp. It sent observers to the SEATO meeting in Wellington.

"Secondly, there has been considerable misuse of American funds in Laos. The United States has poured in well over \$40 million in economic aid—the highest per capita aid in the world considering the fact that the population of Laos is just over two million—and tens of millions of dollars worth of military aid. All this has not been utilized to the best advantage of Laos.

"Thirdly, a fratricidal war has been going on in Laos. It is a war that is not serious enough for many sensitive Laotians to ask why Laotians must fight Laotians, and why the Pathet Lao cannot be got round to cofor with ever stop and cam with repo

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^{1.} Michael Field, "What Next in Laos", Hindusthan Standard, December 2, 1960.

operate with the government and the rest of the Laotian people."2

True, these problems must have been troubling Capt. Kong Le when he felt that the only way for Laos was "neutrality" and an agreement with the Pathet Lao and decided to strike. However, the coup was mainly aimed at putting a stop to the growing American influence in Laos and to save Laos from slipping into the Western camp. It was anti-American and had sympathies with the Pathet Lao. A Western correspondent reported from Vientiane:

"The tone of Kong Le's speeches was decidedly anti-Western. He indiscriminately blamed the raw deal which he felt the Laotian people and army had received under previous regimes, on American 'intervention'. Stories of North Vietnamese—Vietminh—intervention were 'Western propaganda'. The Pathet Lao were true Laotian nationalists, like he and his men."

The coup was followed by very rapid political developments. On August 12, the Revolutionary Committee decided to ask Prince Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist leader, to form a government. Thereupon considerable consultations took place between the coup leaders and the pro-Western Royal government headed by M. Tiao Somasanith staying in the safety of the Royal capital, Luang Prabang. Earlier Prince Souvanna had made it clear that he would accept the Prime Ministership only if the procedure laid down by the constitution was adhered to, *i.e.*, the Somasanith government resigned and he was given a mandate by the National Assembly.

On August 13, the Laotian National Assembly met in Vientiane. About two-thirds of its members were present. The Assembly unanimously passed a vote of no-confidence in the Samasanith Government. It has been reported that the Assembly passed the no-confidence resolution "harangued by Kong Le, menaced by his guns and angry shouts from the crowd." The decision had been taken only after the young Captain had personally addressed the National Assembly and while the building was under the complete con-

trol of the paratroopers and was surrounded by angry, threatening mobs collected by his men. Following the resolution a delegation of the Assembly went to Luang Prabang to convey its decision to the King. And on August 14, Vientiane Radio announced that the Somasanith Government had agreed to resign. On August 15, Prince Souvanna, the choice of the revolutionary committee, was designated the new Premier who announced his Cabinet the next day. The new Cabinet which did not include any leader of the coup or extreme left-wing representative received a vote of confidence from the National Assembly on August 17. However, this was not to bring peace to the country.

On August 24, it was reported that in reply to the offer of negotiations by Prince Souvanna, the Pathet Lao leader, Prince Souphanouvong, had declared over the "Radio of the Pathet Lao fighting units" his readiness to negotiate with the new Laotian Government. However, the offer was made conditional to the acceptance of: (i) the Royal Government must follow a "true line of neutrality" and accept aid from all countries; and (ii) the Government must establish relations with all friendly countries. The latter meant the establishment of relations with Communist China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The relative calm following the establishment of the Souvanna Government was short-lived. General Phoumi Nosavan, the Defence Minister in the Somasanith Government who had emerged during the last few months as the pro-Western strongman, refused to go with Prince Souvanna. At the time when the Somasanith Government had decided to resign, following the adverse vote in the National Assembly, General Phoumi Nosavan withdrew to Savannakhet in the South to organise support against the paratroop Captain Kong Le and the neutralist Premier Prince Souvanna. In Savannakhet he organised a committee for the counter-coup "which was implementing the decision of the Council of Ministers to entrust General Phoumi Nosavan, Minister of Defence, with the task of organising the recapture of Vientiane."6 It was believed that the General had been able to acquire the support of many regional commanders in other parts of the country. Genedeclared on August 19, that five ral Phoumi

^{2.} Sudhakar Bhat, "The Fratricidal War Laos", Times of India, August 21, 1960.

^{3.} Michael Field, "What Happened in Laos", *Hindusthan Standard*, December 1, 1960.

^{4.} Ibid. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukli Kahakeebil Zinge Ha August 24, 1960.

^{5.} Times of India, August 26, 1960.

^{6.} Dennis Bloodworth, "Somersault in Laos",

battalions of troops loyal to him were proceeding North to capture Vientiane. At the same time the Savannakhet Committee claimed that 23 members of the National Assembly (59 members) had fled to Savannakhet while many more had been stopped from fleeing away from Vientiane and that two members of the Souvanna Government had joined General Phoumi in Savannakhet.

However, on August 21, Prince Souvanna announced in Vientiane that General Phoumi Nosavan had ordered his troops to halt their advance towards the capital and had agreed to have talks. General Phoumi refused to go to Vientiane for the talks. But Prince Souvanna paved the way for negotiations by unexpectedly flying over to Savannakhet for talks with General Phoumi. At the same time the paratroopers of Captain Kong Le were withdrawn to the outskirts of Vientiane in order to dispel the fears that the young Captain was dominating the neutralist Government.

Finally, on August 28, General Phoumi arrived in Luang Prabang with his advisers and 22 members of the National Assembly who had fled earlier to Savannakhet. The next day Prince Souvanna flew in along with 34 members of the Assembly who had chosen to remain in Vientiane or who had not been allowed to leave. A settlement was possible and on August 30, Prince Souvanna announced the formation of a new Cabinet which retained all the eight members of his earlier Cabinet but took five new Ministers from the ousted pro-Western Somasanith Government. General Phoumi became the Deputy Premier and took charge of the portfolios of Interior, Culture and Social Welfare.

Captain Kong Le, at first, accepted the settlement but the very next day it was reported from Vientiane that he had declared: "We do not want Ministers from the old Government in the new Cabinet. I have sent a message to Prince Souvanna Phouma and am still awaiting a reply." Later in a radio broadcast he requested the Prime Minister to throw the traitors out of the Government and declared that his paratroopers would not accept them under any condition. The Prime Minister, who was still in Luang Prabang, immediately flew to Vientiane and was able to pacify the young Captain. The new Government took office on September 2, but General Phoumi and his supporters did not show up in the capital for the swearing in ceremony and no official explanation regarding their absence was available.

On September 5, it came to be known that General Phoumi had returned to Savannakhet from where he had declared that he would participate in the new Government only after Kong Le and his men had been withdrawn from Vientiane so as not to permit them to interfere in the Government.

On September 11, Prince Boun Oum, Inspector-General of His Majesty's Government, staged a further coup. He announced in a radio broadcast over Radio Savannakhet that he had seized power and had formed a new revolutionary committee, including General Phoumi. The Prince declared:

In order to bring back peace and tranquility to the country, to protect the King and religion and the freedom of the people, we revolutionaries, in the name of Laos citizens, hereby declare that we seize power and abrogate all constitutional rights of the present government from this date.⁷

Thereupon, Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Prime Minister of the Government in Vientiane, declared a state of emergency and authorized the chief of the armed forces to use force, if necessary, for the maintenance of peace in the country. The government in a mildly worded official proclamation stated: "The government calls on the members of the Committee and especially on Prince Boun Oum, whose patriotism is well-known, to bring an end to such initiative."

Later, Prince Souvanna Phouma flew to Luang Prabang and on his return announced that the King had agreed to call a conference of the two groups at Luang Prabang. The conferrence attended by Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prince Boun Oum and General Phoumi Nosavan was duly held in Luang Prabang on September 14. But nothing came out of it. On September 19, the pro-Western group set up a "temporary administrative committee" at Savannakhet and announced the same day that the troops under their control were preparing to "liberate" Vientiane. And fighting between troops loyal to the Vientiane regime and those under the control of the Savannakhet committee was reported for the first time on the 20th September.

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^{7.} Hindusthan Standard, September 12, 1960.

^{8.} Hindusthan Standard, September 12

ence table for negotiations. Evenutally, on Septem- of the Prime Minister. ber 28, Prince Boun Oum and General Phoumi that Prince Souvanna Phouma was "too soft" and that "he should be respected, but if he leads the country the wrong way, the people should get rid of him." He further disclosed that for the last two months he had been pressing the Premier to seek aid from China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It was reported that Prince Souvanna Phouma did not approve Kong Le's attitude and desired a cessation of hostilities, but troops being not under his control, the Prince could hardly do anything. Thus fighting between the forces of Kong Le and the pro-Western group continued.

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On October 4, Prince Souvanna Phouma announced that the Government of the Soviet Union had agreed to establish diplomatic relations with Laos and that the Soviet Ambassador would arrive shortly. He also made it known that within a few days negotiations would be resumed with the Pathet Lao.

Earlier, on September 21, the Soviet Government had issued a declaration "resolutely condemning the brutal interference of the United States of America and her SEATO allies in the internal affairs of Laos." The United States Government repudiated these charges. Earlier even Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma had asserted that accusations that General Phoumi had been receiving United States aid was mere propaganda. On September 23, the United States Embassy in Vientiane sent two members of its staff to Savannakhet with the purpose to persuade

With fighting having broken out between the negotiations with the Souvanna Phouma Governforces of the two groups, the King made several ment. It was stated that the mission had been attempts to, bring the two groups round a confer- carried out with the knowledge and permission

At this time, with the right-wing pro-Western flew into Luang Prabang and negotiations were elements having been ousted by the coup of Capstarted under the aegis of the King. On September tain Kong Le, the United States Government 29, a limited cease-fire was announced. It was also started reconsidering the question of aid to Laos announced that General Phoumi had suggested the and paying the salary bill for its armed forces. formation of a "Government of National Union" In October reports were in circulation that the including Prince Boun Oum and Prince Sou- United States Government had suspended aid to phanouvong, the leader of the Pathet Lao. How- Laos. The U.S. Embassy issued immediate deever, this was not acceptable to Captain Kong Le. nials but at the same time confirmed that no mili-He would, under no circumstances, agree to the tary aid had been given by the United States inclusion of the pro-Western elements in the since the successful coup by Captain Kong Le and government. On September 30, Kong Le an- that aid for the month of September had been nounced that his troops were disregarding the delayed. The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State cease-fire and would continue to fight the pro- for Far-Eastern Affairs, Mr. Graham Parsons, Western forces. He declared at a news conference visited Vientiane during this time and had talks with Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma. It was reported that the talks in which Mr. Parsons had explained the conditions under which United States aid could be continued were far from cordial.9

> The Soviet Ambassador to Cambodia who was concurrently accredited to the Laotian Government arrived in Vientiane on October 13, to present his credentials. On the 17th October, it was announced that the new Soviet Ambassador had brought with him a Soviet offer of financial aid. And the same day on which the Soviet offer was made known the State Department announced that United States financial aid to Laos would be resumed. However, military aid remained suspended. Military aid since the formation of the committee at Savannakhet had been diverted to that group.

> At the time of the arrival of the Soviet Ambassador in Vientiane an interesting incident occurred. Without any authorization from the Government Captain Kong Le organised a special welcome at the airport for the Soviet Ambassador. The Captain personally greeted the Ambassador while his paratroopers made demonstration jumps. Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma did not approve the action and the Captain was placed under nominal house arrest, termed "technical arrest", for two weeks. A Western correspondent has concluded that "since Kong Le is still the military master of Vientiane, Prince Souvanna hardly be said to be a Prime Minister acting in

Prince Boun Oum and his committeenthe Dotten Perurukul Kangri Cimeson, of arlandia, October 16, 1960.

full possession of his legal authority."¹⁰ This fact must be underlined here that Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma, who had come to power through the coup led by Captain Kong Le, was not the master in Vientiane. Captain Kong Le having under his control the best unit in the Laotian army, the paratroopers, was the real master.

Soon after assuming office Prince Souvanna Phouma had got in touch with Prince Souphanouvong for the resumption of negotiations. On November 4, it was announced in Vientiane that Prince Souvanna Phouma and Prince Souphanouvong had jointly established a new party which was called "the organisation for the construction of peace, neutrality, concord and unity." 39-man committee including the representatives of the Pathet Lao and progressive leaders outside the Pathet Lao had been set up. And on November 18, it was officially announced in Vientiane that the resumed talks between the Pathet Lao and the Vientiane Government had resulted in a settlement. It was further announced that ceasefire orders would soon be given and a Coalition Government representing the various political groups within the country would be formed. Later, a joint communique issued by the two leaders on November 23, declared that Laos "must now request aid from countries following a policy of peace and neutrality and the socialist countries."

In the meantime the pro-Western elements from their base in Savannakhet had intensified their activities and had gained valuable new support. On November 11, the commander of the forces stationed in the Royal Capital of Luang Prabang announced in a broadcast that he had shifted his support to the Boun Oum committee and would no longer recognise the authority of the Souvanna Phouma Government. Moreover, at this time the Commander-in-Chief of the forces loyal to the Vientiane regime defected to the pro-Western side. Soon afterwards Prince Souvanna Phouma, for the first time, accused the Government of the United States of aiding the pro-Western elements against the Vientiane Government. He declared in a press conference that the United States had supported General Phoumi "without reservations" since the very beginning of the uprising. He further maintained:

10. Michael Field, "What Happened in Laos, Hindusthan Standard, December 1, 1960.

The Laotian problem is no longer an internal problem, but an international problem. Its solution no longer depends on us, but on the United States. The U.S. alone can act on the Savannakhet (rebel) Committee, on which it has great influence.¹¹

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Thus assured of greater support the pro-Western elements started moving towards Vientiane. The beginning of December saw a worsening of the situation in the country. Fighting was reported in four of the twelve provinces. The Prime Minister denied reports that government troops were taking the aid of Pathet Lao forces in their bid to wrest control over the Royal capital from forces supporting General Phoumi. Meanwhile, stoppage of U.S. aid, which had been diverted to the Savannakhet committee had made conditions precarious for the Souvanna Government. Vientiane did not receive payments from the United States for the months of October and November. An Indian correspondent reports: "The Thais mounted a massive blockade and even food was prevented from being ferried across the Mekong. There was virtual starvation, eggs sold at Rs. 3 a piece, there were no fresh vegetables, little milk and hardly any rice."12

The desperate situation in Vientiane and the advance of pro-Western troops towards Vientiane made the young Captain, Kong Le, act once again. The occasion was his replacement as Commander of the Vientiane garrison by Col. Khouprasih ordered by the Prime Minister on the 8th December. The same day late in the night the paratroopers of Kong Le in a swift move took over control of the capital. In the meantime forces of General Phoumi were closing in on Vientiane. In a last minute bid to avoid open conflict Prince Souvanna in a letter to General Phoumi's troops urged them not to come too close to the capital.13 At the same time in his position as the Defence Minister he ordered Captain Kong Le to withdraw his paratroopers to the outskirts of the city. Kong Le's men ignored the order. The situation got completely out of control of the neutralist Premier, Souvanna Phouma, and there was noihing that he could do. He chose, therefore; to

11. Times of India, November 18, 1960.

13. Times of India, December 11, 1960.

^{12.} Mahesh Chandra, "Russian and Aemrican Moves in Laos Tangle", The Statesman, February 22, 1961.

sion. He along with his family flew over to the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic Cambodia.

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On December 13, the Savannakhet Radio announced that the Laotian National Assembly meeting in Savannakhet had appointed a government headed by Prince Boun Oum and had declared the Souvanna Phouma Government, brought to power following the coup of Captain Kong Le, as illegal. 14 According to the announcement the new government was established by a Royal order. General Phoumi was appointed the Vice-Premier and was given the Defence portfolio. The United States recognised the new Government as the sole legal Government in Laos.

At the same time General Phoumi's troops were getting close to the capital, Vientiane, which was under the control of Captain Kong Le. On December 16, the city was in flames. Though the forces of General Phoumi and Captain Kong Le never met face to face in Vientiane, the capital suffered very heavy destruction. Soon the forces of General Phoumi broke the resistance of Kong Le's troops which were reported to be getting support from the Pathet Lao. Kong Le withdrew to strategic Plain of Jars, where he found new allies in the Pathet Lao. His "was a masterly withdrawal. He was able to take with him all his men, supplies, guns and ammunition and also four bulldozers to make roads as he retreated."15 Plain of Jars soon fell into their hands.

The Communist countries reacted very strongly to the new developments in Laos. The Chinese Government declared on December:

A large-scale civil war has now broken out in Laos and the situation there is very grave. This is the result of crude interference in the internal affairs of Laos by U.S. imperialism and its vassals, the reactionary authorities of Thailand

get away rather than get mixed up in this confu- Earlier, on December 11, Mr. Pham Van Dong, safety of the neutralist capital, Pnom Penh, of Vietnam, had sent a message to Prime Minister Nehru:

> The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is deeply concerned over the latest developments which have exposed the gross interference by USA, by Thailand and by elements of South Vietnam who helping militarily the rebel bands of General Phoumi Nosavan against the legal government of Prince Souvanna Phouma.

He requested Mr. Nehru that "urgent and effective actions be envisaged to stop foreign intervention, to effectively support the legal government of Prince Souvanna and to ensure the respect of the Geneva Agreement and the safeguard of peace in Indo-China and in South-East Asia." Later in a statement the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam threatened direct intervention. The North Vietnamese claim to the right of intervention emanated from the fact that it had represented the Pathet Lao at the Geneva Conference in 1954.

At this time Mr. Nehru drew the attention of the two co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference to the conditions in Laos and suggested the revival of the International Commission. The Prime Minister stated during his monthly press conference on the 15th December:

So long as the International Commission was functioning there, it was a check on the local groupings and it was also a check to some extent on the arms supplies coming in from outside. Ever since the International Commission adjourned indefinitely—it is still existence or, to say precisely, was suspended, the situation has progressively deteriorated there.16

(To be Continued)

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 16. December 16, 1960.



^{14.} Amrita Bazar Patrika, December 16, 1960.

^{15.} Mahesh Chandra, op. cit.

COMPILED BY PULINBIHARI SEN AND SOBHANLAL GANGULI

The Modern Review (and the Prabasi) had been privileged to publish, during the poet's lifetime, perhaps a larger number of poems, stories, novels, articles etc., by Rabindranath Tagore than any other journal. While many of these writings have since been collected in book form, many are accessible only in the pages of these journals; and the list that follows may be some help to students and scholars who do not know Bengali.

The compilers wish gratefully to record their indebtedness to Sri Subhendusekhar Mukho-hyapadya who has checked most of the entries.

An account of how Tagore came to write in English for publication is reproduced below from the Foreword to The Golden Book of Tagore (1931) by Ramananda Chatterjee, Founder-Editor of The Modern Review and the Prabasi:

"There is an impression abroad that no English translation by Rabindranath of any of his Bengali poems was published anywhere before the Gitanjali poems. That is a mistake. As far as I can now trace, the first English translations by himself of his poems appeared in the February, April and September numbers of The Modern Review in 1912. So far as my knowledge goes, this is how he came to write in English for publication. Sometime in 1911, I suggested that his Bengali poems should appear in English garb. So he gave me translations of two of his poems by the late Mr. Lokendranath Palit. Of these "Fruitless Cry" appeared in May and "The Death of the Star" in August 1911, in The Modern Review. When I asked him by letter to do some translations himself, he expressed diffidence and willingness and tried to put me off by playfully reproducing two lines from one of his poems of which the purport was, 'On what pretext shall I now call back her to whom I bade adieu in tears?', the humorous reference being to the fact that he did not, as a schoolboy, take kindly to school education and its concomitant exercises. But his genius and the English muse would not let him off so easily. So a short while afterwards, he showed me some of his translations, asking me playfully whether as a quondam schoolmaster I would pass them. These appeared in my Review. These are, to my knowledge, his earliest published English compositions."

1909

December

THE RIDDLE SOLVED

A translation of the short story "Samasya-Puram". Translated by Prabhatkumar Mukerji. Reprinted in Mashi and Other Stories. St

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1910

January

"WE CROWN THEE KING"

A translation of the short story "Rajtika".

Translated by Prabhatkumar Mukerji.

A revised version appears in Hungry Stones and

A revised version appears in Hungry Stones and Other Stories.

February

THE HUNGRY STONES

A translation of the short story "Kshudita Pashan".

Translated by Pannalal Basu.

Reprinted in Hungry Stones and Other Stories.

March

THE SKELETON

A translation of the short story "Kankal". Translated by Prabhatkumar Mukerji Another version appears in Mashi and Other Stories.

April

AT MIDNIGHT

A translation of the short story "Nishithe".

Translated by Anathnath Mitra.

Another translation by W. W. Pearson, "In the Night", appearing in The Modern Review, December, 1917, is included in Broken Ties and Other Stories.

May

THE TRUST PROPERTY

A translation of the short story "Sampatti-Samarpan".

Translated by Prabhatkumar Mukerji. Reprinted in Mashi and Other Stories.

July BAISAKH

A translation of the poem "Baisakh", Kalpana. Translated by Jitendralal Banerjee.

THE ELDER SISTER

A translation of the short story "Didi". Translated by Rashbehari Mookerjee.

A revised version appears in Mashi and Other Reprinted in Coomaraswamy, Art and Swadeshi. Stories.

August

RENUNCIATION

A translation of the short story "Tyag". Translated by Prabhatkumar Mukerji.

Reprinted in Hungry Stones and Other Stories. THE PROBLEM OF INDIA

A letter addressed to Myron H. Phelps, New York, dated Santiniketan, 4 January, 1909.

September SUBHA

A translation of the short story "Subha". Translated by Anathnath Mitra.

Another version appears in Mashi and Other Stories.

December

THE PHILOSOPHY OF INDIAN HISTORY

A translation of "Bharatbarsher Itihas", Svades.

Translated by S. D. Varma.

See Narendrakrishna Mitra, "Babu Rabindranath Tagore on the Philosophy of Indian History", and "Note by the Editor", The Modern Review, February, 1911.

1911

January

THE POSTMASTER

A translation of the short story "Postmaster". Translated by Debendranath Mitter.

Another version appears in Mashi and Other Stories.

February

SAKUNTALA: ITS INNER MEANING

A translation of "Sakuntala", Prachin Sahitya.

Translated by Jadunath Sarkar.

Reprinted as Introduction to Sakuntala, an

English version by Laurence Binyon.

The translation appeared also in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly, August, 1940.

See H.L.C., "Rabindranath Tagore on Sakuntala", The Modern Review, March, 1911.

March

THE FUTURE OF INDIA

A translation of "Purva O Paschim", Samaj. Translated by S. D. Varma.

JANMAKATHA

A translation of the poem "Janmakatha", Sisu. Translated by A. K. [Ajitkumar] Chakravarti and November A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Another translation, "The Beginning", appears in The Crescent Moon.

April

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE SIKH POWER A translation of "Sivaji O Guru Govinda Simha" (1316 B.S.) now included in Itihas. Translated by Jadunath Sarkar.

BIDAY

A translation of the poem "Biday", Sisu. Translated by the author and A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Reprinted in Coomaraswamy, Art and Swadeshi. Another translation, "The End", appears in The Crescent Moon.

May

FRUITLESS CRY

A translation of the poem "Nishphal Kamana". Manasi.

Translated by L. [Lokendranath] Palit. For other translations see Poems, 2nd ed., no. 3,

and Lover's Gift, no. 25.

May

IMPACT OF EUROPE ON INDIA

A translation of "Nutan o Puratan". Svades.

Translated by Jadunath Sarkar. The second and final instalment appears in the

July, 1911 issue.

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RAJA AND RANI

A translation of the short story "Sadar o Andar". Translated by Keshabchandra Banerjee. Reprinted in Mashi and Other Stories.

August

THE DEATH OF A STAR

A translation of the poem "Tarakar Atmahatya". Sandhya-Sangit.

Translated by L. Palit.

September

BEAUTY AND SELF-CONTROL

A translation of "Saundaryabodh", Sahitya,

Translated by Jadunath Sarkar.

MY FATHER'S HOUSE.

A translation of the song "Tomari gehe palichha snehe".

Translated by Maud MacCarthy.

THE INNOCENT INJURED

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A translation of the short story "Ulukhader September

Translated by Keshabchandra Banerjee.

December

VICTORIOUS IN DEFEAT

A translation of the short story "Jay-Parajay". Translated by Jadunath Sarkar. "Victory", appears Another translation,

Hungry Stones and Other Stories.

1912

January

THE KABULIWALLAH

A translation of the short story "Kabuliwallah". Translated by Sister Nivedita.

Reprinted in Hungry Stones and Other Stories.

February

TO THE OCEAN

A translation of the poem "Samudrer Prati", Sonar Tari.

Translated by S. V. Mukherjee.

THE FAR OFF

A translation of the poem "Ami Chanchala Hey", Utsarga.

March

INDIA'S EPIC

A translation of "Ramayana", Prachin Sahitya. Translated by Jadunath Sarkar.

April

SPARKS FROM THE ANVIL

Translations of the following poems from Kanika:

- 1. "Kutumbita Bichar"
- 2. "Nirapad Nichata"
- 3. "Asadhya Cheshta"
- 4. "Satruta-Gaurab"
- 5. "Ekai Path"
- 6. "Prabhed"
- "Baler Apeksha Bali"
- 8. "Satyer Samyam"

June

WOMAN'S LOT IN EAST AND WEST

A translation of "Prachya and Pratichya", Samaj. Translated by Jadunath Sarkar.

THE SUPREME NIGHT

A translation of the short story "Ek Ratri".

Translated by Jadunath Sarkar.

Reprinted in Mashi and Other Stories.

THE INFINITE LOVE

A translation of the poem "Ananta Prem". Manasi.

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Translated by the author.

Reprinted in Poems, 2nd ed., no 6.

THE SMALL

A translation of the poem "Hay gagan nahile tomare dharibe keba", Utsarga.

Translated by the author.

THE YOUTH

A translation of the poem "Pagal haiya bane bane phiri", Utsarga.

Translated by the author.

Reprinted in The Gardener, no. 15.

"I WAS NOT AWARE OF THE MOMENT" Translation of the poems "Jivaner simhadvare" and "mrityuo ajnata mor", Naivedya.

Reprinted in Gitanjali.

"IN THE DEEP SHADOWS OF THE RAINY JULY"

A translation of the song "Aji sravana-ghanagahana-mohe".

Reprinted in Gitanjali.

The two poems mentioned above are reprinted in 'Notes', ("Rabindranath Tagore in England") from a report in The Times of a dinner held in honour of the poet in London on July 10, 1912. Rabindranath Tagore's reply is also reprinted in 'Notes' from The Times.

THE COUNTRY OF FOUND EVERYTHING A translation of the poem "Sab peyechir des", Kheya.

Translated by Ajitkumar Chakrabarti.

Reprinted from The Nation, London, in Notes, "Rabindranath Tagore in England".

October

THE RIVER STAIRS

A translation of the short story "Ghater Katha". Translated by Jadunath Sarkar.

A revised version appears in Mashi and Other Stories.

November

INUTILE

A translation of the poem "Anabasyak", Kheya. Translated by the author. Reprinted in Gitaniali, no. 64.

December

THE SPRINGHEAD OF INDIAN CIVILISATION

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri "Tapovan", Siksha. 8. "Saundaryer Sanyam" A translation, in part, of "Tapovan", Siksha-

Translated by Jadunath Sarkar.

ADAMANT

A translation of the short story "Mahamaya". Translated by Jadunath Sarkar.

Reprinted in The Runaway and Other Stories.

1913

April

RACE CONFLICT

An address delivered at the Congress of the National Federation of Religious Liberals, held at Rochester, New York, U.S.A.

"Jati-Sanghat", a Bengali translation of the lecture appeared in the Prabasi, Jaistha, 1320.

June

[A LETTER], pp. 678-79.

An extract From a letter to C. F. Andrews.

COMMUNAL LIFE IN INDIA

A translation of "Swadeshi Samaj", Samuha. Translated by Jadunath Sarkar.

July

THE RELATION OF THE UNIVERSE AND THE INDIVIDUAL

An address delivered in London.

Reprinted in Sadhana.

August

MY INTERPRETATION OF INDIAN HISTORY A translation of "Bharatvarshe Itihaser Dhara", Parichay.

Translated by Jadunath Sarkar.

Concluded in the September, 1913, issue.

See Rabindranath Tagore, A Vision of India's History.

October

KALIDAS, THE MORALIST

A translation of "Kumarsambhava o Sakuntala", Prachin Sahitya.

Translated by Jadunath Sarkar.

November

POEMS

Translations of the following poems from Kanika:

1. "Rashtraniti"

2. "Churi-nibaran"

3. "Samyaniti"

4. "Majharir Satarkata"

"Alpa Jana o Besi Jana" 5.

"Upalakshya" 7: "Phul o Phal"

"Tannashtam Yanna Diyate" 9.

"Asphuta o Parisphuta" 10.

"Udarcharitanam" 11.

"Bhakti o Atibhakti" 12.

13. "Kartabyagrahan"

14. "Syadhinata"

"Nijer o Sadharaner" 15.

"Prasner Atita" 16.

"Natisvikar" 17.

"Paraspar" 18.

19. "Dhruvani Yasya Nasyanti"

"Chalak" 20.

"Par o Atmiya" 21.

"Adrisya Karan" 22.

"Chiranabinata" 23.

24. "Mrityu"

25. "Apariharaniya"

Translated by the author.

December

THE STAGE

A translation of "Rangamancha", Vichitra Prabandha.

Translated by Surendranth Tagore.

1914

January

EYESORE

A translation of Chokher Bali.

Translated by Surendranath Tagore.

Published serially and concluded in the December 1914 issue.

Another translation, by K. R. Kripalani, of this novel has been published under the title Binodini.

December.

POEMS

Translations of three songs:

1. "Abar sravana hoye eley phire," Gitali.

2. "Amar sakal kanta dhanya kare," Gitimalya.

3. "Jani go din jabe e din jabe," Gitimalya.

1 and 2 reprinted in Poems, 2nd ed., no. 55, 53;

3 reprinted in Fruit-Gathering, no. 51.

1915

January

MY HEART IS ON FIRE

A translation of the song "Tumi je surer agun lagive dile".

Reprinted in Poems, 2nd ed., no. 54.

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February SANTINIKETAN

A translation of the song "Amader Santiniketan". The name of the translator is not indicated.

For another version by the author, see W. W. Pearson, Shantiniketan; and Collected Poems and Plays of Rabindranath Tagore, "Santiniketan Song".

July

A PEACE HYMN FROM THE ATHARVA VEDA

To Baroness B. Suttner from Rabindranath Tagore.

Translation of passages from a hymn dedicated to the Goddess Peace in the Atharva Veda.

August

"THE PUJAHS THAT HAVE NOT FINISHED "

A translation of the song, "Jibane yata puja holo na sara".

Translated by W. W. Pearson in his article on "Robert Browning as a Teacher".

September

A. M. BOSE ANNIVERSARY

A summary of the Presidential address at the A. M. Bose Anniversary meeting held in Calcutta.

October

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

An essay.

RAMMOHAN ROY ANNIVERSARY

Summaries of the Presidential Address at the death anniversary of Rammohan Roy, reproduced in 'Notes' from The Bengalee and The Indian Daily News.

For "a better summary" of the speech reproduced May from The Indian Messenger, see "Rabindranath Tagore on Rammohan Ray" in 'Editorial Comments', in the November, 1915 issue.

December

THE YOUNG MOTHER

A translation by Rabindranath Tagore of a poem by Dwijendralal Roy, "Nutan Mata", Alekhya. Reprinted in Lover's Gift under the title "The Child".

1916

January MY REMINISCENCE

A translation of "Jivan-Smriti".

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri Translated by Surendranath Tagore.

Serially published and concluded in the December. 1916 issue.

Reprinted My Reminiscences.

February

AHALYA

A translation of the poem "Ahalyar Prati". Manasi

Reprinted Poems, 2nd ed., no. 7.

THE CYCLE OF SPRING

A synopsis of Phalguni, together with translations of thirteen songs from the Play.

For photographs of a performance of the Play (1916), see plates facing pp. 344 and 345, The Modern Review, March, 1916.

March

MY OFFENCE

A translation by Rabindranath Tagore of a poem by Debendranath Sen, "Sohagini ithe tor eto abhiman", Asokguccha.

THE MAIDEN'S SMILE

A translation by Rabindranath Tagore of a poem by Debendranath Sen, "Yubatir hasi", Asok-

Reprinted in Lover's Gift, no 21.

April

MASHI

A translation of the short story, "Sesher Ratri". Translated by W. W. Pearson.

Reprinted in Mashi and Other Stories. INDIAN STUDENTS AND WESTERN

TEACHERS

A translation of "Chhatrasasanatrantra", Siksha.

THE UNNAMED CHILD

A translation by Rabindranath Tagore Bengali poem by Debendranath Sen.

A PRAYER

A translation of the song "Duare dao morey rakhia".

August

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE SPIRIT OF THE HINDU STAGE

An article based on the essay "Rangamancha", Vichitra Prabandha.

Reproduced in 'Foreign Periodicals' in

from the *Drama*, a periodical.

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1913 INI

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See "The Stage", The Modern Review, December, 1913.

INDIA AND JAPAN

Report of an address given at the Public Hall, Tennoje, Osaka, on June 1, 1916, reproduced in 'Foreign Periodicals' from the Osaka Asahi Shimbun, June 3, 1916.

THE GRATITUDE OF ASIA TO JAPAN A Lecture at the Imperial University, Tokyo, on "The Message of India to Japan".

Reproduced in part in 'Notes', in a Note with the above title, and three Notes following it.

The Lecture was published in book form under November the title A Message of India to Japan (The Nationalism, "Nationalism in Japan".

JAPANESE APPRECIA/TION SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Report of a lecture delivered in Japan.

Reproduced in part from the Herald of Asia, in 'Notes'.

SIR RABINDRANATH INTERVIEWED in Japan].

Report of an interview with The Special Correspondent in Tokyo of The Manchester Guardian, reproduced in 'Notes'.

October

THE SONG OF THE DEFEATED

A revised version appears in Fruit-Gathering.

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE ON JAPAN Tokyo), and was reprinted in Report of an interview in Japan, summarized in 'Notes'. (To be Continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati:

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in The Modern Review, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia:

Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT INDIA AS DEPI-CTED IN PALI AND SANSKRIT TEXTS: By Dev Raj Chanana. People's Publishing House, New Delhi. 1960. Pp. 203. Rs. 10/-.

This scholarly and well-documented work is an English version with important additions and alterations of a thesis originally presented in French by the author for the doctoral degree Trusteeship, custom and conscience and contrac-

primarily from the 6th century B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era, and the sources utilised are listed principally as the first two books of the Pali canon and secondarily such Sanskrit texts as can with some measure of certainty be assigned to the above period. (Preface, p. xiii and ch. i, pp. 8-9). The author nevertheless devotes a whole chapter (ch. ii) to the study of slavery in the period of the Harappan and the Vedic civilizations. In the of the University of Paris in 1957. The period following chapter (ch. iii) the author deals exhaustively with the data on slavery in the two

(p. 9) that these works "have been subjected to of Trusteeship. The book is worth reading such drastic re-arrangements and interpretations illuminating as well. that it is very difficult to place them in time and space". The author's utilization of sourcematerial would have been complete with study of the valuable data contained in the contemporary Jaina Ardha-Magadhi canon and Sanskrit canon of the Mulasarvastivadin school of Buddhism. Among other sources the author justly attaches high value to Kautilya's Arthasastra (p. 9), but this should have been accompanied by a discussion of the traditional date and authorship of the work which he accepts in toto (pp. 97-98). The author's severe criticism (pp. 6-8) of recent Indian studies on the subject takes no notice of such a contribution as that made by the present reviewer in chapter xiv (entitled "Ancient Indian slavery down to the period of the late Smritis—a historical, and critical study" of his work "Studies in Indian History and Culture" (Calcutta, 1957). The most valuable part of the present monograph consists of chapters iv-v (Slavery in the Buddhist epoch, and Data relating to slavery therein) and chapter vi (Kautilya on slavery) supplemented by accomappendices (Appendices v-vi) containing extracts from the Arthasastra on slavery. Equal value attaches to Appendix i consisting of relevant extracts from the Dharmasutras with accompanying translations. On the other hand, the author's case (ch. iv) for a distinctive feature of "the aristocratic oligarchies" (sic) as consisting of condemnation of a whole section of the people to slavery cannot but be adjudged to be very weak. The concluding chapter (vii) summarises the author's views about the condition of slavery in the successive periods with the addition comparisons between classical and ancient Indian slavery and between slavery in Kautilya's work and in the late Smritis of Manu and Narada.

U. N. Ghoshal

RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY THROUGH Price 21s net. TRUSTEESHIP: By K. M. Munshi. Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Chowpatty, Bombay-7, pages 39. Price. Rs. 0.50.

This is a brochure from the pen of a prominent Congressman who is now a pillar of the Swatantra Party. It is a policy statement of the party-subjects dealt with are: (1) Trusteeship in social relation, its nature and meaning and Gandhian concept; (2) Sanctions believed Trusteeship, custom and conscience and contrac-

epics, although he himself observes at the outset tualism; (3) the Age of coercion and the Decay

HINDU AMERICA?: By Chaman Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay-7, pages 251. Price. Rs. 2/-.

This is a reprint of the author's well-known book first published in 1940. The learned author has not only taken great pains and carried on arduous researches but also visited the middle and the Santa Americans (Mexico and Peru) to find out the close relations and remnants of Asian, particularly Hindu civilization in the New World which was known to the Indians long before the discovery of America by Columbus in 1498. In support of his statements, the author has quoted from the Western authorities and records of the historians, priests and others who accompanied the Spanish conquerors of the 16th century. Nobody can deny the existence of some similarities of the Mayas, Astoes and Incas with the Hindus in manners and customs, social structures, religious practices and in architecture and road-building etc.

SINO-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS—A BARO-METER OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE? panying "notes and references" and two valuable Karl Reyman and Shen-Yu Dai. Published by Workers' Publication House Private Ltd., Calcutta-1. Pages 58. Price 0.50 nP.

The authors have discussed the five principles of peaceful co-existence—their origin and back-The Afro-Asian Conference, Bandung (April, 1955), had worldwide reprecussions. But the performances of the People's Republic of China in relation to Yugoslavia is not consistent with the principles of Panch Shil. The study of facts as presented in this small book is illuminating as to the under-currents in different Communistic States, particularly in China in relation to East-European States.

A. B. Dutta

JESUS OF NAZARETH: By Gunther Bornkamn. Hodder and Stoughton, London, Pp. 239.

The author of this book sets for himself a difficult task. After the manner of the historical critical school, he seeks to present Jesus of Nazareth, His message and history. He stands with those who are in search for historical knowledge of Jesus in an area which is regarded as tradition. This approach has led many to extreme skeptism in regard to the historical Jesus. author does not share this view, but faces the difficulties and illuminates the truth as he

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content with edifying or romantic portrayals."

Following the historical critical method, the author deals with the difficulties in the text of the synoptic gospels determining by reason which parts are fact and which are tradition. He rules out the supernatural or divine authorship. His scholarly presented in are way. When he comes to the resurrection of Christ he accepts this supernatural fact and admits that this was the core of belief in the N.T. churches. A question could then be asked, "Why accept the supernatural as part of the person and work of Christ and not allow it in the preparation and presentation of the record?"

It seems to the reviewer that the task of one in historical research is more than to determine what is logically right or wrong where there is a difference in the text. Is it not possible that ancient writers were right even though it seems confusing to us? Might it not be our insufficient knowledge of the background and circumstances? A case in point is the author's view of the three different accounts of Christ's death as given in the gospels. He says, "They must not be taken as fragments of a historical record, and then pierced together to make a whole, however clearly all of them express, in their differences and despite their differences, the mystery of the person, mission and death of Jesus" (p. 167). As a researcher no statement is made as to why the alternative is not possible.

of human authorship only, he presents a moderate position and avoids that of the extreme the fabric of the church and he cannot stray too far from it. He has made a strong attempt to study objectively the records concerning Jesus Christ.

The book is nicely bound and contains notes, appendices and Indexes for reference.

W. L. Peck

THERE WAS A FAIR MAID DWELLING: By R. F. Delderfield. Hodder & Stoughton, London. Price 18s net.

reads the synoptic gospels. It is written not only challenge to "the sink, braces and bacteria school for theologians, but for "laymen who wish, so of post-war realism in drama and fiction." The far as possible, to arrive at an historical under- reader will find in it enough realism of the life standing of the tradition about Jesus and are not in England, even before the smashing impact on it of the World War II, parts of which stink beyond endurance. The author's plan to present it as the challenge of a lower middle class youth to the arrogant snobbery of the class-conscious idle rich has been frustrated by the artist in himself who was overpowered by his own creatures, the principal characters going their own ways in quite opposite directions. The hero, John Leigh, is patient, serious and devoted. The heroine, Diana, was conceived as a contrast but so mercurial she became that the best of her descriptions comes from her mother who after divulging to Mr. Leigh the news of her daughter's marriage with a rich French youth at her own instance and in violation of her solemn engagement with Leigh, that she (the mother) had "always suspected her of being a sensual little baggage." The overpowered artist could not help putting that into the mouth of the mother of her heroine. And that is the correct measure of this book as a piece of literary art.

M. N. R.

BENGALI

MAN O SIKSHA (Mind and Education): By Inanendra Das Gupta, Ph.D. and Surama Das Gupta. Orient Longmans Private Ltd., Calcutta-13. 1960. Pp. 465. Rs. 8/-.

This volume on educational psychology by Accepting his premise that the gospels are an eminent educationist and his wife would readily be recognised as a valuable addition to contemporary Bengali literature. Although their effort skeptic. The person and work of Jesus is part of is by no means a pioneer work in the field of psychology in the Bengali language, the difficulties of finding proper words in Bengali to convey the complex ideas of psychology are far from having been wholly overcome. But, as the learned authors have pointed out in their foreword to the volume, these difficulties cannot be got over unless the various scientific subjects are taught and learnt through the mother-tongue. The most remarkable thing about the book is the evident seriousness with which the authors have approached their task-which compares well with the standard maintained in scholarly studies in English. This is a boy-met-girl story of the familiar result has been a highly instructive and interesttype with the distinction of portrayal at some ing study. However, in some parts-Chapter 24 length in the opening chapters of the innocence which seeks to explain the association of ideas of early adolescence and a feeble attempt towards for example—the treatment has been a little bit the end to lift the story above carnal cravings scrappy. Since I regard their book with seriousevidently to justify the declared ness the authors would, I hope, bear with me if

them have not been quite happy. Ambivalence (on p. 21) is certainly not বিরুদ্ধভাব; again পুংজি (P. xi-introduction) is not known to be used in Bengali to connote a paragraph contrary to the use done by the authors. There are other instances of this nature.

Subhash Chandra Sarker

HINDI

Man imbibes his religious beliefs and ideas alike. as well as theories first from the mother, then

I venture to point out that some of the Bengali from the father, family and the neighbours. Then equivalents of well-known English terms used by some day he develops his personality, he himself does not know how. The world he leaves behind, and the one he enters react on and influence each other. Afterwards comes the protecting and correcting influence of the scriptural injunctions. But good at one time some of them under changing conditions become excrescence fit to be scrpped.

These form the theme of this book. The author who is an acute thinker, dwell on the various aspects of religious beliefs and conditions DHARMODAYA: By Kaka Kalelkar. Tran- in the course of 37 articles written from his own slated from the original in Gujerati by Sri Sita- experience. Lucid in style, rich in thought, and charan Dikshit. Published by Navajivan Publish- exquisite in delineation the book will be read with ing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 135. Price Rs. 1.25. delight by the lay reader and the seeker of truth

Birendranath Guha

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Indian Periodicals

Rabindranath and Gandhi

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In an article entitled "Rabindranath and Gandhi" published in Vigil, May 6 and 13, 1961, Sri Nirmal Kumar Bose, the well-known Anthropologist, who had the good luck of coming into close contact with Gandhiji, has given an interesting account of the personal relation that existed between the greatest poet and the greatest man of the Modern World. He writes:

Gandhiji returned finally from South Africa to India in January, 1915. He was however preceded by some members of the Ashram at Phoenix, for the intention was to settle down in India and take up work here. The inmates of the Ashram first proceeded to Gurukul Kangri near Hardwar; but soon after they arrived at Santiniketan which was to become their home. The Poet wrote a letter to Gandhiji in this connection in which he expressed satisfaction at the fact that the sadhanas which both of them had undertaken would thus now have a chance of supplementing each other.

Gandhiji himself stayed at Santiniketan for about a week when news arrived that Gokhale, whom he regarded as his political guru, had expired. It was no longer possible for him to stay, and he left for Western India immediately. Several years passed by, and there does not seem to have been any further contact between the Poet and Gandhiji.

The year 1919 witnessed the Jallianwalabagh tragedy as well as the enforcement of the operation Movement was signalled by mass

back through hatred of the West to orthodoxy. Constitutionally, also, the Poet looked on with grave suspicion on any upsurge of collective emotion. Reason, in his opinion, fled when emotion ruled as it did all over India in 1921. The Poet therefore raised his voice in protest, and this, in its turn, evoked an answer from Gandhiji, which we shall take up after referring to another event which had intervened in the meanwhile.

In an earlier speech during the N.C.O. Movement, Gandhiji had referred to the towndwelling, westernized Indians in rather disparaging terms. His criticism was that townsmen were divorced from contact with the masses, and therefore failed to enrich the latter's life. Incidentally, he had said that India's religious leaders of the past like Buddha sprang from the soil of Indian humanity and had attained a stature on that account, in comparison with which even leaders like Raja Rammohan Roy were no more than 'pigmies'.

The poet was not in India at that time, but when he read a report of the speech, he was deeply wounded. It is said that, on arrival in India, he expressed the sentiment that he was ashamed to set foot in a country where Rammohan was regarded as a pigmy.

Perhaps this led him to be extra critical about the emotion which he witnessed sweeping the land. As we have said already, his voice was raised in protest, and a reply was evoked from Gandhiji which we shall now consider.

Gandhiji's article entitled "The Great Rowlatt Act in India. By 1921, Gandhiji virtually Sentinel" was published in Young India on took command of the Congress. The Non-co- October 13, 1921. In it, he paid high tribute to the Roet and denied the charge that a blind demonstrations in which foreign cloth was burnt emotion of hatred and narrowness had caught in piles in public, while an unexpected enthusi- India in its grip. He was intensely conscious asm was shown with regard to Gandhiji's pro- about the poverty and misery which swept over gramme of the spinning wheel. C. F. Andrews the land, and said that when a house is on fire, had acted upto now as the link between the Poet a poet had to lay down the lyre and take up a and Gandhiji, and he was deeply distressed bucket of water in order to quench the fire. In about this destructive phase of the Swadeshi that article he also said that "to a people famish-The Poet shared his views, for the ing and idle, the only acceptable form in which present programme of Gandhiji was, in his God can dare appear is work and promise of opinion, likely to bring about a resurgence of food as wages." Talking of himself, he said, "I narrow nationalism which might lead the nation will not commit the sin of becoming their (the

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masses') patron, but on learning that I had

myself with them in work".

He also enunciated his theory of compulsory nearly half a century. bread-labour from which no one was free and man ought to be free from that obligation. It into his own tears trickled down his eyes in silent would serve to improve even the quality of their love for Gandhiji. intellectual output.

was maintaining indifferent health. Yet he had to his name, if it actually came to that. soon as he received the news. He pleaded with accompanied by songs written by Gurudev. Gurudeva to spare himself, and pomised to find all the money necessary for Visva-Bharati. day is quoted below: Dear Gurudev.

God has blessed my poor effort. And here is the money. Now you will relieve the public mind by announcing cancellation of the rest of the programmes. May God keep you for many a year to come.

27. 3. 36 aphinoped to sile

Yours with love, Her of Bearid to haid of

M. K. Gandhi preceptor.

It was in 1940 that Gandhiji, accompanied assisted in impoverishing them, I would give by Kasturba, came to Santiniketan on what has them neither crumbs nor cast-off clothing, but been described as a "pilgrimage". It is said that the best of my food and clothing and associate the Poet bequeathed upon him the charge of the 'vessel' which had been the shelter of his life for

In 1941, the Poet had to be removed to Calwrote, "God created man to work for his food cutta during his last illness. And once, during the and said that those who ate without work were last days, Gandhiji sent Mahadev Desai, with a thieves". Long afterwards, in 1947, an inter- letter to Rabindranath for detailed news about viewer asked him the question if poets like the condition of the patient. His strict orders Rabindranath and scientific men like Raman were that Mahadev should not go into the Poet's should not be left free to pursue their swadharma room, as that might cause an emotion from which instead of being forced to do body-labour for he must be spared at this stage. This, however, their sustenance. Gandhiji's reply, which was was not obeyed. Mahadev went into the Poet's more or less in line with Tolstoy, was that no room, and as the latter took Mahadev's hands

The political scene in India during this It was in 1933 that the Poet once more came period of the Second World War was one of in personal contact with Gandhiji, and this was mounting crisis. Gandhiji sensed that a crisis was when the latter undertook a fast in jail in order not far off, and after the Poet had passed away, to rouse the conscience of Hindu society against he tried to fulfil one or two of the promises made the sin of untouchability. Before the fast, by him in regard to Santiniketan. One was the Gandhiji prayed for the Poet's moral and collection of Rs. five lakhs for the Andrews spiritual support, and this evidently touched Memorial Fund. While this money was being deeply the heart of the latter. Indeed, when the raised, the story goes that some complaints were fast was ended, it was done with a glass of fruit heard and Gandhiji was cautioned by some perjuice received from the Poet's hand, when he sons that he should ensure that money given to also sang during the prayer his celebrated song Santiniketan was properly spent and not misused "Jeeban jakhan sukhaye jay, Karunadharay eso". in any way. It is said that Gandhiji's reply was An incident happened in 1936, which has a that India had received so much from Gurudeva great significance. During that period the Poet that it could even afford to waste a few lakhs in

tour the country with his party from Santiniketan Many years passed by, India was on the brink in order to collect funds for Visva-Bharati, During of a crisis and perhaps of freedom, in 1945. The a theatrical performance in Delhi, the Poet was Hindu-Moslem riots broke out with unprecedented suddenly overcome by a fit of weakness, yet he vehemence in 1946, and it was then that Gandhiji would not allow the play to be interrupted. started on his celebrated Noakhali tour on foot. Gandhiji happened to be in an Ashram about He began to learn the Bengali language, and eight miles away, and hurried to the theatre as every morning's and evening's prayer had to be

Talking to an interviewer in May, 1941, The Gandhiji said one day that the reason why he letter which was written by him on the following wished to learn Bengali was that he wanted to read Gurudev's songs in the original. He said, he was no Sanskrit scholar, and he had found that the songs of Gurudeva carried to him the spirit which he found laboriously through the Upanishads in Sanskrit. They came more directly, more simply to him through those songs. It was an amazing tribute, and perhaps it was on this account that the Poet was always looked upon by Gandhiji, as by many others, as Gurudeva, the

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con the mat late personal witness can be borne; and I shall crave the reader's pardon for this reference to an event in which the writer was personally involved.

The present writer was known to Gandhiji as a fairly careful student of his writings. But once his complaint was that I did not represent him correctly in my essays. My defence was that I never did anything more than string together extracts from his writings. But Gandhiji at once said that his writings did not reflect him correctly. His writings recorded aspirations or ideals, but did not show how much of these he had been able to weave into the texture of his own life.

In answer I said to him that the Poet had taught us that the true self of a person shines forth only during the best and highest moments of his life, the rest is earth-bound and not his real self. Without one moment's hesitation Gandhiji replied that that was indeed true of poets, for they were destined to bring the light of the stars from heaven into men's lives. But of "common men" like him, the measure was to be taken not by what light shone in their lives at rare moments, but by the amount of dust which they had collected on their feet during life's pilgrimage in company with their fellowmen.

Nothing can be nobler than this humility, nothing more beautiful than this tribute which the saint paid to the light which shone upon the earth through a poet's vision.

Reading Interests of the Sinhalese Women

In course of an article published in the Indian Review, March, 1961, Sumana Saparamandu observes:

To most women, the newspaper is the main form of reading. Over twothirds of the women interviewed whom the questionnaire was sent said that the newspaper was their only form of reading, while about 6 per cent said, "I read whatever comes my way." The explanation, given by those who said that the newspaper was their only form of reading, was that they had no leisure for any continuous reading: hence books were not for them. The factors affecting choice of reading material and reading habits will be discussed the opinion of one former their and during rests to the part of th

The newspapers read were the three main Sinhalese dailies—two morning and one afternoon-and the two Sunday newspapers. Many households that do not buy a daily newspaper regularly buy one or other of the Sunday papers. Therefore even those who do not get a chance of reading a paper on week-days are able to read something on Sunday. A large number of households that bought Sunday papers, gave up one when the price was increased from 20 cents to 25 cents.

The short-story is by far the most popular feature. It was second, if not first, in order of preference when the vast majority, whatever their social strata or educational attainments, whereas poetry was mentioned only by a very small minority. And what is most remarkable here is that poetry appealed to the less-educated reader, e.g., domestic servants, peasant women. The women who were interested in political articles were teacher-trainees, and students engaged in higher studies, a few teachers and a few women who had taken to local politics and trade union activities. The housewife was the least interested. The interest shown by the teacher-trainee and the student, in this item, is due to a stress laid in the lecture-room or classroom and a belief that these articles would be useful at the examination. Although impersonal political articles were not of general interest, profiles of political figures and columnists' chit-chat about them were read with interest by many. Even in other subjects, where the personal element was involved, the articles made interesting reading.

The women's pages of the dailies and Sunday papers generally carry news about women's activities, designs for embroidery, fashion notes, kitchen hints, recipes, articles on interior decoration, children and health, and sometimes profiles of outstanding women, or of women in the news at home or abroad. In the course of editing the weekly women's pages of a daily and of a Sunday paper for the last three years have had ample opportunity to study the interest of the average woman who reads the newspaper. There is no doubt that the home, children and the health of the family come first in the interests of most women.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Tagore in Germany

Rabindranth Tagore is not only a world poet but one of those great personalities who may rightly be called the cultural ambassador of India to the West. He occupies a high place in the realm of cultural relations between India and Germany. After the award of the Nobel Prize in 1913, many of Tagore's works appeared in German editions and the sale of the Greman translations of some of his works was tremendous. Of course it did not continue for a long time due to the fall of the exchange value of the Mark. The poet visited Germany three times in 1921, 1926 and 1930. An article under the above caption reproduced here from German News, April 29, 1961, reveals that on all those occasions the poet was received cordially not only by the cultured and educated section but also by the common people of Germany whose spontaneous ovation accorded to the poet was unprecedented:

Germany first knew the poet through the translations of his works and later through the personal contact of his visits and through his art. The ovation that he received in Germany was tremendous. His novels, plays and poems appealed greatly to Germans and his books sold by hundreds of thousands. His recitations held such compelling power that even though the poems recited were in a language not understood by the vast majority of the German audience, he had to repeat them several times at their earnest request. The impact of his drawings-of his remarkable ability "to seize the picture-like plays of imagination and give them obvious form"was as great as that of his written word. Though a master in the use of words, yet his drawings prove that he expressed certain things even better in the language of line, tone and colour. "His pictures bring to the comprehension of all the world the strange magic of a far-off world and he may become yet more a mediator and interpreter between Germany and India", was the opinion of one German critic.

thrown open to the public. Count Hermann Keyserling who had, in fact, invited the poet and acted as an interpreter on these occasions turned out to be so competent in this task that the poet could carry on with ease discussions on philosophical subjects for hours. Once, in one of the parks in Darmstadt the crowd gathered to see the poet was so large that the Duke had to conduct him to the top of a hillock. The people thronged round the slopes and burst into song. Song after song followed for nearly an hour. The poet's son recalls that though there was no one to lead them yet an impromptu choir of nearly two thousand voices sang in perfect harmony, a performance unthinkable outside Germany. This spontaneous ovation from the common people deeply touched the poet.

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Tagore came into contact with many eminent Germans. He met Dr. Rudolph Eucken, the sage philosopher, in America and had long and interesting discussions with him. Of the several wellknown Germans who spent some time at the Vishvabharati two deserve special mention. They were Dr. Moritz Winternitz, a great Indologist, and Dr. Walter Liebenthal, a Sinologist of repute. The poet had a high regard for Winternitz who was professor of Indo-Aryan Philology and Ethnology at the German University of Prague. The two first met in 1921 when the poet visited Prague and the close friendship which developed between the two lasted till the death of Winternitz in 1937.

Many wondered at the fraternisation between the two contrasting types of personality-a poet and a savant. The poet always felt strongly attracted to Western scholars learned in the culture, history and literature of the East. him this was a living proof of the idea of intercultural fellowship to which he gave an institutional expression in Vishvabharati. Winternitz, with his authoritative knowledge of the classical languages and literature of India, always took a vivid interest in the significant thought move-The poet visited Germany thrice and during ments in contemporary India. He felt happy to one visit was the guest of the Grand Duke of link up the ancient with the modern in a chain Hesse at Darmstadt where he used to meet of continuing tradition. About Tagore's poetry informally the people who had gathered on the he said, "it appears to me to be the completion grounds of the Duke's palace which had been of the work begun by the Vedic Rishis".

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When Tagore's paintings were exhibited in Europe the German Press was more appreciative the than the others. He presented to the National Galerie, Berlin, . five of his paintings saying, "I have great pleasure to give to the German nation from which I have received such generous hospitality and for which I have such profound and sincere regard". The reviews of his paintings were most sympathetic and knowledgeable. One of them said: "In this exhibition there are elements which remind us about things from Egyptian monuments, from German graphic art, from Japanese woodcuts, from English watercolour paintings and from primitive decorative There are elements which possess certain likenesses to the antique Orient and elements which remind us about the Scandinavian Drake style and the Gauguin Exotism".

Another review mentioned: "Where he tries to seize something of what Franz Marc called 'the stupefying terror of being in the world', where he tries to seize this by the intuition of a man with great extraordinary imaginative power,

he stirs our souls".

Prof. Toynbee Destroys Zionist Legend

Zarb who had been undergoing his term of imprisonment at Cairo is now a free man and is back home in England. An article entitled, "Prof. Toynbee Destroys Zionist Legend," published in the U.A.R. March, 1961, proves beyond doubt that it is the fairness of judgment of the eminent British Historian, Arnold Toynbee that has led to Zarb's release. This article dealing with an important episode quoted here will be read with great interest:

Zarb owes his happiness today to two persons—British historian, Arnold Toynbee, who upheld Arab rights in Palestine without looking forward to anything in return, and President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who decided to give Zarb his freedom as a reward for his compatriot's fairness of judgment.

The President issued a Republican Decree on the 5th February relieving Zarb of the remaining six years of his prison term. Zarb was released from Turah Prison on the southern out-skirts of Cairo the next morning and flew to London at dawn on

The story began two weeks earlier in the Canadian city of Montreal where Toynbee had been on a lecture tour. ill-treated. They are CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Addressing Mcgill University students, world-famous historian Jewish treatment of the Arabs of Palestine in 1947 was comparable, from a moral point of view, to the Nazi slaughter of six million Jews in World War II. The most tragic thing in human life, he said, is when people who have suffered impose suffering their turn.

Toynbee disputed the Jews' claim to Israel as their homeland. If all titles which have not been in effect since 135 A.D. were suddenly recognised, there would be no end of redistribution of territories the world, he said.

Stung by those words, coming from a distinguished historian whose judgment carried weight everywhere, Israeli Ambassador to Canada, Yaakov Herzog challenged Toynbee to a public debate, Toynbee accepted the challenge immediately, saying he would very much like to have a frank and intelligent public discussion on this very important matter.

The debate took place on January 31. Toynbee said that much of the land now occupied by Jews in Israel had been acquired through robbery, since most of the land in Palestine had been owned by Arabs who fled during the Israeli-Arab war. He emphasised that Israel had no more claim to those lands than Germany had to French territory which was evacuated by Frenchmen during World War II.

He said that in his previous lecture he had been saying aloud something that the Jewish people had on their conscience. He said he would leave it to their conscience to decide on the history of Arab-Israeli relations and on what was to be done with the Arab refugees.

In his bold and fair speech Toynbee, first, brushes aside the sentimentality about suffering which the Zionists have exploited in, such books as The Diary of Anne Frank. (Interestingly enough, a New York Jew is currently sueing Anne Frank's father for \$50,000 for his cut in writing the book.) Toynbee says that suffering is the one great privilege which God accords to individuals and groups. In so saying, Toynbee is true to his Christian philosophy, with its emphasis on the Way of the Cross. The Jews are thus privileged to have experienced in their history the trials of being martyred and ill-treated. They are to be assessed on a crite-

rion as simple as they have learnt from their sufferings.

Secondly, Toynbee states categorically that the, Jewish treatment of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine ranks as a sin equal in degree (though not necessarily in number) with the Nazi onslaughts on the Jews of eastern Europe, and adds that the Jews are more guilty because they had more light.

"Everything has its price as well as its compensation. The compensation for the tragic position of being a member of a persecuted diaspora is that as such one has the beau role. The price of the tragic position of being a citizen of a sovereign, independent state of Israel, carved out, by force, first of British and then of Israeli arms from a country previously inhabited by other people, is that, as such one has exchanged roles with one's former persecutors. Today Israel is politically like all the nations (a formidable fate). But the Jews are still spiritually a peculiar people in having had a greater experience of suffering than any of the rest of us and in having learnt from their sufferings those deep spiritual lessons that they have communicated to the Christian-Muslim half of mankind. And that is why I feel that the tragedy of Zionist Israel's sins is greater than the tragedy of Nazi Germany's. The measure of tragedy is not statistical but spiritual, and my German fellow-gentiles; when they sinned as they sinned against the Jews, had not either the intense experience of suffering or the intense spiritual enlightenment that the Jews have had. "Unto whomsoever much is given of shall be much required." This quotation comes from a letter to the editor of "Jewish Frontier", which had published an attack on Toynbee on the completion of the eighth volume of his Study in History.

This quotation deserves to be made in full precisely because it came in a letter to comparatively obscure magazine. The much longer quotations which first turned the machine-guns of Zionist propaganda on to Toynbee as a historian do not need making in full, as they are there, damningly lucid, in a chapter on The Modern West and the

In this chapter of a book which compare in scope with Bibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire Toynbee destroys, coldly and without the possibility of being contro-CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar:

verted, the Zionist legend that the Arab re. fugees left because they wanted to leave.

"In A.D. 1948 the Jews knew," Toynbee wrote, "from personal experience, what they were doing; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learnt by them from their encounter with the Nazi German Gentiles should have been not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazis had committed against the Jews.... The massacre of men, women and children at Dayr Yassin on the 9th April, 1948, precipitated a flight of the Arab population, in large numbers, from districts within reach of the Jewish armed forces, and the subsequent deliberate expulsion of the Arab population from districts conquered by the Jewish armed forces between the 15th May, 1948, and the end of that year.....The massacre and the expulsions, between them, were responsible for the exile of all those Palestinian 'displaced persons'. 'To use the current euphemism,' from the territory conquered by the Israelis from those who fled from or were driven from this territory after the 9th April, 1948."

In a year when Israel is posing once again as the pitiable, the admirable, the lawabiding, it must indeed be galling to have an eminent historian—and a historian from Britain, a country so often 'understanding of Zionist necessity'-equate what the Jews have done with what the Nazis did. Eichmann trial was designed by its impressarios to be a new episode in the pathetic drama of suffering Israel: a 'fairtrial', with much clever insinuation that the Nazis are still among us, that the Arabs are the successors of the Nazis, and so on. It is most inconsiderate of Dr. Toynbee to make such untimely statements. It may give Gentile Cattle, not only in Canada, the notion that the Eichmann trial is just a restaging of an ancient kitchen farce: the pot calling the kettle black.

No one, above all no Arab (for the Arabs have never gone in for racial persecutions) can condone what the Nazis did to Jews as well as gypsies, Germans as well as Russians, between 1941 and 1945. But the dead are with God: the just are secure. The Arab refugees are not dead. They are visible from the Eichmann prison, through their barbed wire they look back, living, at their own fields, stolen from them.

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Women Without Husbands

Statistics show that of all the countries which were involved in the World War II, Germany has an overwhelming majority of women now between 32 and 47 years of age, who remained unmarried, became widows or were divorced because of the events of War. An article under the above caption dealing with their present circumstances has been published in the Bulletin, issued by the Press and information office of the Germman Federal Government. This article containing valuable informations regarding diverse activities of 'Women Without Husbands' is reproduced here:

All in all, there are two million women in West Germany who are without a marriage partner (in a total population of 56 million). Some 600,000 of these lost their husbands in the war. Many thousands of others lost their fiances, and perhaps for this reason never married. In addition, there are innumerable cases in which long wartime separation or other aspects of troubled times ultimately led to divorce. Finally, there is the large group of women, born approximately between 1914 and 1928, who were of marriageable age at the end of the war but have ever since then so outnumbered the men of their own generation that they have remained single simply because there were not enough men to go round.

In the Federal Republic's present age pyramid, the greatest sparsity is among the men between the ages of 37 and 56 (greatest of all in the age group between 37 and 43) the very ones whom the women between 32 and 47 would have married. In fact, numerically this gap coincides almost exactly with the number of unmarried or widowed women.

But the age-span of the men killed in World War II is even greater. Among them were many born as late as 1926. Thus, not before 1970 will the great margin by which women in their thirties and forties outnumber the men of about the same age have begun to narrow. For the younger women, the situation has already changed, in fact so independent as is generally believed. been reversed. The 2,600,000 young women male contemporaries, of whom there are 3,000,000. The shift that is taking place is illustrated by the following comparison. In 1950, only 61 per cent of the age Women, whereas among chiose windower winkultonggladecton, gimewarp the precarious "free-

this age group in 1957, fully 76 per cent had married.

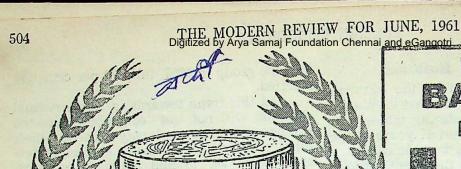
But this trend towards a more normal situation will not, of course, affect the women who have already reached their thirties or forties. Of these, extremely few are likely ever to find marriage partners. They have had to build themselves a life of a different sort.

In the public mind there is a widely accepted picture of "the independent modern woman"—a picture seen in the frame of the so-called "economic miracle", and as inexact as this concept itself. It is the picture of a self-assured, fashionably dressed woman, realistic and mental, who does not brood over the past but makes a success of her career. According to this picture, she lives in a glittering metropolis, and has a comfortable little apartment with modern furniture, where evenings and weekends she lives a sociable life with friends and colleagues.

It is true that this description of the "emancipated" woman fits a few here and there, in Germany too. But in general, reality is quite different. Just one seemingly insignificant modification of this stereotype about the "modern" woman can cause problems of a material or a psycho-"independent" logical nature that the woman is able to cope with less easily than any other. It may be that she lives in the country or a small town; or she may live under the same roof as her parents; or she may have one or more children.

According to the statistics, two-thirds of all inhabitants of the Federal Republic reside in rural areas or small towns. And just as many have solved their housing problems by sharing a home with family members with whom they would not normally live if there were no housing (or financial) problems. It is a fair assumption that these statistics apply in about the same proportion to the two million women without husbands. This alone would mean that the majority of them are by no means

Practically without exception, of course, between 19 and 30 are outnumbered by their these women have jobs. Many of them find satisfaction in working outside the home and might even hesitate to exchange this form of life for one limited to household chores. However, many other-even those group between 25 and 30 were married without children to care for-would be only.



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dom" of job-holding for the security marriage. Some of them feel the strain of holding their own in a man-made competitive society. Few of these working women are openly resentful. But most accept the reality that in certain jobs there is likely to be economic discrimination against them by men as employers—or psychological resentment of them by men as fellow workers. By and large, the women are well aware that West Germany's far-going legal and social programme to guarantee the "equality of women" can hardly wipe out overnight a feeling that woman's place is in the home. In fact, many working women would be the first to confess that they share this feeling.

As things stand, many women are active both in the home and in a job. Naturally, the lion's share of the psychological and physical burden is on the job-holding mother. After the war, a special word was coined to sum up the problems of these women—or those of their children. Schlusselkind, or "key child", came to mean the child who wore the door-key on a chain their children.

around his neck for safe-keeping aga বুৰাখ the hour of the day when school would out.

Meanwhile, great efforts have b made to provide places where such child ল বৰ may play and do their home-work un supervision. But such installations money—either from the public authori (who have other priorities) or from pockets of the mothers themselves—and the Schlusselkind, if less in evidence the first post-war years, neverthe still exists.

But whether her child is alone or un supervision, the mother who can be at he only a few hours each day is likely to prey to anxieties that in the long run nor drain her strength and vitality. Thus, certain statistical report is hardly surp ing. Of the people who make use of "telephone rescue service" because the feel desperately in need of advice and solation, a very large proportion consist women who are alone in the world witheir children.

Editor-Kedar Nath Chatterji

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সচিত্র মাদিক পত্র ১৩৬৮—প্রকাশনার একষষ্টিতম বর্ষ

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